# WORKERS VANGUARD

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WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

No. 115 25 June 1976

# Smash Apartheid–For Workers Revolution

# Avenge Soweto!

JUNE 20—The cold-blooded slaughter of school children in Soweto has caused the smoldering discontent of South Africa's urban black masses to flare into open rebellion. For a few days this week the "African townships" on the Witwatersrand, the mining and industrial heartland surrounding Johannesburg, saw thousands-strong crowds of workers and youth hurl themselves against the symbols of oppression with torches, knives, stones and bare hands. This plebeian revolt illuminates the seething unrest of the subjugated non-white population of the apartheid police state.

Only hours after issuing orders to "maintain law and order at all costs," South African prime minister Balthazar Vorster embarked for West Germany where he will confer with U.S. secretary of state Henry Kissinger. Their hands stained with the blood of Indochinese, black Americans, Angolans and South Africans, these two statesmen of imperialist butchery and white supremacist barbarism will no doubt find a great deal in common. Both have an interest in ballyhooing the sham "independence" of the Transkei, so-called "tribal homeland" for South Africa's Xhosa people, planned for October and also in pressuring Rhodesia's tottering white regime to step aside in order to postpone the day of reckoning with white supremacy in South Africa itself.

While the official body count of slain blacks in the Witwatersrand climbs over 109 dead and 1,100 wounded (the actual figures are far higher), Kissinger will have to strain even harder to overcome the pariah image of the Pretoria regime. As indicated by his junket to Santiago last month, the top foreign policy maker's expressions of concern for human rights are nothing but balm for bourgeois consciences, rhetorical perfume sprinkled over the moldering corpses heaped up by American imperialism's staunchest allies.

In the wake of its defeats in Indochina and Angola, the U.S. ruling class is anxious to shore up its diplomatic and military alliances. Rehabilitating the South African and Chilean police states in the eyes of world opinion and bolstering their economies is one step in Kissinger's maneuvering to re-establish a secure global "balance of power" with the Soviet Union.

The Kissinger/Vorster talks are also geared toward protecting Gerald Ford's vulnerable right flank from Ronald Reagan, who recently indicated that, as president, he might send U.S. troops to bail out the Rhodesian government. Such a notable right-wing Republican as Milton Friedman, former Nixon economic adviser and architect of mass starvation in Chile, has joined Reagan in criticizing Kissinger's recent trip through black Africa and has even opposed majority rule in Rhodesia. But the feeble protests of liberal politicians and black leaders against the whitewash of the Pinochet and Vorster dictatorships can do little to impede these cynical *Realpolitik* maneuvers. The trail of blood left by the bourgeoisie from Soweto to Santiago will be avenged only by the international working class, which alone can bring the dawn of liberation from racial and class enslavement, through proletarian revolution to smash apartheid.

South African students protesting minority rule were brutally attacked by police in Soweto last week. UPI

### Slaughter in Soweto

On June 16, 10,000 black students surged through the streets of Soweto. The huge township reverberated that morning to the strains of "Nkosi Sikeleli Afrika" ("God Bless Africa"), the black "national anthem." Protestors carried banners denouncing the compulsory use of Afrikaans in their schools. "Afrikaans is a stench" read one placard, expressing the deep revulsion of the African masses for the Dutch dialect spoken by arrogant descendants of the slaveholding Boer settlers.

As the crowd converged on Phefeni Junior Secondary School, ten police cars blocked their path. Thirty police, blacks armed with batons and whites armed with revolvers and submachine guns, emerged from the vehicles. Angry students taunted these hated lackeys of the *Herrenvolk* oppressors. A white policeman hurled a teargas shell. The youths responded with stones and jeers.

The police aimed their weapons and fired without warning. One teenage student fell dead with a slug in his chest. Another, a boy about seven years old, was hit and died on the way to the hospital. As the youths fled this savage onslaught, others were gunned down. A third youth and an elderly bystander died of their wounds.

The police pumped a deadly fusilade of over 300 rounds into the unarmed crowd. The killings were a deliberate act of political terror. Although the government quickly spun a tale of endangered police defending themselves with a carefully controlled show of force, a senior police official on the spot answered a British reporter's query whether warning shots were even fired: "No, we fired into the crowd. It's no good firing over their heads" (*Times* [London], 17 June).

### The Rebellion Spreads

The plebeian masses crowded into the urban townships around Johannesburg responded to the police atrocities with an elemental outburst of pent-up fury. Two vehicles from the paternalist Bantu Administration Board were overturned, and two white officials killed. A banner reading "Beware Afrikaans, the most dangerous drug for our culture" was draped over one of the bodies. The Board's headquarters were burned to the ground. Vicious police dogs were hacked up and set on fire.

As township after township ignited, government buildings and other institutions of white supremacy were attacked. In Kagiso, a government beer hall, symbol of the prohibition of African home-brew liquor, was put to the torch. In Alexandra, a grim ghetto surrounded by posh white suburbs, a clinic, schools and white-owned shops were gutted by flames. In Kathle-Hong, a post office was stormed. And in every township, scatter-shot police attacks raised the death count higher, surpassing even the 84 killed by police during and immediately after the orgy of bloodletting at Sharpeville township in 1960.

Student carries body of companion killed by police in Soweto last week. AP

Black college students also erupted. Administrative headquarters and a

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**Muñoz Delegation Barred From Argentine Mission to UN**

**Videla's Ambassador Can't Hide Junta Terror. . .7**

## Stop the Scabbing—Spread the Strike!

# Victory to Mass. State Workers Strike!

BOSTON, June 22—"Illegal" picket lines went up at dawn yesterday, commencing the first statewide public workers strike in Massachusetts history. Massachusetts state employees are picketing a variety of state agencies, offices and institutions, including welfare offices, unemployment offices, prisons, the State House in Boston, hospitals, mental health care centers, public beaches and the Registry of Motor Vehicles. Traffic was initially jammed by raised bridges, which were later lowered by striking bridgetenders under court orders. However, the sewage plant at Deer Island was shut down today, which will have a major impact in increasing the scope of the strike.

Governor Michael Dukakis asserted that he would not bargain with the unions until the illegal strike is terminated (under a 1973 law state employees have the right to bargain collectively, but not to strike!). Suffolk County Superior Court judge Thomas B. Morse, Jr. has already granted a temporary restraining order against the strike. And the governor also stated over TV and radio Sunday that "any state employee who walks off the job tomorrow morning will be subject to loss of pay and disciplinary action up to and including permanent dismissal," a threat that was echoed by numerous supervisors, who reportedly called up individual employees and informed them that they would be fired if they did not report to work Monday. In its latest move, the state announced today fines of $250,000 a day on the unions and two days pay for each day missed by strikers.

Meanwhile, swarms of cops, including state troopers, Boston's hated Tactical Police Force and its Mobile Operations Patrol, were deployed to escort scabs. Plans have been announced for putting 200 cops on overtime in Boston alone, and all leaves have been cancelled for Metropolitan and state troopers. Dukakis' press secretary Mary Fifield ominously stated two nights ago that the administration does not plan to call out the National Guard "at this point in time." Already four pickets have been brutalized and two arrested, at the Grove Hall welfare office, and two more were arrested at Danvers State Hospital. A picketer at Medfield State Hospital was injured by a bus crashing through the picket line. Wherever picketers have attempted to physically repel scabs, cop reinforcements were immediately rushed to the scene.

The strike takes place in the context of a massive two-year austerity binge imposed by the liberal Democratic governor. Since 1974 massive cuts have taken place in all social programs; welfare grants have been slashed across the board by 20 percent; 18,000 allegedly "employable" unemployed have been kicked off the welfare rolls in the midst of double-digit unemployment; tuition at state colleges and universities has been almost doubled; medical services have been eliminated for 100,000 working people, and wages for all state workers have been frozen. Since 1969, the year of the last general wage increase granted state workers, the average wage of Massachusetts public employees has dropped to 38th in the country, according to union sources. The after-tax take-home pay of bottom-level clerks is approximately $85 a week. To add insult to injury, the Massachusetts legislature last week expressed its utter contempt for the working people of the state by voting itself in the best Marie Antoinette style a wage increase ranging from 20 to 40 percent.

A slight improvement in the battered Massachusetts economy, combined with the results of past austerity measures, has visibly softened the fiscal crisis in the state. Dukakis' belt-tightening rhetoric has lost much of its impact and public workers are going on the offensive, anxious to make up for past defeats. The key monetary demand of the workers is for a $3,600 wage increase over two years. The state's offer of $2,100—conditional on the abolition of civil service step increases and acceptance of management rights and productivity clauses, and a reduction in leave time—is distributed over *three* years in such a fashion that the 1976 wage increase would be a munificent ten cents an hour!

The strike is being conducted by the Massachusetts Alliance, a coalition of unions, mainly AFSCME and Service Employees International Union (SEIU). In elections last fall the Alliance won the right to negotiate for seven out of ten traditional bargaining units of state employees, representing about 50,000 out of 65,000 Massachusetts public employees. While joint bargaining represents a potential step forward from traditional inter-union backstabbing, the Alliance is simply a bureaucratic lash-up.

It includes some employees, such as prison guards, who like cops are elements of the repressive bourgeois state apparatus and must be kept out of the workers movement. On the other hand, the Alliance excludes some unionized state workers whose scabbing has hurt the strike. Many maintenance workers, including janitors, have been working, thus making it much harder to shut down state facilities. And nurses have also been reporting to work—one reason that the strike has been weak at state hospitals. The strike should be expanded to all public workers, including also county and municipal employees—particularly Boston's 10,000 city workers who had their cost-of-living increase deferred for a year last February.

The Alliance leadership, composed of union bureaucrats, has made almost no serious strike preparations. At the Saturday mass meeting at Common-

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**WORKERS VANGUARD**

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## SL Answers Palestinian Nationalist

# Not Jew Against Arab, But Class Against Class!

In the most recent issue of the New Left/academic journal *Socialist Revolution* (April-June 1976) the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League comes under attack for its position on the Arab-Israeli conflict. Palestinian nationalist Fuad Faris, responding to a previous article in *Socialist Revolution* by "libertarian socialist" Noam Chomsky, singles out the SL/SYL position as the most "extreme attitude" within the American left placing "Arab and Israeli national rights in Palestine on an equal footing."

In his article entitled "To the American Left: A Few Remarks on the Palestine Problem and the Middle East" Faris prefaces his polemic against Chomsky with a denunciation of the SL/SYL position on the Near East. Demagogically insinuating "Eurocentrism" and Yankee arrogance, Faris indignantly cites "the slogan 'Not Jew Against Arab, But Class Against Class' (headline on the first page of the *Young Spartacus*, November-December 1973)" and then fumes about the allegedly "ridiculous" and "maximalist" slogan raised in *Workers Vanguard* (12 September 1975), "For the right to self-determination for the Palestinian and Hebrew nations—For a binational workers state as a part of a socialist federation of the Near East!"

*Socialist Revolution* seems to agree with Faris. In their introduction to his article the editors declare:

> "His [Faris] response is directed not only at Chomsky but at other American socialists who, while condemning Zionism, maintain a stance of criticizing both sides equally. These socialists often argue that the Palestinian movement is 'bourgeois' in character, citing its cooperation with Arab states and its 'national' rather than socialist goals. They contrast the struggle between Israeli and Palestinian with a struggle of class against class. When *this* struggle takes place, they will take sides. But in the meantime, they maintain a position of criticizing both sides and supporting neither."

But neither the SL/SYL nor Chomsky criticizes "both sides equally." The bulk of Chomsky's earlier article, "Israel and the Palestinians" (*Socialist Revolution*, June 1975), is devoted to exposing and condemning the brutal national oppression and repression which the Palestinian Arabs have suffered over the last three decades at the hands of the Zionists. But Chomsky seeks to deal with a political reality which Arab nationalist apologists must deny: the Hebrew-speaking people of Israel also have national rights; to refuse to take account of these rights only perpetuates the deadly cycle of reactionary national wars in the Near East. Chomsky writes:

> "ONE LAND—TWO NATIONS: that is the essence of the problem of Israel and the Palestinians.... It is a simple and pointless exercise to construct an argument to demonstrate the legitimacy of the claims of either side and the insignificance of the demands of its opponent. Each argument is convincing in its own terms. Each claim is, in a sense, absolute: a plea for national survival. Those who urge the demands of one or the other partner in this deadly dance, deaf to conflicting pleas, merely help pave the way to eventual catastrophe."

Indeed, given the counterposed national claims to the same territory by the Palestinian Arabs and the Hebrew-speaking people, the right of self-determination for either people can be exercised under capitalism only through denying that same democratic right for the other.

But Chomsky—lacking a revolutionary proletarian perspective—searches in vain for some equitable resolution of this "conflict of claims to the same territory" within the framework of capitalism and imperialist domination. Reluctantly he opts for a "two-state solution"—yet another partition of Palestine and massive population transfers to establish separate Palestinian Arab and Hebrew states—recognizing that "both states, one must expect, will be based on the principle of denial of rights to citizens of the wrong category." Chomsky pessimistically concludes, "A solution imposed by imperial force is hardly to be welcomed, but it is not easy to conjure up a preferable and feasible alternative." At best, according to Chomsky, such a Cyprus "solution" may develop "towards a binational arrangement of the sort that was advocated by much of the Zionist movement until the Second World War."

In response Fuad Faris—unlike the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) and the "anti-imperialist" sheiks and generals ruling from Baghdad to Cairo—nominally concedes that the Hebrew-speaking people in Israel constitute a nation. But in the very next breath Faris denies that the right of national self-determination is applicable to the Hebrews. Disingenuously arguing that the Hebrews and Palestinian Arabs are *not* "claiming the same land to the exclusion of the other," Faris goes on to assert:

> "It is wrong to bestow *equal rights* for self-determination on the Palestinian people and the Israeli people. Nobody has stifled the national life of the Israeli people for it to demand this right. Nobody has usurped this right from the Israeli people for it to be restored."

To be sure, in relation to the dispersed Palestinian Arabs, the Hebrews of Israel constitute an oppressor nation (although Palestinian nationalists such as Faris "forget" that in 1948 the Palestinian Arab nation was dismembered also by Transjordan and Egypt). But Leninists do not "bestow" democratic rights unequally, denying national rights as punishment for peoples that were compacted into nations through the oppression of other peoples and national minorities. The modern Turkish nation, to take only one example, was consolidated through the genocide and oppression of several million Armenians and Greeks in Anatolia, yet only the most virulent revanchist would deny the Turkish people their national rights.

In contrast to Faris, who declares that "this principle [self-determination] is *not* about 'the right to national self-determination of all nations,' oppressed or not," Lenin insisted that socialist internationalists, unlike nationalists, stand for the *equality of nations*: "We demand unconditional *equality* for all nations in the state and the unconditional protection of the rights of every national minority" (*Collected Works*, Vol. 19, p. 116).

It is demagogy and slander to equate recognition of the national rights of both the Hebrews and the Palestinians with indifference to the struggle of the oppressed nation against national oppression. Far from "criticizing both sides and supporting neither" the SL/SYL has demanded: Israel out of the occupied territories, repatriation with full democratic rights for the Palestinians, full trade-union rights for all Palestinian Arab workers, and for

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## Rapacious Nationalists on All Sides

# Blood Feud in Lebanon

AP

JUNE 22—On June 10 the Arab League states, meeting in Cairo, decided to send a "token" "peace-keeping" force to war-ravaged Lebanon. Accordingly, 1,000 soldiers yesterday took up positions around Beirut airport. The context for these "peace-keepers" is the invasion of Lebanon by 30,000 Syrian and pro-Syrian troops.

Although their mission is restricted to facilitating the evacuation of foreign nationals and Lebanese fat-cats by opening Beirut airport, the Arab League expedition is simply a cover for the full-scale Syrian invasion. The troops, divided equally between Libyans and Syrians, were mustered in Damascus and sent into Lebanon through the Syrian-occupied Bekaa valley. The sordid war in Lebanon continues to claim 50 to 60 lives daily in Beirut alone.

Once the mercantile crossroads of the Near East, whose renowned cedars had provided beams for ships that turned the Mediterranean into a Phoenician lake, Lebanon was virtually cut off from the outside world as the Syrian invasion closed down Beirut airport and the important southern port of Saida. The American nationals—exhorted to leave by the U.S. government after its ambassador and economic counselor were killed—could depart only in a British-organized convoy which shot its way through the Beirut-Damascus road or by a Navy landing craft which left Beirut bound for Athens on Sunday.

Hoping to project the image of running the country while running for office, Gerald Ford cancelled a campaign trip to Iowa to remain in the White House during the uneventful evacuation. Hence in Beirut the evacuation was baptized "Operation Iowa primary."

### Spoils of October

The Syrians' pretensions to be the champions of the so-called "Arab Revolution" lie buried in the rubble of burned-out Beirut neighborhoods and shelled Muslim and Christian villages in the Bekaa valley. Their claims to be struggling against Zionism and imperialism and for the national rights of the Palestinians were graphically exposed as Syrian pilots in Russian-made MIGs and Syrian-backed Lebanese pilots in British-made Hunter fighter-bombers strafed and bombed Palestinian refugee camps.

Hoping to find in military adventures against Israel a "solution" to the imperialist balkanization and exploitation of the Arab East, the "radical" apologists for the bonapartist Arab rulers in October 1973 rushed to hail the Egyptian and Syrian armies as fighters for the "Arab Revolution." What were the spoils of the 1973 conflict? President Nixon was triumphantly escorted through the streets of Cairo as Anwar Sadat courted financial investment and military aid from the Western imperialist powers.

The Soviet Union, having once again watched billions of rubles worth of military aid squandered in the Sinai desert, was subjected to a campaign of vilification as Sadat ripped up the Soviet-Egyptian "friendship" treaty, threw out the remaining Russian military advisers and barred the USSR's navy from the important port of Alexandria. As a reward for the renewed shedding of Arab workers' and peasants' blood in the holy war against Israel, the Gulf sheikdoms cut Syria and Egypt into the drippings from the table of the imperialist oil cartels.

Although they had at best fought the Israeli army to a draw, Egypt and Syria emerged from the war with their prestige enhanced as "confrontation states." But their "confrontation," albeit conducted in the name of championing the national rights of the Palestinians, did absolutely nothing to advance Palestinian self-determination. At Rabat the Arab League of sheiks, kings and military juntas crowned the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) the "sole representative" of the stateless Palestinian refugees. That this lip service to Palestinian nationalism from the competing nationalists of the rival Arab states means nothing is demonstrated by the Syrian intervention into Lebanon to prop up the privileged Maronites against the Palestinians and Lebanese Muslims.

The PLO had already been split by the "rejection front" led by Dr. George Habash and his Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), notorious for its airplane hijackings and other senseless acts of indiscriminate terrorism. The PFLP, driven out of Jordan after the Black September massacre of 1970, has taken refuge in Baghdad and has become the mouthpiece for the policies of the Iraqi Ba'athists.

The fanatical Muslim Libyan colonels have also joined the "rejection front" which rejects negotiation or compromise with Israel. For Iraq and Libya, verbal intransigence towards Israel is cheap as they are not "confrontation states"—i.e., states which actually border Israel and have been involved in the major military confrontations. The military commitment of Iraq and Libya to the Palestinian cause is certainly dubious. During Black September, Iraq refused to use its 10,000 troops stationed in Jordan to defend the Palestinians who were being massacred by the Jordanian army.

### Syria: Agent of "Arab Revolution" or Counterrevolution?

Both Syria and the "rejection front" loudly denounced as a sellout last year's Egyptian-Israeli Sinai Agreement whereby in exchange for the return of its oil wells and some strategic passes Egypt agreed to an extension of UN "peace-keeping" forces in the Sinai. Yet without regaining an inch of the Golan Heights, Syria agreed to a six-month extension of the UN presence there in order to free up its own troops for Lebanon.

Following the Sinai Pact, both Syria and the Iraq-backed PFLP put themselves forward as the foremost champions of the Palestinians. The main faction in the PLO, Yasir Arafat's Fatah, had come to look towards the Damascus Ba'athists as protectors. The state of "cold war" which exists between the competing Iraqi and Syrian Ba'athists found its reflection in the Palestinian refugee camps, especially in Lebanon. Prior to the present civil war there was a mini-civil war in the refugee camps between the PFLP and the Syrian-backed Palestinian guerrilla group, As Saiqa.

At the beginning of the present civil war, the PLO and the so-called Muslim "left" led by Druze patriarch Kamal Jumblatt looked to Syria for support, even hoping for a Syrian military intervention. Now Syria, the self-proclaimed most intransigent of the "confrontation" states, is bombing Palestinian refugee camps and Jumblatt's Druze stronghold around Aleh! So the PLO and Jumblatt are now calling for the removal of the Syrian troops and their replacement by the Arab League's "peace-keeping" forces. But those forces now serve only as a cover for the Syrian invasion. The answer to the PLO's call for Arab League forces was 500 additional Syrian troops.

### Kremlin Embarrassed

Syria has suffered temporary diplomatic isolation as a result of its military occupation of Lebanon, which is also costing a million dollars a day. Kuwait and Saudi Arabia have cut off oil royalties to the Damascus regime and Iraq has cut off its supply of crude for the Syrian refinery at Homs and is no longer using Syrian pipelines, depriving Damascus of transit fees.

Further, Syria acutely embarrassed its Soviet military benefactors by conducting a massive invasion of Lebanon the very day Kosygin arrived in Damascus for a state visit. Upon Kosygin's return to Moscow, the Russian Stalinist regime stated:

> "The Syrian Arab Republic, on its part, time and again made statements saying that the mission of the troops it introduced into Lebanon is to help stop the bloodshed. Nevertheless, notice should be called to the fact that bloodshed continues in Lebanon today and blood flows in even greater streams."
>
> —*Daily World*, 11 June

However in Syria Kosygin assured his hosts that "the Soviet Union is committed, as before, to strengthening Syria's defense potential" (*Daily World*, 16 June). And Syria, in turn, is using this Russian-supplied "defense potential" to crush the Palestinians in Lebanon as U.S. imperialism and the Zionist state of Israel look on approvingly. In addition it has massed 6,000 troops, also armed with Russian weapons, along its Iraqi border to counter troop movements and threats from the Russian-armed Iraqis, who have for years threatened war over control of the waters of the Euphrates. Thus the USSR, spurned by Egypt, now finds its two remaining military clients in the Near East poised for war against one another.

### Not "Arab Revolution" but Workers Revolution

The Syrian invasion has created a dilemma for the revisionists and reformists who claimed that the Syrian-Egyptian armies in October 1973 were the carriers of an ever-unfolding "Arab Revolution." Now of course they are busily denouncing the Syrian army as the worst traitors to that mythical "process." And, predictably, these apologists for bourgeois nationalism throw their support behind a different set of presumed "progressives":

> "Regardless of any miserable maneuvers carried out by Jumblatt or other misleaders it is necessary to back the demand of the Lebanese and Palestinian people that the Syrian troops get out now and that Israel and the imperialists stay out."
>
> —*Intercontinental Press*, 14 June

In the guise of merely calling for the removal of Syrian troops, what *Intercontinental Press* is doing here is to give back-handed support to scab-nationalists like Jumblatt. Among Jumblatt's "miserable maneuvers" is his call for French imperialist troops to return to their former colonies—a call which has now been echoed by Egypt. In fact, if Jumblatt's program were to be realized and France intervened, revolutionists would find themselves militarily supporting the forces resisting the presence of the French and their Arab quislings.

In the present fluid conflict, and particularly given the rapidly shifting allegiances, none of these nationalist and communalist formations are fighting a just struggle that would merit military support from the class-conscious proletariat. No support can be given to those who invite French imperialist intervention. No support can be given to the Maronites and their Syrian backers, struggling to preserve the privileged position of the Maronites within Lebanon's religious-based, medievally hierarchial social order. All sides are squalid in this conflict of competing nationalist and religious groupings.

Because of the interpenetration of national and religious minorities in the

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# WV Exclusive

# Life in Videla's Jails

## Interview with Richard and Cristina Whitecross

Editor's Note: *We print below excerpts from an interview with Richard and Cristina Whitecross, two British citizens recently released from Argentine prisons where they were held for four and a half months without charge, first by the Perón government and then by the Videla junta. In the context of the international campaign to save Mario Muñoz, the Whitecrosses stress the perilous situation of Chilean refugees in Argentina and make particular reference to the plight of the ten Chileans and one Argentine arrested along with them in late November 1975. At the time of those arrests, the Partisan Defense Committee sent urgent protests to the Perón government, demanding release of the 13 frame-up victims, and organized a December 5 demonstration outside the Argentine mission to the United Nations.*

*WV:* What was the situation of foreign refugees in Argentina when you were there?

*Cristina:* What we knew about foreign refugees was mainly concerning Chilean refugees. It was difficult for them to get jobs; it was hard for them to find a place to live in. Those of them who were staying in the United Nations refugee places were also having a very hard time. Several months before we were arrested there were children who were seriously ill they couldn't get a doctor. They didn't seem to get help from anybody, and this is what led some of them to take over the United Nations High Commission for Refugees, and some of them left the country. The situation naturally worsened for those who stayed after that. In general, some Argentines were reluctant to help; others were willing to help but knew that they could be in trouble if they did.

After the coup apparently things got much worse, because all of the United Nations places were raided several times. Then nobody was allowed to register as a refugee after that. As far as I know, the problem now is that if you are not registered you cannot get help from the United Nations; at the same time you can't register.

*Richard:* We've mentioned the Chilean refugees, but certainly in jail one saw the numerous Paraguayan, Bolivian and Uruguayan refugees, too.

*WV:* What about the United Nations "camps"?

*Cristina:* They're houses, old houses where normally you would get, say, ten people to live in each but [now] you would get up to 40 or 50. The one that we knew only had one bathroom and there were about 30 people living in it. It was extremely difficult.

*Richard:* And although they're United Nations refuges presumably because the United Nations provides them money to pay the rent or originally took out the lease, there's no sort of sanctuary there for refugees. They were raided before the coup, they were raided the very night of the coup.

*WV:* Let me ask you something about your own arrest. First, what did they charge you with, if anything?

*Richard:* Well, they didn't tell us; they published something in the newspapers about four or five days after our arrest. Apart from Cristina and myself there was a Chilean who was in our flat and they arrested seven or eight other Chileans at about the same time. We were lumped together and accused of being members of a cell that was bringing money from Europe down into Chile and receiving information back from Chile. The fact that we didn't know anybody beyond the one person who was staying with us and two other people who happened to live in the same area didn't interest the police at all.

*Cristina:* Actually, according to one of the policemen who said to me the second time I was questioned, they were not really interested in the case at all; this was simply a favor being done for the DINA, the Chilean secret police, making it extremely clear that they were working together.

*Richard:* There's other evidence of this, too, in that one of the people who was arrested and whom we met in jail, his address book was taken and people he knew in Chile had their houses raided immediately after. The person who was in our flat when we were arrested was interrogated by a policeman using his Chilean political record, police documents brought from Chile, and there were questions asked specifically about somebody the Chilean police presumably suspected of being a double agent within the Chilean embassy.

*WV:* Can you describe conditions in the Argentine prisons? I understand that although you yourselves were not tortured that you had evidence of others being tortured.

*Cristina:* I think that 80 or 85 percent of the people were tortured, brutally tortured. We were simply lucky. When you are taken to police headquarters most people are tortured there and you can certainly hear the cries and shouts all night. Conditions in that big jail [Villa Devoto] were deteriorating; especially after the coup things were getting much worse. The food was very bad, doctors were not very helpful and there were too many people in each cell. They don't let you read, they don't let you do anything. One tries to do all these things all the same, but you know that you can be in trouble. In my ward we were punished four and a half months when I was there. That meant that we had no visits and for two and a half months no recreation periods either. Anything was an excuse to punish.

*Richard:* And no food parcels or anything of that type from outside, no books.

*WV:* How about those arrested with you, do you have any recent news?

*Richard:* The only news we have of people in general in Argentina is that only *one* appears to have been released of the 5,000 or so who were in jail when we were released. A further 5,000 have been arrested and we've only heard of one other person being released.

*Cristina:* This is Dr. Bustos, a Chilean who is now in Germany. He was the person who was in our flat. All the other people arrested together with us are still there. Some have applied for visas to enter this country; others to other countries. But so far they're still there.

*Richard:* They're all held in the same way that we were, which is to say, held without charge. Although the accusation was thrown down, even the police didn't take it sufficiently seriously to take action on it. Our fear during the time we were in jail up to the moment we were released was that they might well invent a charge against us. And this has been happening of late. Basically, under the terms of our arrest which equally applied to half the political prisoners when we were first arrested, the four or five thousand who were there then you could only be held for three months and automatically you had to be released and given a chance to leave the country.

This was made more and more difficult because, to begin with, you had to go to a non-neighboring country, so that you went as far as Colombia, and that was okay. Afterwards the military obliged you to go to somewhere other than in continental America, which meant that people who had families outside now had to borrow money and think of getting an air fare to Europe. And then, about three weeks before the coup took place, the military just simply didn't even bother to modify the constitution; they just held up the release orders and said that they would have to be reviewed one by one by a defense counsel presided over by Videla before he became the leader of the junta.

*Cristina:* In any case, after the coup this article of the constitution that allows you to leave after 60 working days was suspended. That was in the case of people like us where no charges were ever brought against us.

*WV:* What is the medical care, if any, of people in prison? In particular, I understand that one of the people arrested at this time, Gabriel Salinas, has serious eye problems and may go blind if he's not gotten out of prison.

*Richard:* Yes, that's true.

*Cristina:* Not just Gabriel Salinas, but also Mario Toer who was arrested with us, who got an infection while he was in jail.

*Richard:* As a result of having his eyes bandaged Toer developed conjunctivitis which was incorrectly diagnosed or incorrectly treated, and as a result of that a scar formed on his cornea which led to his needing weekly injections into the eye, a treatment just to regain some of the vision in his left eye. It's felt that he will need to have a cornea graft when he can get out of the country. In the case of Gabriel, I shared a cell with him for about half the time I was in jail. He lost his eyesight when he was about seven in a fireworks accident and regained it 11 years later through the insertion of an artificial cornea. He explained this to the people in the police headquarters when we were first arrested. We had our eyes bandaged and the police had paid no attention to the fact that his eyes were especially sensitive. He said before they bandaged his eyes that if he had bad eyesight when he went into prison, then he wouldn't have any eyesight at all when he left it. This is a danger for him if he doesn't receive the very specialized treatment that in fact he was going through Argentina on his way to Barcelona to receive, at the clinic where they had performed the original operation. He was due to be there six months ago to receive the operation again because of hemorrhaging and gradual loss of vision in his one eye.

Gamma

**Villa Devoto prison in Buenos Aires, 25 May 1973: 40,000 people stormed the Argentine capital's main prison to force release of all political prisoners.**

*WV:* Is there prisoner self-help and cooperation and aid?

*Richard:* Oh, yes. There was a coordinating committee on both floors where I was. Everything was decided democratically between the people on the floor, such as the decision as to whether to reject the food if it got particularly bad, the decision on what action to take if the search party was particularly violent, decisions on how to spend what little money came through. Various procedures had been arrived at through discussion by everybody, procedures for circulating the one newspaper we were allowed each day. Towards the end of the four and a half months I was there, two or three or four books arrived on our floor—other floors had rather more—the circulation of those books was again entirely organized. The decision as to behavior when there were

problems of discipline, especially in relationship to the guards and so forth: there would be somebody deputed to make protests at official levels, as far as one could see officials. I think I'll never see again so much solidarity between groups of people from all walks of life and of different interests.

*WV:* The Communist Party is supporting the coup, although the government has been rather ungrateful for this support. Were there Communist Party people in jail also?

*Cristina:* Yes, in general the Communist Party girls were in a separate ward because they chose to do it like that. We were on friendly terms with them, but they didn't really participate that much in our activities, especially with all the other groups that are illegal now. In general I think that they were highly suspicious of people who may have had something to do with the guerrillas, or with Trotskyist groups or with anybody else for that matter. But they were not unfriendly and some things were done together with them; not extremely much politically.

*WV:* Some people who are sympathetic to the cause of political prisoners feel that really our protests can't do much good, these governments don't care about picket lines and resolutions and lists of endorsers, and so on, and therefore one should concentrate on other things that are more effective in one's own country. Was it your experience that protests abroad had an effect on the Argentine government?

*Cristina:* I think it certainly does. I think that only international pressure can get these people released, and I think that in our case that certainly helped a lot. In the case of Dr. Bustos that's what got him out, and in the case of all the others who were left behind, I think that they all want as much done abroad as possible, because the Argentine junta among other things is extremely interested in having this image of their being nice chaps and not like Pinochet at all. They get extremely worried when things are done abroad and I think that it is important to do all these things in any of the European countries or anywhere else for that matter.

*Richard:* I entirely agree, and I think that the Chileans have found their hands tied and I hope it won't be long until the Argentine junta feels the weight of international disgust at the way in which people are being killed and repressed in Argentina. There was a sigh of relief, internationally when the coup took place in that the assumption was made, surely these people at least would organize things better. Well, they have organized things better from their point of view; it's just that they are continuing the repression they had begun under Mrs. Perón and through Mrs. Perón, and they're organizing it on a much more efficient scale. They're carrying it out on a wider level and there's no way of stopping it other than all the internal resistance that is going on and through international pressure. I think that both are tremendously important.

*WV:* Do you have anything else that you would like to say?

*Cristina:* We would like to save also Sergio Muñoz, Tito Pizarro and Alicia Pizarro, Gabriel Salinas, Ximena Savala, Caterina Palma and all the others left behind. ■


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## For a Citywide Strike Against Budget Cuts

# Mass Layoffs, Closures Threaten NYC Hospitals

JUNE 20—New York City hospital workers and the poor and working-class population face an imminent prospect of layoffs and the closing of major health-care units. The Health and Hospitals Corporation (HHC), which manages the city's 18 municipally owned hospitals, has earmarked four hospitals for extinction, in line with the massive NYC budget-cutting program. Three of these facilities—Sydenham Hospital in Harlem, Gouverneur Hospital on the Lower East Side and the Belvis Neighborhood Family Care Center in the South Bronx—provide services primarily to ghetto residents.

The layoffs entailed by the closing of these hospitals total 1,450. However, even more extensive cutbacks are envisioned by the HHC: another 1,700 employees are to be laid off from the remaining city hospitals. And this is *in addition to* the 5,000 city hospital employees who have already been laid off since last June 30, when NYC's massive austerity program was imposed. If the projected layoffs are carried out, almost one fifth of the entire labor force of the city hospitals will have been laid off in one year! Such drastic cutbacks in personnel are having a major impact on health services offered by municipal hospitals, which provide 90 percent of emergency care and 52 percent of out-patient care service in New York City.

Municipal hospital workers are represented by Local 420, which belongs to District Council 37 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME). D.C. 37 chief Victor Gotbaum initially threatened a strike against any hospital layoffs, blustering that he was personally prepared to go to jail for leading such an action, which is illegal under the state's Taylor Law. However, Gotbaum called off the strike scheduled for June 7 when it was announced that a "fact-finding" panel headed by prominent black Democrat Basil Patterson was being set up.

The Patterson report, issued June 17, attempts to provide the basis for a "compromise" solution. It calls for maintaining in-patient services at Sydenham, while eliminating the pediatric and obstetric units there and closing down the other three hospitals (possibly retaining nursing services at Gouverneur). Layoffs of workers whose jobs depend on the operation of these institutions are to be reduced from 1,450 to 852. The report recommends that the other 1,700 layoffs be delayed one month, when they "may become necessary" if no alternative means of financing is found

The Patterson report makes it clear that the union accepts the necessity to cut back the share of city funds allocated for hospital and health services: "The Union does not raise any issue over whether the Corporation or the City should make the indicated budgetary savings." Failing to challenge the city's austerity program, Gotbaum's only answer is to call for such highly improbable solutions as increasing state and Blue Cross subsidies.

Another Gotbaum stratagem is to siphon off city funds presently allocated to privately operated hospitals. Thus the report noted that "the alternative of seeking budgetary savings from the affiliation contracts with voluntary hospitals was urged by the Union." Such a "solution" would only shift the burden of layoffs from employees of city hospitals to those in the voluntary hospitals.

Of course, from the standpoint of AFSCME bureaucrat Gotbaum this is not "his" problem: after all, workers in private hospitals are organized in other unions, primarily Local 1199! It is entirely in character for this slick labor faker, who last year advocated "saving" D.C. 37 members' jobs from MAC cutbacks by throwing minority workers on federal training programs off the payroll instead, and who refused to lift a finger against the firing of thousands of "provisional" city workers, even where they were AFSCME members.

Local 1199, which itself has recently experienced layoffs, faces the expiration of its contract at the end of June. Instead of stabbing Local 1199 in the back Gotbaum-style, a militant leadership in AFSCME would call for a joint citywide hospital strike which would demand a shorter workweek with no loss in pay to create *more* jobs!

Given its acceptance of budget cutbacks, however, the Gotbaum leadership will undoubtedly cling to the wretched recommendations of the Patterson report. Already Gotbaum is claiming a partial victory, asserting that otherwise Gouverneur and Sydenham would have been shut down entirely. Even this "compromise" is not assured, however. The Patterson report has no official status. Although both the union and the city are supposed to be "studying" its recommendations, a fresh batch of 1,750 "pink slips" (layoff notices) was reportedly sent out June 17 and 18.

In the absence of decisive union leadership, a Citywide Coalition to Save the Municipal Hospitals has been set up. The Coalition—a loose conglomeration of community groups, would-be radicals and some hospital workers—held a demonstration June 16 which drew 250 people, including delegations of workers from several hospitals. The union chiefs did not build for the demonstration, but recognizing that the Coalition serves as a useful vehicle for letting an angry membership blow off steam, they did not discourage attendance at the rally and even sent one official, Clyde Goins, to address it.

A leaflet by the Citywide Coalition called for "No cutbacks, no layoffs, no closings and no compromises." Talk is cheap; the question is *how* to stop the city bosses' attack. And for this the Coalition has no program. In the abstract, even Gotbaum ostensibly stands behind just these principles. Significantly, none of the Coalition speakers criticized the union leadership, nor did the Coalition directly call for implementation of a strike against the cutbacks.

Pressure groups like the Citywide Coalition are no answer for hospital workers and the masses of city residents deprived of decent health care. The attacks on NYC's working people and poor can only be reversed by building class-struggle oppositions within the unions, committed to waging a fight to the finish against budget-slashing "austerity" policies dictated by Big MAC and the Emergency Financial Control Board, and to putting an end to the union misleaders' treacherous collaboration with their capitalist politician "friends" in Washington, Albany and City Hall.

In addition to the struggles of hospital workers, contracts covering firefighters, sanitationmen and D.C. 37 city administration employees expire June 30. Only a class-struggle labor leadership determined to launch militant strikes against the city wage freeze, the layoffs and cutbacks in health care, the city university system and other services can prevent the second year of New York's capitalist-engineered "fiscal crisis" from becoming another round of bitter defeats for NYC's working masses. ■

WV Photo

**NYC hospital workers demonstrating against threatened hospital closures last summer.**


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*continued on next page*

## Muñoz Delegation Barred From Argentine Mission to UN

# Videla's Ambassador Can't Hide Junta Terror

During the last week, reports of mass kidnappings, torture and wholesale assassinations have begun to pour out of Argentina. This has partially lifted the mask of respectability from the bloody junta and shocked world bourgeois opinion, which had been largely favorable to the generals who took power in Buenos Aires March 23. But the news reports also indicate that time is running out for effective protest to save the lives of endangered leftists, trade unionists and refugees from other South American military dictatorships.

The Committee to Save Mario Muñoz has campaigned tirelessly for the last two months to build support for the 36-year-old Chilean miners leader being hunted down by the Argentine junta. Through its efforts, endorsements for the Muñoz campaign have been gathered from a broad range of labor and socialist organizations and numerous individuals concerned to defend democratic rights. Except for Chilean MIR leader Edgardo Enriquez, arrested on April 10 and secretly turned over to Pinochet two weeks later, more than any other single individual Mario Muñoz Salas has become the focus of international protest against the rightist terror threatening political refugees in Argentina. Recent events underscore the need to redouble efforts to save this revolutionary workers leader!

Even prominent bourgeois politicians are now falling prey to the escalating right-wing terror. Found murdered recently were former Uruguayan senator Zelmar Michelini and the former president of Uruguay's Chamber of Deputies, Hector Gutierrez Ruiz, as well as the ex-president of Bolivia, Juan José Torres. Among the particular targets of the reactionary murder squads—the Argentine Anti-Communist Alliance (AAA) and Libertadores de América—have been Chilean refugees, from the most prominent (General Carlos Pratts, who was assassinated last year by the AAA) to thousands of unknown workers forced to flee from Pinochet's death camps.

Following the theft of documents revealing addresses of some 8,000 UN-recognized refugees last week, and the subsequent kidnapping and torture of two dozen Chileans from a refugee hotel in the capital (only half a block from a police station), the UN High Commission for Refugees has announced emergency efforts to bring refugees out of the country. In the U.S., even the Tolstoy Foundation, an admitted conduit for State Department funds which helped relocate the pimps and torturers of Thieu's puppet Saigon regime, found it expedient to go on record expressing concern for the fate of thousands of refugees trapped in Argentina.

WV Photo

**Demonstration outside Argentine mission to UN in New York last Friday protesting Videla regime's manhunt for Chilean militant Mario Muñoz.**

### Delegation Locked Out

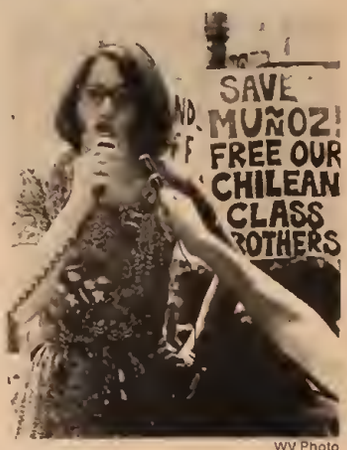
On Friday, June 19, the Committee to Save Mario Muñoz sponsored a demonstration opposite the Argentine mission to the United Nations in New York City, while a Committee delegation sought to meet with the Argentine ambassador to protest the manhunt and demand that Muñoz and his family be allowed to leave the country unhindered. However, after earlier assuring the Committee that an official would meet the delegation on Friday, the mission suddenly found itself unavailable to meet at any time on the agreed-upon day.

Moreover, when the delegation arrived they were even refused entrance to the front door of the building at 1 United Nations Plaza, where Videla's representatives sat behind locked doors on the 25th floor. After much negotiation with the guard, Daniel Berrigan, a member of the Committee delegation, remarked, "This must be a powerful statement to cause so much fear of it." Finally the declaration of protest was reluctantly conveyed upstairs by the guard, and Valerie West of the delegation addressed the picket line across the street.

Over 70 supporters of the Muñoz campaign marched opposite the Argentine mission and UN headquarters, their chants echoing off the glittering, silent glass walls behind which lurked the representatives of the blood-drenched junta. The protesters marched for close to an hour, chanting "Hands off Mario Muñoz—Working-class leader must not die!" and "Down with the junta—workers to power!" Among the participants were representatives of the Partisan Defense Committee (PDC), U.S.-based co-sponsor of the Committee to Save Mario Muñoz; the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League; the Revolutionary Socialist League; Revolutionary Marxist Organizing Committee; International Workers Party; and a contingent from Communist Cadre.

### Press Conference

Following the demonstration, a press conference was held at the Plaza Hotel. Speaking for the Committee to Save Mario Muñoz, Gracinha Soares gave a history of the persecution of this Chilean unionist threatened with death by military dictators on both sides of the Andes. Valerie West, staff counsel for the Partisan Defense Committee, spoke of the PDC's efforts on behalf of Muñoz and other threatened militants in Latin America. (The PDC is an anti-sectarian, class-struggle defense organization, whose work is in the tradition of the International Labor Defense during the 1920's and in accordance with the political aims of the Spartacist League.)




WV Photo

**PDC staff counsel Valerie West speaking to Muñoz demonstration at UN after delegation barred from Argentine mission to UN.**

As West pointed out, this is the second time in recent months that the PDC had gone to the Argentine mission to the UN to denounce right-wing repression. In December of last year it held a demonstration protesting the arrest of 13 persons accused of supplying money and guns to resistance groups in Chile. Then, too, the mission refused to receive a delegation at first, although an official finally agreed to accept a statement while remarking that there was nothing to worry about, since the Argentine judicial system was "quite a good one." Nevertheless, today only three of the 13 have been released, all of them because of international protests on their behalf (see interview with Richard and Cristina Whitecross in this issue of *WV*).

At first the junta's public relations experts were relatively successful in obscuring the reality of massive repression against labor and the left, West explained, but today they are no longer able to hide the river of blood behind

*continued on page 9*

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# Soweto ...

*(continued from page 1)*

church at the University of Zululand in Natal were razed to the ground. The University of the North at Turfloop was closed after students set fire to the recreation hall and the language laboratory. These universities have been centers of resistance to the apartheid regime and of solidarity with nationalist struggles in Angola and Mozambique. Nine members of the South African Students Organization (SASO) have been defendants in a months-long trial under the notorious Terrorism Act as the result of a pro-Frelimo rally held at the University of the North in September 1974. In recent months the black universities have been continually swept by dragnet raids to break the back of the militant "black consciousness movement."

Two hundred students from the white Witwatersrand University marching through the streets of Johannesburg to protest the murderous government repression were joined by hundreds of black and white bystanders. As they chanted "Power to Soweto" and raised clenched fists, policemen, reinforced by white railway workers and motorcycle gangs, viciously set upon them and dispersed the march. In Durban, black students attempting to march on the City Hall were also turned back by club-swinging police.

## 300 Demonstrate in NYC Against Soweto Massacre

WV Photo

**JUNE 19—Protesting the vicious police massacre unleashed by the Vorster regime to crush the rebellion of oppressed blacks in Soweto and other African "townships" near Johannesburg, about 350 people marched today on the South African mission to the United Nations in New York. The protest, called on one day's notice by the Pan African Students Association of the Americas (PASOA), began at Times Square and demonstrators marched chanting through the streets toward the UN until police forced them onto the sidewalks.**

**Meanwhile, yesterday two unidentified black men walked into the South African Airways office in broad daylight, smashing the plate glass windows and busting up office equipment inside while snapping pictures of the action. Police, however, say they cannot determine whether this incident was related to the Soweto massacre!**

**Participants in today's demonstration included Youth Against War and Fascism (YAWF), the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League (SL/SYL), a representative of the Pan African Congress, the May 1st Anti-Apartheid Day Committee (a YAWF-dominated bloc), SASO 9 Defense Committee, Partisan Defense Committee (PDC), Communist Cadre and the Socialist Workers Party (SWP). Glaringly absent were any of the Maoist groups. Following Peking's bloc with white-supremacist South Africa and U.S. imperialism against the MPLA in Angola, the Mao Stalinists evidently found it inconvenient to show up at a demonstration denouncing their ally's murderous onslaught against the black masses of South Africa.**

**Unfortunately, sectarian practices continue to characterize the activities of PASOA. Thus the SL/SYL contingent of approximately 60 people, one of the largest at the march, was denied a speaker at the rally even though, for example, the National Student Coalition Against Racism (NSCAR), having mobilized only a handful of NSCAR/SWP supporters, was given speaking time.**

**Nevertheless, the militant SL/SYL contingent set much of the angry tone for the demonstration. The Spartacist banner, "Smash Apartheid Through Workers Revolution," and placards proclaiming "Sharpeville, Soweto—Avenge the Martyred Militants" contrasted sharply to YAWF's insipid "Down with Apartheid, Stop the Killing Now" or the SWP's mealy-mouthed liberal "End the Murders in South Africa" slogans. Several times during the march the crowd picked up the SL chant "Down with Apartheid, Workers to Power," until YAWF marshals instructed their ranks to chant instead "Down with Apartheid, Stop the Genocide."**

**Other Spartacist placards called for "Smash the Racist Regimes in South Africa, Rhodesia and Namibia," "For the Right of Trade Union Organization," "Smash the Racist Bantustan Schemes," "Smash Vorster's Police State Regime" and "For the Rebirth of the Fourth International." Signs carried by representatives of the Partisan Defense Committee demanded "Free SASO, NUSAS, ANC Victims of Apartheid," referring to members of the South African Students Organization, National Union of South African Students and African National Congress currently on trial under Vorster's catch-all Terrorism Act. Another PDC sign called for freeing South West African People's Organization (SWAPO) militants sentenced to death by the white supremacist courts.■**

### Soweto—Symbol of Oppression

The dispute which sparked the Soweto massacre on Wednesday is indicative of the all-pervasive oppression of non-whites in South Africa. In line with the Afrikaner-based Nationalist Party's program of forcibly reintroducing tribal divisions and cultural backwardness, instruction in one of seven tribal "mother tongues" became the norm in "Bantu" primary schools beginning in the mid-1950's. For the small minority of blacks able to attend secondary schools, English, the language of industry and commerce (and hence a necessity for economic advancement), was the rule until recently.

In 1974, however, authorities in the Transvaal, the province in which Soweto is located, introduced Afrikaans as a second co-equal instructional language in the secondary schools. For the black students, this reinforced the enormous burden of acquiring academic skills and was seen as a callous act of cultural subjugation, forcing them to learn the language of the hated ruling party. A month ago, a boycott started at Phefeni Junior Secondary School and soon spread to seven other schools, leading up to the mass anti-Afrikaans march on June 16.

The language dispute is but one of the innumerable excrescences of the apartheid system. Soweto contains a population of over 1,000,000 black people in 35 square miles. Of its 102,000 tightly crammed bungalows, perhaps half have cold running water, less than a quarter have electricity and only 15 percent have inside bathrooms. The average family income is $46 a month. Because blacks are regarded as migrants anywhere in South Africa except for the meager 13 percent of the land designated as "tribal homelands," the residents of Soweto cannot own land or the houses in which they live.

To the white oppressors, Soweto exists in a virtual fourth dimension of rigid segregation. It contains more than 5 percent of the *entire* black population of the country, yet from Johannesburg, ten miles away, no signposts even indicate its existence. A thick pall of smoke from coal and wood stoves envelops the town, making it nearly invisible from even the highest buildings in Johannesburg.

Africans living in the townships are locked in by a maze of police-state laws. Only those who were born in the township and have lived there continuously, or have worked in the area continuously for 15 years, or have worked for the same employer for ten years, have a right to remain there. For the 4 million Xhosas (of whom 1.3 million live outside their so-called "homeland" and 83,000 in the Johannesburg area), even this tenuous right is threatened. The Vorster government is pushing a bill through Parliament which would strip all Xhosas of their remaining "citizenship rights" when the Transkei becomes independent in October.

Blacks' employment, education, travel, family relations, etc. are tightly controlled by the pass books which each must carry. These voluminous document files restrict their daily movements and are minutely scrutinized by white officials. Failure to produce the book at any time can lead to imprisonment, forced labor in private farms or deportation to a "bantustan," and some half a million blacks are arrested every year for "pass offenses."

As the government plunges ahead with its so-called "separate development" scheme, tens of thousands of black workers are being thrown out of jobs, supposedly to find employment in "border industries" to be created on the fringes of the bantustans. Townships like Alexandra, situated uncomfortably close to affluent white areas, are being forcibly resettled according to the master plan. The rebellion in the townships is thus played out against a backdrop of mounting black discontent with the conditions of government repression and economic insecurity. And all this while independent black regimes have come to power in the neighboring former Portuguese colonies (Angola and Mozambique), rekindling the just aspirations of South African blacks to rule the country.

### Black Labor: Achilles Heel of Apartheid

But Soweto is more than a symbol of the agonizing squalor and discrimination that are the lot of non-whites. It also represents the Achilles heel of apartheid—the ever-growing demand for black labor to work the factories and mines of the white capitalists. Not even Vorster believes that all 18 million blacks will eventually settle in the "bantustans." "Separate development" is designed to minimize the black population in the economically strategic centers of South Africa. The *only* blacks allowed in "white South Africa" are those who produce profits for their masters.

The township explosions that rocked the Witwatersrand follow close upon a period of labor unrest and escalating militancy among urban blacks. Under the impact of the world capitalist depression, black workers, joined in Natal province by their Indian class brothers, smashed through the near-solid wall of repression that descended upon the country following Sharpeville. A wave of strikes in January and February of 1973 involved 60,000 workers (compared to a mere 6,376 workers who took part in recorded strikes throughout 1971-72). The Durban area was nearly paralyzed by the walkout of manufacturing, construction and government workers. These strikes spurred a surge of organization of Africans into trade unions (still only 60,000 out of the 5-million-strong black proletariat of South Africa). Although these unions are not recognized either by the government or the employers, black workers fought to be represented by their own organizations, not by corporatist management/worker committees.

The Pretoria regime met this strike wave with a two-pronged approach. The gold miners, a majority of whom are migrants from neighboring African countries, were frequently subjected to the traditional methods—the revolver and the baton. Thirty-seven of them were murdered by police in 1974. But in the Johannesburg and Durban areas, the government trod somewhat more carefully. Police charges were temporarily supplanted by limited concessions—wage increases and factory "liaison committees" to handle grievances.

In recent months a new rash of strikes has broken out—shipyard workers in Durban, factory workers in Germiston—despite a clear return by the government to hard-line tactics. The Black Metal and Allied Workers Union in Durban has enlisted the support of the British Trades Union Congress in pressing its demands for recognition by the South African subsidiary of Leyland Motors. In Johannesburg this March, a demonstration against the political trial of seven anti-apartheid activists was bolstered by over 1,500 black workers, about to leave for home at the railroad station, who turned it into a militant confrontation with local police.

By rigidly restricting township residence to blacks employed in the white-owned economy (of course at the lowest levels), the "master race" theorists have ensured that any serious unrest in the townships will almost inevitably take on a proletarian charac-

ter. As the Witwatersrand townships rebelled, the press carried accounts of the organization of "stay at home strikes," essentially mass strikes in which factory and mine workers clustered together in compact areas distant from their work places can shut off the flow of labor to many capitalists in a single stroke. However, the "township" system gives the government an enormous military advantage.

### Ruling Class Divisions

While all sections of the white ruling class benefit from the superexploitation and militarization of black labor, there are certain divisions on how best to protect white privileges and bourgeois rule. The largely English-speaking United Party (UP), representing major private capitalist interests, opposes the more egregious aspects of "separate development," as on the question of Xhosa citizenship, and the more blatantly repressive government measures such as the preventive detention Promotion of State Security Bill. But at every crucial stage—in 1909-10, when the terms of Anglo-Afrikaner unification were being decided; in 1936, when the Cape Africans were removed from the common voters' role—the English-speaking bourgeoisie collaborated in building the structure of white supremacy.

Facing the recent resurgence of black militancy, the UP has become an increasingly tame opposition. Its most liberal wing split last year, merged with the Progressive Party and formed the Progressive Reform Party (PRP). This small party opposes apartheid and claims to champion racial equality. However, the PRP does not even support the most elementary principle of bourgeois democracy—universal suffrage. Rather, it favors electoral rights based on educational achievement, a disguised form of white supremacy. Moreover, the party's association with gold baron Harry Oppenheimer, a prime beneficiary of the colonialist contract mine labor system, indicates that the PRP's apparent liberalism is largely for foreign consumption, grist for the propaganda mills that encourage investment in South Africa because capitalist development will supposedly ease racial segregation. Nothing could be farther from the truth.

Both the UP and PRP oppose the exclusion of blacks from skilled and semi-skilled job categories because it creates labor shortages and maintains artificially high wage levels for white workers (in the Cape Province many "coloured" or mulatto workers hold semi-skilled jobs intermediate between blacks and whites). The Nationalist Party, in power since 1948, staunchly defends the industrial color bar. It tries to overcome skilled labor shortages by encouraging white immigration, holding out the lure of immediate access to the privileges of the labor aristocracy.

These privileges are no small incentive. White workers' wages in manufacturing average five times those of blacks; in mining the reported wage gap is 19 to 1. Actually, it is much higher 20 to 1 overall—and wider today than 40 years ago. With the rabid support of the labor aristocracy and their strategic control of the state apparatus, including the well-armed military, the Nationalists will defend white *Baasskap* (overlordship) at all costs, dragging the UP in their wake.

In 1953 Hendrik Verwoerd, Vorster's predecessor, wrote of the black man: "There is no place for him in the European community above the level of certain forms of labor.... Until now he has been...misled...by showing him the green pastures of European society in which he was not allowed to graze" (quoted in Franz Lee, *Anatomy of Apartheid*, 1966). To this day, such is the guiding philosophy of the regime.

### For Workers Revolution Through Smashing Apartheid!

Afrikaner Nationalist Party policy—the apartheid system—is designed above all to suppress black insurrection. As capitalists, the South African ruling class seeks to maximize its profits through the exploitation of labor. But as nationalists of an oppressor minority, it is committed to preventing the black population from attaining even rudimentary bases for political power. Thus a white labor aristocracy is artificially maintained at the expense of short-term profitability.

Rigid racial separation is an essential element in the deployment of overwhelming military force against the black masses. The consolidation of Nationalist rule since 1948 has required extensive police state terror measures (under the legal cover of the Suppression of Communism Act and the Terrorism Act), not only toward blacks but also against those whites advocating a multi-racial society. This repression was directed in particular against the workers movement, a policy exemplified by the suppression during the 1950's of South Africa's very few integrated trade unions, most notably a union of black and Boer women garment workers headed by Communist Party leader Solly Sachs.

The system of superexploiting black workers as migrant (and quite often contract) laborers must be destroyed. The key immediate demands of the black workers movement should be abolition of the color bar for all jobs, establishment of multi-racial trade unions, abolition of the pass system and of the compulsory labor contract system. These demands will tend to break down the labor-aristocratic caste status of the white workers.

The concentration and superexploitation of the black proletariat means that any extension of democratic rights points directly toward workers revolution. This accounts for the bitter-end commitment to massive military terror on the part of the white ruling class. However, the strategic economic position of black workers enables them to force concessions even from hardline Afrikaner reactionaries. The 1973-74 strike wave resulted in the Vorster regime tolerating and even (to a limited degree) bargaining formally with illegal black unions. This important development gives the lie to petty-bourgeois nationalists who deny the power of the proletariat, instead hailing impotent guerrillaism.

The South African revolution is more than a simple class question. It is through smashing apartheid that the road will be opened to a black-centered workers and peasants government. A Trotskyist leadership must be forged that can channel the militant plebeian currents in the African "townships" into a class-conscious and disciplined workers movement (whether legal or illegal, open or clandestine), and link the struggles of the black working class for economic gains and elementary democratic rights to the fight for proletarian power. ■


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# Palestinian Nationalist...

*(continued from page 2)*

the independence of trade unions from the state. To forge proletarian solidarity to uproot both Zionism and the bourgeois Arab nationalism promoted by the reactionary sultans and colonels, the Israeli Hebrew working class above all must recognize that its own class interests require that it wage an uncompromising struggle against the brutal national oppression imposed upon the Palestinians.

Although he criticizes the petty-bourgeois nationalist PLO leadership, Faris is led to give backhanded support to the reactionary Arab nationalists: "the Middle East conflict at the level of Israel-Palestine is above all a conflict between Zionism, embodied in the state of Israel, and the Palestine movement for national liberation" and *not* "essentially between national bourgeoisies that have enthralled the interests of their masses to their own." We deny Faris' assertion that the principal force on the Arab side is the "Palestinian movement for national liberation." The real military threat to Israel does not come from the Palestinian guerrillas, but from the Arab bourgeois states—primarily Egypt and Syria—whose motives have nothing to do with Palestinian national liberation. After Black September, after the Syrian action in Lebanon, Faris can scarcely expect his readers to believe that the wars of 1967 and 1973 were fought to achieve the national rights of the Palestinians.

Faris repudiates the class war and thereby rejects the only real road forward for the oppressed working masses of the Near East. Only the revolutionary transformation of property relations and the establishment of a binational proletarian dictatorship in a socialist federation of the Near East can provide the framework for the eradication of national oppression and the just resolution of the competing national claims of the Hebrew and Arab peoples. ■

# Lebanon...

*(continued from page 3)*

Near East, none of which has the decisive social weight to consolidate a modern nation-state, the conflict of competing national antagonisms, exploited and exacerbated by imperialism, can be resolved only under the leadership of the revolutionary proletariat. The democratic and national rights of the peoples of the Near East can be won and safeguarded not by a supposedly classless (hence non-existent) "Arab Revolution" but by a socialist revolution led by the proletariat, the only class which can rise above the historically accumulated religious and national hatreds and rally to its banner all the oppressed and exploited masses for whom capitalism means only the continuation of national degradation and fratricidal wars. ■


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# State Workers...

*(continued from page 2)*

wealth Auditorium in Boston, where the state's insulting contract offer was rejected, no discussion was allowed from the floor, the ranks were told precisely nothing about what actions the leadership planned to take or even what the union's current bargaining proposal was! This insult to the membership in the guise of a mass meeting lasted a grand total of 20 minutes.

There is no strike fund whatsoever, and bail money for the picketers arrested at Grove Hall Monday has had to be raised by passing the hat among strikers, without any assistance from the union. At Furnald State School for the Mentally Retarded, where a 150-200 strong picket line was formed despite low union membership, the picketers, many of whom were not even union members, received little guidance from the few union representatives present and were compelled to make their own picket signs. Militancy also varies tremendously from one location to the next. Whereas at some locations such as the Grove Hall Welfare Office, picketers militantly battled scabs and cops, at others secretaries were allowed to picket during their lunch hours and then return to work!

Scabbing—by almost 30 percent of the unionized workforce—must be halted or the strike will be destroyed. Mass picket lines must be set up and defended, to stop scabbing and police strikebreaking. Although obviously the unions must make provisions for certain items like emergency medical care, widespread scabbing by nurses and performance of duties by bridgetenders under the guise of carrying out "vital functions" must cease. Union officials are calling for federal mediation of the strike, no doubt as an excuse to pare down the bargaining demands. Strikers must instead insist on a substantial pay boost, full cost-of-living escalator clause, an iron-clad no-layoff clause in a one-year contract, an end to all restrictions on the unions' right to strike, and no victimizations or fines. This can only be carried out through democratically elected strike committees, which will vigilantly guard against betrayals by the labor bureaucrats. ■


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# Junta Terror...

*(continued from page 7)*

locked doors. She noted several other victims of the rightist terror, among them Enriquez, PRT/ERP guerrilla leader Mario Roberto Santucho (reported captured in early June, although not yet confirmed), film director Raimundo Glaser, labor lawyer Roberto Singaglia and physician Lierof Manuel, a refugee from Uruguay.

Describing the brazen kidnapping of 25 persons from a UN refugee hotel on June 10, West remarked:

> "The gunmen who broke in and kidnapped them, drove the Ford Falcons that are known as the official car of the federal police and the unofficial car of the unofficial police, the death squads..., which have run their murderous night and fog operations with official sanction, often using official police identification."

The terrorization of refugees, she noted, is no longer dismissed as a figment of the imagination of "extremists." "The Videla junta says that none of this is going on," West added.

> "But whatever they claim, they no doubt understand that they cannot for too much longer hide their torture centers as office buildings. They will soon no longer attempt to hide their electric cattle prods, rubber hoses and machine guns under their business suits and respectable epaulettes. Time for effective pressure may be running out."

**ONTARIO NDP TELEGRAM TO GENERAL VIDELA**

**Ontario New Democratic Party convention protests persecution of Chilean union leader Mario Muñoz Salas. Urge you call off manhunt, prevent extradition to Chile and grant him and his family permission to leave Argentina unharmed.**

**—approved at ONDP convention, Kingston, Ontario, 11-12 June 1976**

### Labor and Left Support

The PDC spokesman noted that, "It is often not easy to gather support for a man who has spent all his life organizing miners in northern Chile, an impoverished district." But this has also led to important international labor support for Muñoz precisely because he is a workers leader. In the U.S., the United Auto Workers (UAW) assistant director of international affairs informed the Committee that "our union has taken his case as part of a general protest to the Argentine authorities," and last week UAW president Leonard Woodcock sent Videla a telegram expressing concern for the fate of Muñoz. The Friday demonstration was given several minutes coverage on WBAI radio.

In Canada, the campaign has received the endorsement of the Canadian Labour Congress (CLC); David Archer, president of the Ontario Federation of Labour; and, importantly, from the Sudbury District Labour Council—miners in Canada supporting Chilean miners. The New Democratic Party (NDP), which is linked to the CLC, and NDP leaders have backed the campaign at both national and local levels. The most recent expression of NDP support was a telegram sent from its Ontario convention to General Videla demanding that Muñoz be granted safe conduct out of Argentina.

In Australia, the Muñoz defense effort has been endorsed by several important unions, including the Seamen's Union, the Waterside Workers Federation, the Union of Postal Clerks and Telegraphists, and branches of the Transport Workers and Ship Painters and Dockers Union. In Britain, the campaign is supported by the Miners International Federation and the North London aggregate of the National Union of Teachers. The Muñoz defense has also been endorsed by British Labour Party and Australian Labor Party members of parliament, while in Europe prominent Socialist and Communist Party legislators are among the endorsers.

West announced further plans of the Committee, which projects two important delegations in the next weeks: one to Geneva to the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, and a second to Washington, D.C., to register a protest with the Argentine ambassador.

Fr. Daniel Berrigan was the third speaker at the press conference, vividly expressing the hellish situation of the refugees and the urgency of the campaign to save Mario Muñoz. The refugees, he said, "go not from one torture chamber or regime into freedom, but find themselves in another cell of the same nightmare. So the passage from Chile to Argentina has been shown to be a passage into nowhere."

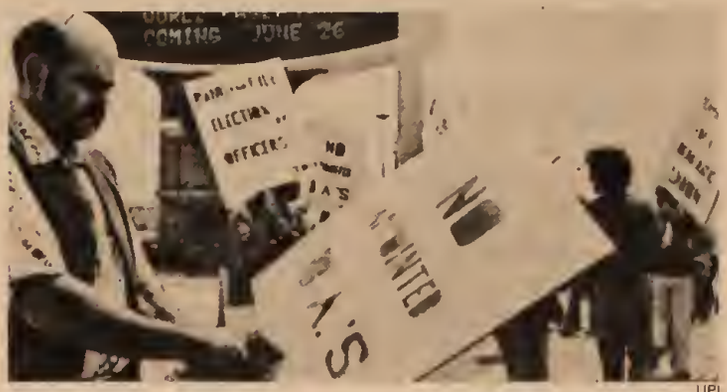
Charles Brover, co-chairman of the Partisan Defense Committee, concluded the press conference with a statement of determination to push on and achieve success in saving the life of Muñoz and focusing world attention on the tragedy unfolding in Argentina: "This is a skirmish in the larger battle for coverage of this case and that of Argentine refugees in general," he said. "There's an obvious conspiracy not to cover what's happening in Argentina.... That's the reason we were refused entrance by the ambassador, because he knows that if we can get in to make our points, we have more chance to get our case known, to expose the plight of the refugees, and that means the more they will stand exposed.... This battle is by no means over."■

# Teamster Convention...

*(continued from page 12)*

last six years, Teamster sweetheart contracts were used by employers to try to break the United Farm Workers.) At the convention, he blatantly attempted to cover up Teamster collaboration with the growers by falsely asserting to reporters: "When we met Chavez head to head in elections, we won the overwhelming majority of those elections." In fact, the UFW won most of the contested elections.

Teamster president Fitzsimmons has been the only strong supporter of Nixon and Ford in organized labor, and the Ford administration has so far handled the union with kid gloves. In fact, W.J. Usery, Jr., U.S. Labor Secretary and nominal head of the Labor Department investigation, was a guest speaker at the convention where he hailed the Teamster leaders as outstanding representatives of their members. This predictably led to an uproar among Democratic leaders in Congress, and the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee announced its intention to investigate the Ford Administration's investigation into the union. Meanwhile, the IBT convention refused to endorse a presidential candidate for the 1976 elections, no doubt waiting to see if Ford's outlook would improve.




UPI

**TDU leader Pete Camarata outside Teamster convention in Las Vegas last week.**

Revolutionaries are unequivocally opposed to government investigations into union affairs, whether carried out under the guise of eliminating corruption or whatever. The roots of corruption lie in the collaboration of union leaders with the bourgeoisie and cannot be eliminated by the capitalist state, the executive committee of the ruling class. The Teamsters union is no exception. The Fitzsimmons clique consolidated its grip thanks to the Kennedy crusade against Jimmy Hoffa, who in turn had gained power in the late 1950's after the McClellan committee prosecution of former president Dave Beck. Government investigations do not lead to cleaning up the unions but only to greater government limitations over them; the notorious Taft-Hartley law, for instance, was motivated by fighting corruption and communism alike.

Despite all the fanfare created by PROD's lengthy published exposé of Teamster corruption, the group—largely a creature of lawyer Arthur Fox—was essentially excluded from the convention because it had no base among the rank and file. PROD was eventually given a token 60 seconds to present its case at the convention. However, the union proceedings were essentially irrelevant to PROD. Fox had predicted beforehand that his amendments would be turned down, and then he would go to the courts and federal agencies to decide the issues (*New York Times*, 28 May).

Teamsters for a Democratic Union (whose favorite attorney is none other than Arthur Fox), set up a small picket line outside the convention on the first day and did manage to scrape up a few delegates, mainly from Detroit. TDU leader Pete Camarata was the victim of a goon attack outside a convention party held June 19. Although one suspect was caught, Camarata reportedly refused to press charges because police "tore up the report and said we would be wasting our time." This is not surprising, since the Las Vegas entertainment industry is heavily bankrolled by Teamster funds (to the tune of $130 million) and the city is unwilling to antagonize its investors.

TDU had initially planned to focus its convention fight around a series of union reforms, including direct membership election of the president, right to recall all union officers, election of all business agents and the right to separately ratify local contract supplements. However, its actual intervention was confined to limiting the salaries of union officials. Camarata put forward a proposal to limit the president's income to a mere $100,000! Despite the pathetically timid nature of this ("anti-bureaucratic"?!) resolution, it was roundly defeated by the assembled bureaucrats, most of whom owe their livelihood to Fitzsimmons or one of his cohorts.

People Weekly

**IBT president Frank Fitzsimmons.**

PROD and TDU are equally incapable of counterposing a class-struggle program to the class collaboration of the Fitzsimmons bureaucracy. It is not accidental that at the convention they ignored fundamental issues like raiding the Farm Workers, the need for a workers party, the fight for a shorter workweek with no cut in pay, or even the current Teamster strikes of warehousemen in northern California and of employees of Associated Trucking, concentrating instead on "union reform" issues. Despite all their chatter about "reforming" the union, the strategy of both groups is based on bringing the bosses' courts into the labor movement, which is the very antithesis of workers democracy. With their fundamental lack of confidence in the rank and file, these snivelling reformists are reduced to being cheerleaders for a government investigation of the union.■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# Rubber Strikers March in Akron

AKRON—An estimated 2,000 members and supporters of the striking United Rubber Workers (URW) union marched and rallied here in the industry's center June 18. This demonstration of continued support for the nine-week-old strike is a tribute to the militancy of the rank and file in the face of the absence of strike benefits, the hard-line stance of the Big Four rubber companies and the treachery of the URW leadership.

The strategy of URW president Peter Bommarito has proven totally ineffective. Scabbing continues within a few blocks of the International's headquarters, as Bommarito refuses to initiate mass picketing at struck plants.

The strike should have provided a springboard to organized non-union rubber plants. Instead, large numbers of URW members at General Tire, Kelly-Springfield, Dunlop and Mohawk continue to work on a day-to-day basis without a contract. In all, *40 percent* of the nation's tire-making capacity remains in operation.

Auto makers, who built up large inventories before the strike, are confident of continued tire supplies through model changeover in the late summer, and Bommarito has refused to call on auto workers to launch a sympathy strike. Tires continue to be shipped to dealers as Bommarito's consumer boycott has proven impotent in cutting off supplies. Dealers even continue to advertise tire sales.

One union official asserted that this was the first mass labor march in Akron since the 1930's. However, in the face of the URW leadership's sellout policies such a comparison with the 1930's, when militant tactics like the sit-in were initiated, is deliberate cynicism. Rubber workers are more than willing to fight. When Bommarito mentioned the possibility of occupying factories, the crowd applauded thunderously and cries were heard urging a march on General Tire (whose plant in Akron continues to work without a contract).

Bommarito boasted to *Workers Vanguard*, "I could stir it up." He quickly added, however, that he wouldn't do so for fear of playing into the hands of "communistic elements," and made reference to the disruption of Hubert Humphrey's speech by angry workers at the AFL-CIO jobs rally in April 1975.

The conventional anti-communism of the American labor bureaucracy will not shield it from being justly despised by the working class for its class collaboration with the bourgeoisie and its political agents like Humphrey. It is precisely such pro-capitalist "leaders" as Meany, Woodcock and Bommarito, who are the principal obstacles to victory in labor struggles such as the present drawn-out rubber strike. ■

**Blow-Up in the Near East**

*Speaker: Joseph Drummond*

Time. Fri June 25, 7:30 pm
Buchanan YMCA
Geary, Buchanan Sts

**SAN FRANCISCO**

# ILWU Militants...

*(continued from page 12)*

down docks and truck lines if necessary to defend the strike.

### Boycott of Struck Products Voted by Longshoremen

The basis for solidarity actions is already clearly present among the ranks. Sacramento ILWU warehouse Local 17 joined the strike last week, after having been bureaucratically separated from Local 6 in the negotiations, with Sacramento longshore Local 18 honoring Local 17's picket lines. More significant was the approval given by the membership of San Francisco longshore Local 10 to a motion coming from the executive board, initiated by "Longshore Militant" supporter Stan Gow, calling for "hot-cargo" boycotts of struck products by longshoremen and support for warehouse picket lines. This approval still awaits action by Local 6 and Local 10 leaders before it can be implemented, however.

But while the employers have gone on the rampage, class struggle is the furthest thing from the minds of the Teamster and ILWU leaders. Instead of tapping the power of labor through solidarity actions, ILWU bureaucrats seek out Democratic "friends of labor" such as S.F. mayor George Moscone and push even harder the illusion that the state and its cops can somehow be "won over" to the side of the workers. A Local 6 bulletin following the attack at Automatic Plastic Molding referred to "*your* local cops" as having arrested the strikers!

That such class-collaborationist ploys will come to no avail was demonstrated by the results of a union delegation to the Berkeley city council. Following the Automatic Plastic arrests by Berkeley police, ILWU members led by Local 6 president McClain marched the same day to a Berkeley city council meeting to protest. However, Local 6 business agent Evelyn Johnson couched the "protest" in the form of a demand that the city council "take their responsibility in hand." The union spokesman called the police attack "a shame." The delegation failed even to demand that the charges against the arrested picketers be dropped!

Supporters of reformist Communist Party views of course quickly joined in the grovelling before the city council. *People's World* reporter and Berkeley City Human Relations Commission member Mark Allen demanded a strong statement "outlawing scabbing." Not to be outdone, Local 6 chief steward and board of trustees member Joe Lindsay complained that the brutal force used by the police had been "excessive," and indignantly noted that he had voted for some of the present city council members in previous elections! On the right side of the class line, however, was an ILWU striker and supporter of the Militant Caucus in Local 6, who denounced the scabbing as "an attack on the union," and, without raising any illusions in the council or its cops, demanded that the council "get your police away from us!"

### Berkeley City Council Presents Liberal Facade

Presenting a facade of embarrassment— as if the actions of its police were previously unknown to it—the council daubed on some cosmetic formulas to try to cover the gaping holes in its liberal image. One was an emergency ordinance stating that pickets "shall have the right to prevent access to a plant unless a company gets an injunction stating otherwise"! As if the loophole in this measure wasn't massive enough—employers can always obtain such injunctions—the city manager noted under questioning that it was meaningless anyway since state law prevents precisely this right!

Another resolution ordered police to release arrested picketers on their own recognizance or issue citations, instead of imposing high-bail charges. But even this bit of make-up was exposed by a clause calling simply for a written explanation in the (likely) event that the cops decline to let arrested strikers go! A third resolution called for an anti-scabbing ordinance to be brought in by the city manager, "for study."

Naturally the Communist Party hailed this liberal bunk as a "victory," continuing to parade illusions in the proposed anti-scabbing ordinance. But militant workers can afford no such illusions. The San Francisco anti-scabbing ordinance did not help the city workers one whit in their recent strike (in which there was massive picket-line crossing), nor did "friend of labor" Moscone use it in the strike at Clinical Specialties.

Furthermore, the avowed policy of ILWU Local 6 leaders, supported in the pages of the *People's World* and upheld on the picket lines by "militants" like Joe Lindsay, is to let "supervisors," "office workers" and members of other unions through the picket lines! With such policies by union leaders and CP hacks, employers have little to fear from a liberal "anti-scabbing" ordinance.

Separate deals with independent houses continue to undermine the strike. Pabco Fiberboard workers have been ordered back to work this week by Local 6 leaders on the basis of a separate rotten proposal the leadership is pushing despite lack of membership approval of the terms. In Pabco's case, workers are being sent back with no protection against layoffs despite the employer's announced intention to move to Denver soon! The negotiators dropped the workers' original demands for one year's Supplementary Unemployment Benefits or a one-year guarantee against layoffs; instead, they agreed to *one week's severance pay* for each *year* at work!

The Militant Caucus, a class-struggle opposition in Local 6, has pointed the way toward countering the employer offensive:

> "To centralize and coordinate the strike the membership must organize a joint ILWU-IBT strike committee with delegates elected from every house. Members of the strike committee must be recallable at any time if they fail to carry out membership decisions. The strike committee must establish effective mass flying squads to defend the union against police attacks and smash injunctions.... The joint strength of the ILWU and IBT up and down the Coast, in warehouse, on the docks and on the road can smash the employer offensive."
>
> —"Warehouse Militant," 18 June

Local 10 membership approval of the "hot-cargoing" motion brings solidarity closer, but detailed motions for implementing this policy made by "Longshore Militant" supporters were tabled to the executive board. Cooperation for this militant policy is needed from the Local 6 leadership to identify struck cargo, for instance, and extracting this cooperation is now left up to the Local 10 leadership—not a very good prospect for success. The Local 6 leadership failed to send a delegation to the longshoremen's meeting. The Local 10 members, however, were also prepared to boycott all goods from South Africa in protest of the recent Soweto massacres and passed another motion put forward by "Longshore Militant" to that effect.

### Stalinist Hacks Sabotage Strike

Meanwhile, as the leadership stalls on solidarity, outrageous charges have been brought against Stan Gow by Joe Lindsay of Local 6 and his co-thinker in Local 10, Bill Proctor. According to recent issues of "Longshore Militant" and "Warehouse Militant," Gow, who was subsequently arrested for defending the picket line at Automatic Plastic Molding, was charged with "inciteful" and "provocative" behavior on the picket line at Golden Grain a few days earlier. It was *Lindsay* who demanded that *supervisors* and *office workers* be *let through that line*! He even arranged a deal with the company to give official union sanction to this, while Gow vigorously opposed such a sellout policy! *This* is the "provocative" behavior charged by Lindsay and Proctor.

Thus the numerous supporters of Communist Party views in the Local 6 leadership are not satisfied with letting scabs through the lines and raising illusions in the very bourgeois politicians who are sending their cops to break the strike. In addition they feel obliged to attack the best strike militants—victims of the police—within the union! Little wonder, since the victory of a class-struggle program in the union will mean the rapid demise of these bureaucratic Stalinist hacks!

Longshoremen are rapidly approaching their own crisis and must decide to take action for defense. The employers plan massive layoff-deregistrations of full union members following July 1. In addition, a jurisdictional battle looms over the handling of cargo from "roll on, roll off" (RORO) ships (carrying truck trailers ready to be driven off the ship). At the end of May, longshoremen briefly shut down work, claiming their contractual right to handle this cargo, and the employers retaliated (as they are entitled to do under the rotten terms of Bridges' last contract) by lifting the Pay Guarantee for the entire port. The issue was temporarily shelved, but will come up again later this month.

The brutal police attacks on strike pickets, the reappearance of live-in scab forces, the coordinated employer-police offensive against the warehouse strike are simply an escalation to normal levels of anti-union viciousness by capitalists. The signal that such an attack was coming was provided by the disastrous Boron strike in Southern California at the end of 1974, in which violent company scab-herding and refusal to extend the strike or "hot-cargo" the struck borax on Los Angeles docks by Harry Bridges & Co. led to the destruction of an isolated ILWU local.

Supporters of the Militant Caucus drew the lessons of this ominous warning at the time, and a similar union-busting attack was halted at a Local 6 shop, KNC Glass in Oakland, through militant strike support and "hot-cargoing." Now the entire labor movement in Bay Area warehouses faces the threat of Boron, while longshoremen continue to be weakened by job losses. Only a militant, class-struggle policy and program can turn defeat into victory. ■


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WORKERS VANGUARD

## 55 Arrested in Cop Rampage

# Drop Charges Against ILWU Strikers!

WV Photo

**Golden Grain plant manager crashing through ILWU picket line at 20 mph in his Cadillac, almost running down a striker.**

OAKLAND, June 21—Bay Area employers have mobilized for war on the unions, and over 10,000 northern California warehouse strikers of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) and the International Brotherhood of Teamsters (IBT) are the current main target. Over 50 strikers have been arrested thus far in massive, brutal police assaults on picket lines. Those arrested include ILWU warehouse Local 6 president Curtis McClain and Teamsters Local 853 secretary-treasurer Al Costa. In one incident, cops mobilized from every Peninsula city as well as the State Highway Patrol to drag away ILWU pickets from the driveway of the Folger's Coffee Company warehouse in South San Francisco. Twenty-eight were arrested.

Last week as *WV* was going to press, Berkeley cops attacked an ILWU picket line of 75 to 100 at Automatic Plastic Molding virtually without warning. The pickets were attempting to stop a special scab force from leaving the plant at shift change. Members of other unions, including ILWU longshore Local 10 and Teamster Local 853, had responded to a Local 6 mobilization for the occasion. They were met by police billy clubs and 11 strikers (we erroneously reported 12) were arrested, some of them charged with felony assault on a police officer as well as resisting arrest and failure to disperse. Local 10 executive board member Stan Gow was charged with assault on an officer for his actions in defense of the picket line. The trumped-up charges with high bail required the union to post thousands of dollars to release the strikers.

Also last week 40 state Highway Patrol and local police in Hayward smashed through a line of 50 pickets from Teamster Local 853, including some from ILWU Local 6, in order to protect scab trucks from Di Salvo Truck Lines entering Northern California Warehouse. Several pickets sat down, and five IBT members were arrested, including the secretary-treasurer and a business agent. The Bay Area labor movement must mobilize at once to demand the dropping of all charges against warehouse strikers. Keep the cops away from the picket lines!

It is clear that the union must mobilize for mass defense of the picket lines against cops and scabs. Since last week's arrests at Automatic Plastic Molding, the company did a face-lifting by firing all scabs hired since the strike began. However, it is retaining scabs previously employed, now protected by private security guards, and is insisting on the firing of 12 pro-union employees as a condition of settlement. Other companies are laying plans for a long siege—at Ashland Chemical in Oakland, the company has reportedly brought in cots, food and washing machines for the scabs.

Such union-busting tactics, which are spreading among northern California warehouse employers, are bound to continue unless the warehouse, longshore and Teamster locals pull together not merely to defend the picket lines, but to strike back through a militant labor boycott of all struck products, shutting

*continued on page 11*

# Red-Baiting Fever at Teamster Convention

JUNE 20—The recently concluded Teamsters (IBT) convention in Las Vegas was an orgy of self-acclaim by the incumbent regime of arrogant, venal "I've got mine Jack" pro-capitalist labor fakers. IBT president Fitzsimmons, along with the rest of the union's International officers, was re-elected to another five-year term of office. The convention also pushed through a 25 percent salary increase for over 60 top union officers, to be financed by a membership dues increase. Fitzsimmons, who also has an unlimited expense account and the use of a union-owned Lear jet, had his annual remuneration increased from $125,000 to $156,250. Even before this modest "raise," Fitzsimmons was the world's highest paid trade-union president.

Only a handful of those present were willing to oppose the IBT chief, who received several thunderous ovations from the delegates, most of whom are themselves high-paid union officers. Fitzsimmons early set the virulently red-baiting tone of the convention when he blasted his detractors—chiefly Arthur Fox's one-man "professional drivers" organization PROD and Teamsters for a Democratic Union (TDU), the recently rebaptized Teamsters for a Decent Contract: "For those who say it is time we reform this union, who say it is time for the officers to stop selling out the members, I say to them—go to hell." Fitzsimmons later went on to blast PROD as "communistic."

The most immediate issue confronting Fitzsimmons & Co. was the current government investigations into the union. Fitzsimmons and other IBT officials have been subpoenaed by a joint investigative force of the Labor and Justice Departments, which is looking into alleged financial abuses in the union's Central States pension fund.

The bosses and their state are, of course, supremely uninterested in fighting union corruption—on the contrary, they avidly attempt to buy off labor leaders with various "plums," financial and otherwise—or returning control of the unions to the membership. But the roster of Teamster bigwigs who ran the convention was hardly designed to inspire working-class opposition to government meddling in union affairs. In fact, it read like a rogue's gallery of labor racketeers.

William Presser of Cleveland, re-elected as vice president, has been jailed twice for obstruction of justice and contempt of Congress and pleaded guilty in 1971 to accepting money from employers. Other incumbents returned to office were Salvatore Provenzano (brother of Anthony, James Hoffa's jailmate who is being questioned in connection with the ex-president's disappearance), indicted in 1972 on charges of conspiracy to counterfeit currency and food and postage stamps; and Roy Williams, IBT vice president and head of the Central States Conference, who is awaiting trial on charges of making false entries on reports filed with the government.

According to information provided by lawyer Arthur Fox, all of the above were paid over $80,000 for their services by the Teamsters in 1974. The record, however, apparently belongs to Jackie Presser, William's son, who in that year garnered $176,571 as an IBT International organizer, recording secretary of the Ohio Joint Conference, vice president of Joint Council 41 and secretary-treasurer of Local 507—and who is also on the payroll of the bakers and bartenders unions (*Detroit Free Press*, 15 June). Payment for several union positions is a common way to inflate salaries of Teamster bureaucrats.

Despite earlier speculation of rifts within the bureaucracy, opposition to Fitzsimmons at the convention was virtually nil. Although a hypocritical motion expressing "deepest sorrow and regret" over the disappearance of Hoffa was passed, his name was virtually taboo and his popularity within the bureaucracy has clearly eroded. Symptomatic of this was the case of Harold Gibbons, executive assistant to Hoffa when the latter was president. Gibbons has long been considered a liberal intellectual and was one of the labor bureaucrats most sought after by reformist opponents of the Vietnam war to address antiwar rallies.

When Fitzsimmons came to power, Gibbons' star began to wane and he was removed as head of the Central States Conference. His re-election this week as an IBT vice president therefore came as a surprise to many. However, Gibbons has apparently made his peace with the reactionary Fitzsimmons gang. His current assignment is as head of the Teamsters' negotiations with Cesar Chavez over agricultural labor. (For the

*continued on page 10*

WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

No. 116 2 July 1976

Ronald L. Haeberle

Amalgamated Meat Cutters

## Marxism and the "Spirit of '76"

# Why We Don't Celebrate July 4

The burned-out tenements of America's decaying slums are plastered with red, white and blue posters celebrating a 200-year-old revolution. From factory bulletin boards and the walls of unemployment offices, patriotic displays urge American working people to join with Gerald Ford and the butchers of Vietnam in commemorating the "Spirit of '76." Class-conscious workers and militant blacks, like the colonial masses ground down under the economic and military heel of arrogant American imperialism, must recoil in revulsion from the U.S. bourgeoisie's hypocritical pieties about "liberty."

The Fourth of July is not our holiday. But the chauvinist ballyhoo of the "People's Bicentennial" does not negate the need for a serious Marxist appreciation of colonial America's war of independence against monarchical/mercantilist England. Marxists have always stressed the powerful impact of the classic bourgeois-democratic revolutions in breaking feudal-aristocratic barriers to historical progress.

In appealing for support for the Bolshevik Revolution, Lenin in his *Letter to American Workers* (1918) wrote:

> "The history of modern, civilized America opened with one of those really great, really liberating, really revolutionary wars of which there have been so few compared to the vast number of wars of conquest which, like the present imperialist war, were caused by squabbles among kings, landowners or capitalists over the division of usurped land or ill-gotten gains. That was the war the American people waged against the British robbers who oppressed America and held her in colonial slavery...."

It is also legitimate for revolutionaries to appeal to the most radical-democratic traditions of the great bourgeois revolutions. Yet the fact remains that the Fourth of July is a fundamentally chauvinist holiday, a celebration of national greatness. In no sense does it commemorate a popular uprising against an oppressive system, or even pay tribute to democratic principles and individual freedom. Attempts to lend the Fourth of July a populist coloration (or the Communist Party's popular-front period slogan that "Communism is 20th century Americanism") only express the capitulation of various fake-socialists to the democratic pretensions of American imperialism.

But neither can the traditions of 1776 justly be claimed by the imperialist bourgeoisie. Compared to the leadership of the colonial independence struggle, the present American capitalist class is absolutely degenerate. One has only to think of Franklin or Jefferson, among the intellectual giants of their time, and then consider Gerald Ford or Jimmy Carter. The twentieth-century United States is the gendarme of world reaction, the backer of every torture-chamber regime from Santiago to Tehran.

The "founding fathers" would have been revolted by the men who today represent their class. The degeneration of the American bourgeoisie is appropriate to the passing of its progressive mission. The attitude toward religion is a good indicator. Virtually none of the signers of the Declaration of Independence were orthodox Christians; they held a rationalist attitude toward the concept of god. Jefferson would have walked out in protest at today's prayer-intoning presidential inaugurations.

The America of 1976 is the contemporary analogue of the tsarist Russia which the "founding fathers" held in contempt as the bastion of world reaction—the tsarist Russia against whose tyranny Lenin and the Bolsheviks organized the proletariat. It is to the world working class that the liberating mission now falls.

### Was the War of Independence a Social Revolution?

Like the Fourth of July, Bastille Day in France is an official, patriotic holiday, replete with military marches and chauvinist speeches. Yet the events Bastille Day commemorates retain a certain revolutionary significance to this day. The French people's understanding of 1789 is as a violent overthrow by the masses of an oppressive ruling class. The French imperialist bourgeoisie's efforts to purge the French revolution of present-day revolutionary significance have not succeeded. A Charles De Gaulle or a Valéry Giscard d'Estaing cannot embrace Robespierre or Marat, for the latter stand too close to the primitive communist Gracchus Babeuf, who considered himself a true Jacobin.

The American war of independence was also a classic bourgeois-democratic revolution, but it was not really a *social* revolution which overthrew the existing ruling class. The British loyalists were largely concentrated in the propertied classes and governing elite. However pro-independence forces among the planters and merchants were strong enough to prevent any significant class polarization during the war.

The English and French bourgeois-democratic revolutions had to destroy an entrenched aristocratic order. That destruction required a radical, plebeian terrorist phase associated with the figures of Cromwell and Robespierre. For the American colonies, winning independence from England did not require a regime based on plebeian terror. The war of independence did not produce a Cromwell or a Robespierre because it did not need one. Nor did it give rise to radical egalitarian groups like the Levellers and Diggers, or the Enragés and Babouvists. It never remotely threatened the wealthiest, most conservative planters and merchants who supported secession from Britain.

The consolidation of bourgeois rule in the Puritan and French revolutions required a political counterrevolution in which the Cromwellians and Jacobins were overthrown, persecuted and vilified. The radical opposition which sprung up in resistance to this counterrevolution became part—through the Babouvists in France—of the revolutionary tradition which Marx embraced.

Because the American war of independence did not experience a plebeian terrorist phase, neither did it experience a conservative bourgeois counterrevolution. The leaders of the independence struggle went on to found and govern the republic; greatly venerated, they died of old age.

The men who met in Philadelphia's Convention Hall 200 years ago realized their aims more satisfactorily than any other similarly placed insurrectionary group in history. This achievement does not bespeak their greatness, but the limited, essentially conservative nature of their goals. The legitimization of black chattel slavery in the Constitution, without significant opposition, demonstrates the bourgeois conservatism of the leaders of the American

*continued on page 5*

**PSP Celebrates Yankee Imperialist Holiday.....9**

# Editorial Notes

## "Buy a Calendar, Mr. Cagle!"

The Socialist League (a minuscule San Francisco-based spin-off of the Workers League) has been distinguished mainly for its hysterical and legalistic fixation on electoralism. Thus, while San Francisco was in the midst of a major class confrontation in the recent city workers strike, which posed the burning necessity for an immediate general strike, the Socialist League devoted itself to calling for new elections! (In fairness we must note that a supporter of the Socialist League did raise an amendment at a Muni drivers meeting calling for a general strike, but adding that workers should return to work—i.e., *break* the strike—if it didn't materialize within 72 hours!).

Having failed to win its demand for "new elections," the Socialist League, in a burst of parliamentary cretinist zeal, has taken to *inventing* elections in which to push its call for a reformist labor party.

Through its electoralist creature, the Labor Party Organizing Committee (LPOC), the Socialist League called a meeting June 23 to tout an LPOC slate for S.F. Board of Supervisors in November elections, while attacking the Spartacist League (SL) for "abstentionism" from its campaign. At the meeting, however, comrades of the SL were obliged to point out to Tom Cagle (a locally notorious supporter of the Socialist League) and his befuddled cohorts that, in fact, there were *no* elections for Board of Supervisors this fall. Should the Socialist League nevertheless manage to locate a genuine election, we would be more than happy, not to abstain, but to vigorously oppose their opportunist efforts to create a reformist social-democratic labor party, which could only be an obstacle to the fight for a revolutionary proletarian party.

In a rare moment of humility, Socialist Leaguers apologized for calling a meeting to discuss an imaginary election, but quickly perked up as an even better legalistic gimmick occured to them. They quickly whipped up the brilliant proposal to get a proposition on the November ballot which would legalize strikes by city workers! Unlike the Socialist League, which leaves it up to the voters to determine workers rights, during the S.F. city workers strike the SL called for a citywide general strike to throw out all the anti-labor charter amendments. Even if a right-to-strike proposal managed to get on the ballot, given the frenzy of the heavily petty-bourgeois electorate in San Francisco and the bitter strike defeat, there is a strong likelihood it would lose. In that case we suppose the Socialist League would advise workers to wait until it is "legal" to strike.

Clearly what divides the Spartacist League from the Socialist League is not the question of "abstentionism" from LPOC's reformist campaigns, but our Bolshevik working-class politics versus their social-democratic parliamentary cretinism.

The United States remains the only major industrial country without a mass workers party; the working class is chained directly to the bourgeoisie through the labor bureaucrats' support for the Democrats and Republicans. This poses the need to call on organized labor to form its own party. But unlike the tailist Socialist League, we do not advocate a "lower stage" reformist labor party such as exists in Britain. Rather, the SL calls on the unions to break with the bosses' parties, dump the bureaucrats and form a workers party to fight on the Transitional Program for a workers government.

Nor do we assume a priori that creation of a workers party must go through a reformist labor bureaucracy, and certainly not the present hidebound pro-capitalist Meanyite piecards. But these are the very people the Socialist League looks to as leaders for its imagined reformist labor party. And should a wing of the bureaucracy actually give birth to such a creature, it will quite likely be in order to head off the formation of a genuine mass communist party.

In that case, we can be sure of finding the likes of the Socialist League lapping at their heels; unless, that is, these "Sunday socialists" have not already given up the ghost and themselves become pettifogging union bureaucrats in the meantime. The trouble is, Brother Cagle, who needs a fumbling bureaucrat who can't even read a calendar?

## Cleaning Up Times Square...for Congressmen?

In this summer of a no-issue primary, the capitalist press which specializes in all the news that's not fit to print (while suppressing or distorting the struggles between labor and capital at home and abroad) need not fear a copy crisis. The capacity in Washington for banal sex scandal seems boundless and the latest episode is being predictably exploited in the media. Last year a stripper made a tidy bundle from the quick sale of her story after she went wading in the Tidal Basin with House bigwig Wilbur Mills. This year, readers of major U.S. dailies are being treated to an account of the sex life of a portly Congressman from Ohio, Wayne Hays. No doubt Elizabeth Ray's tapes recorded under the beds of various politicians will get a faster, wider public hearing than even the Watergate tapes.

The press trumpets, as if it were news, that there is considerable sexual hanky-panky on the A deck of the ship of state. But Hays is by no means the only Washington figure to have engaged a secretarial staff of "non-typists" on the government payroll. Just the other day, one of Jimmy Carter's aides expressed worry about finding a suitable vice-presidential candidate in light of the scandals:

> "'Wouldn't that be a pretty picture?'... 'All of a sudden some secretary in Washington calls a press conference and says she knows whoever Jimmy picks better than anybody'."

The media mouth surprise and indignation. Why are they so shocked? Aren't these the same politicians who are regularly involved in fund tinkering, bribery, influence peddling, expense account padding, nepotism, tax dodging, real estate scheming and a variety of dirty tricking? There is nothing much in

*continued on page 10*

**WORKERS VANGUARD**

**Marxist Working-Class Weekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.**

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*Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint*

# World Press Covers Mario Muñoz Defense

**The New York Times**

### Terror in Argentina

To the Editor:

We are concerned for the fate of many South American politicians and labor leaders who were trapped as refugees in Argentina when the military junta of General Videla took power three months ago.

The unpunished terrorist raids by death squads against local and refugee democrats and socialists have multiplied, culminating in the public kidnapping and torture in Buenos Aires of 25 persons who were guests of refugee agen

The Argen condones su ticipates in liable report Chilean min Muñoz Salas, has been hounded into hiding, his Buenos Aires home bro into and his family beaten by a m tary patrol which tried to take of the children as hostage. The C mittee to Save Mario Muñoz (Box Canal Street Station, New York, N 10013) has collected detailed infor tion on this and other cases.

An international protest campa may be the only way to save the li of Mario Muñoz and other progres refugees in Argentina, succeed where the Human Rights Commis of the U.N. and the O.A.S. have mo only ineffectually. It may also pause to the Ford Administration the State Department in their call course of support to the military tatorships of Latin America.

NOAM CHOMSKY, S. E. Lt
Cambridge, Mass., June 14,

**Le Monde**

### Argentine

● *Nous avons reçu du Comité pour sauver Mario Muñoz* (M. W. Saffores, B.P. n° 64 75924 Paris, Cedex 19) un appel demandant une « *campagne internationale pour faire pression sur la junte militaire argentine et les Nations unies afin d'assurer le respect de la vie et de la liberté de ce dirigeant ouvrier chilien et de sa famille* ». Dirigeant syndical, M. Muñoz a été condamné à mort par le gouvernement Pinochet. Réfugié en Argentine, il est recherché par la police du nouveau régime, qui pourrait le remettre aux autorités chiliennes.

Le comité qui le soutient a recueilli l'appui du comité de défense des ouvriers et marins emprisonnés au Chili, du Partisan Defense Commitee (Etats-Unis), de la Tendance spartaciste internationale, de la Ligue trotskiste de France, de MM. Noam Chomsky, Jiri Pelikan, I.-F. Stone, Stokely Carmichael, Richard Newhouse (sénateur démocrate de l'Illinois).

**KURIER**

Unabhängige Tageszeitung für Österreich

VIENNA

## Chile steht vor dem Bankrott

### Nur noch US-Geld kann die Junta retten

ropäische Länder ihre Drohung wahr machen, längst fällige Kredite an Chile nicht mehr zu verlängern, muß das Land mit einem Schlag 750 Millionen aufbringen, die es nicht hat. Die USA müßten wieder einmal als Retter einspringen.

Warum tun sie das überhaupt? Die offizielle Erklärung ist, daß man mit der

36jährige Führer der Bergarbeitergewerkschaft der chilenischen Provinz Aconcagua

Mario Munoz, der seit seinem 14. Lebensjahr in Nordchile der mörderischen Minenarbeit nachging und Funktionär der Sozialistischen Partei des Landes war, flüchtete 1973 zu Fuß über die Anden nach Argentinien, nachdem sein Bruder von der Pinochet-Junta ermordet worden war.

Von dort aus organisierte er die Flucht von Zehntausenden chilenischen Arbeitern, die in Argentinien ein Exil gefunden hatten. Nach der Abiöse der Peron-Diktatur durch die noch brutalere Videla-Diktatur ist jedoch auch dieses Exil leben worden.

wieder gestiegen: und das hat Pinochet gerettet.

Trotzdem müßte die chilenische Wirtschaft auf längere Sicht doch in sich zusammenbrechen, wenn nicht Pinochet auf Hilfe von außen zählen könnte.

### Millionen-Scheck

Der amerikanische Finanzminister William Simon besuchte im Mai Chile und brachte als Gastgeschenk US-Wirtschaftshilfe im Ausmaß von 90 Millionen Dollar mit. Der Kongreß wird das

# WV Exclusive

# "There's A Bloodbath Going On in Argentina"

## Interview with Sanford Katz

Editor's Note: *The following first-hand account of conditions inside Argentina since the Videla coup is excerpted from a WV interview with attorney Sanford Katz who returned last week from Buenos Aires. Katz made the trip in order to investigate the disappearance of the Argentine film-maker Raymundo Gleyzer, missing since May 27 and believed to be captured by the junta. An endorser of the international campaign to save the life of exiled Chilean miners leader Mario Muñoz, Katz stressed the urgency of directing worldwide protest against the junta's vicious repression aimed not only at the Argentine left but also at the large exile population there composed of militants from all over Latin America.*

*WV:* **The American press has billed the [March 23] coup as restoration of law and order, but in *WV* we've said from the beginning that the repression is headed in the direction of Pinochet. You've just come back from Buenos Aires and I'm interested in your impressions.**

*Katz:* The official position is that the right-wing terrorists, the AAA [Argentine Anti-Communist Alliance] are a bunch of gangsters that they have no control over. But everyone down there is convinced that they are clearly a paralegal force. They gave the game away when they ripped off those 25 Chileans out of the hotel [the exiles kidnapped June 11, two days after a list containing the names and addresses of over 8,000 refugees was stolen from a Catholic Relief Agency operating under the auspices of the United Nations]. When the public furor internationally was so great—at that same time they had their Minister of Economy up here [in the U.S.]—suddenly they reappear All 25, all busted up, they were going to be executed. On the one hand the government says 'we have no control,' then obviously they pull the strings and 25 Chileans are back. It's bullshit.

Officially the line is they have no control and they're trying to exterminate the terrorists of both left and right. There's a bloodbath going on. I mean there's shootouts every day. The five or six days I was down there, it was *reported* there were at least some 25-odd murders, including the chief of police and retaliation—11 people killed the next day.

*WV:* **I understand that when Torres, the former president of Bolivia was killed in Argentina a few weeks ago, apparently one of the ministers of the junta said, 'well, you can't really prove it's been an assassination because nobody saw it....'**

*Katz:* They disclaim any responsibility for people disappeared or murdered. They'll just give you the line; they'll stare you right in the face and say 'we have absolutely no knowledge'...that 'we the government have checked with all the agencies, we've checked with the armed forces, we've checked with the police and they have no knowledge.... Are you sure he didn't have a jealous wife?' Or, 'how do you know it wasn't just a plain robbery....'

People become so cynical down there, they have a person ripped off and they can't get excited, the journalists can't get excited.

*WV:* **Of course, the press is so censored that it would never come out that they are a paramilitary force connected to the government.**

*Katz:* Never! They wouldn't dare! And to leaflet down there is an even braver action. I heard of some people who tried to leaflet an assembly plant in Santa Fe, they were shot right there.

*WV:* **I understand you went down to Argentina representing the family of Raymundo Gleyzer who has disappeared. I saw in the *Times* this morning that you had met with a civilian aid of General Videla's, Ricardo Yofre, about the case.**

*Katz:* Yes, I went courtesy of the Committee to Defend Latin American Filmmakers. Unfortunately, the day I met with Yofre was within several hours of when Cardozo, the chief of the federal police, had been bombed. So you can imagine how it started. What really incensed them [the staff at the presidential palace] was that the bombing was the result of a young woman, a friend of Cardoza's daughter. That's what infuriated them, that these Marxist heathens would seduce this young woman who herself was from the upper classes—her mother was a psychologist and I believe her father was a doctor. I read when I got back that right-wing guerrillas had blown up the house where the family lived out of frustration.

Following the assassination there was a piece [in the papers] to the effect that they had found a body of a young woman charred, burned. She had a tag on her with the name [of the woman who allegedly planted the bomb in Cardozo's house]. It sounds preposterous. I think they were trying to show the public that they are so vigilant and so professional that they can capture someone; you know, there was nothing about an autopsy report that would identify her by marks, by her teeth, etc.—you know, the normal way you would identify a body. If it was her, why did they burn her? Why did she have a tag on her? You would think they would want to bring her head back on a stake.

*WV:* **I'd like to know more about the case of Raymundo Gleyzer.**

*Katz:* All right. Gleyzer is a well-known documentary filmmaker. Some of the other organizations sponsoring his case are Actors Equity and Amnesty International. But essentially it's the Film Committee and his family. His mother, an actress, brought the habeas corpus proceedings. And of course they came in and said, 'we know from nothing, we don't have his body, we don't....'

*WV:* **Was he known as a leftist?**

*Katz:* No. He had been in the states for a few months, in April and May, and he signed an agreement with the UN to do some films on underdeveloped countries. He arrived back in Argentina May 24 and the last time he was seen or heard from was the 26th. People went to his apartment. It had been broken into, about $28,000 worth of film equipment sent by someone in the states was missing; typewriters, clothes, everything else.

*WV:* **You [illegible] able to find out nothing by talkin[illegible] 'Idela's assistant?**

*Katz:* No. What I had wanted to do was to go to the apartment building to find out from the people who lived there... there must have been a rather large group of guys who came in to do this thing. I wanted to take someone who talked better Spanish than I, an Argentine, but everyone down there said no. It was just too dangerous.

*WV:* **So where do you go from here?**

*Katz:* Well, there are lawyers down there now taking up where I left off. The international filmmakers, the Italians have complained in the press in Italy, and in France.... He was very well known in Europe, he won many awards over there.

*WV:* **I understand you were in Buenos Aires at the time the Catholic Relief Agency was raided and the names of the Chilean refugees were stolen.**

*Katz:* That was before. And everyone believed there was no theft, it was just handed over. The list was handed over by the government to these gangsters. They knew exactly where to go, who to nail.

The government denies it of course. They are pious about their having historically been a country of refuge! It's a very important part of their political ethos, that they gave refuge to the Jews. They're very proud, they say, 'look, none of the socialist countries are knocking themselves out trying to get these Chileans. *We* took them in and now we're being attacked and condemned for giving them refuge.' I think they're being attacked because they're doing work for the Chilean government. It seems clear that they not only have people sitting in these refugee hotels, they have people in prison.

I know a woman whose husband had been in jail for eight or nine months, even before Videla. And for nothing. I myself said to Yofre, 'why so long?' He said, 'we have no information on them.' And I said, 'if you have no information on them, release them.' Then he said, 'the problem is who would receive them'! That was bullshit because he knew the visas were coming through, they had the letter from the British embassy. Clearly they were doing the work of the Chilean government.

*WV:* **Yes, in our last issue we published an interview with Cristina and Richard Whitecross who were released from jail [in Argentina] about a month ago. They were arrested with 11 other people, and they said they were convinced their arrest was done by the Argentine police simply as a favor for the DINA [Chilean secret police]. They also stressed that the regime is very threatened by international protest and by news leaking out into the press because they are trying to present this image of being unlike Pinochet.**

*Katz:* That's one of the most reprehensible things about it. They are denying what's going on, that people are getting kidnapped, denying the murders, denying that torture is going on.

*WV:* **What else can you say about the political climate?**

*Katz:* Well, people are terrified by the quixotic nature of who gets picked up and disappears. There's no rhyme or reason to it. Some people are picked up and released. Some people are picked up and never seen again. I met with the mother of a psychiatrist who received a phone call over the weekend that he had 24 hours to leave the country or get killed. Down there those threats if not taken seriously, you die. So he left his wife and three children and his practice and fled to Mexico. Within ten hours he was gone. He's a moderately liberal guy, but he's Jewish and he's a psychiatrist and he's one of the few group therapists in Argentina. They equated political cell activity with group therapy, I gather.

It goes on constantly. People are picked up, killed, kidnapped, disappeared. There's a tremendous strain, obviously, on people's nerves. Many people I met who are not political, or moderately political, are making plans to leave.

It is totally repressive. You see lots of soldiers in the streets. They have trucks that will close off a thoroughfare. You'll be driving along a wide boulevard and suddenly three army trucks cut in front of you. Soldiers jump out and at random, they don't hit every car. But every third car, every fourth car, they'll stop and ask you for your identification. And these kids are very trigger happy. They're nervous and if you make a furtive or fast move, they'll blow you away. There have been many deaths as a result.

Everyone I spoke to is convinced the repression is going to get more severe and that the only possibility for any change at all is through outside pressure.

*WV:* **We feel that there must be mass protest, more than simply legal protests and appeals through the United Nations.**

*Katz:* Sure, the courts don't exist down there. There's not a judge who values his own life who would dare do anything. The AAA would knock him off. I've heard stories of generals, some former presidents, who had a classmate whose son was a Marxist guerrilla. He heard that the boy was captured and was being tortured terribly up in that prison in the north. Together the three of them went to the corps commander who was probably a friend or a classmate (it's a small society). He welcomed them and then said, "if you're here to discuss your son, forget it." [The man who told me this story] is a very powerful man and he could not and would not do anything to help anybody where they were being held with political overtones.

And then there's the American embassy people there, who give you the façade of being concerned. They say, "well, Gleyzer's not an American," but of course since there were inquiries made in Congress they had to get off their ass. It's clear they have close connections with the Argentine police. They knew, for example, even before it hit the papers, how Cardozo was killed. They told me about it when I met with them in the morning, and they knew precisely how it was done.

The paper was filled the next day when Cardozo was killed, warning parents that they have to be ever vigilant and alert of their children's politics and what they say. If they start giving a Marxist rap, they may have been infected. You deal with that by turning them in, I guess. They have to be very concerned about their children's friends; you got to start spying.... They literally want to eliminate the left. Literally. ■

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# Behind the *Guardian*-OL Feud

The preponderant component of the U.S. Maoist milieu is the product of the intersection of the policies of the Chinese regime with the student-centered radical generation of the 1960's—the New Left. The earliest expression of doctrinal convergence between Peking Stalinism and American New Leftism was "Third World" nationalism, the view that the national liberation struggles of the colonial peoples were the main force for world revolution.

Yet the "Third Worldism" of the rulers in the Forbidden City and of the American SDS had significantly different contents. For the Maoist bureaucracy, the colonial and ex-colonial nationalist bourgeoisie (e.g., Sukarno, Nkrumah) was seen as a would-be ally of China against the U.S. and USSR, the original form of the "superpower" doctrine. Peking's espousal of the "progressive" bourgeois nationalism of the "Third World" always had a strategic as well as a cynical character.

The New Left embracing of "Third World" nationalism was conditioned by the Kremlin's commitment to the global status quo ("peaceful coexistence") and the apparent conservatism of the working class in the imperialist centers. Yet a world view which coupled white, European Russia with the U.S. likewise contained the rudiments of the "superpower" doctrine, even before the Soviet Union was designated "social-imperialist" by Mao. Underlying the New Left notion that the struggle for socialism was essentially between the rich, white nations and the poor, dark-skinned ones was a large element of petty-bourgeois moralism, an outlook fundamentally hostile to a scientific analysis of society. Inherent in New Leftism is an inability to recognize the *class* line in society, particularly when confronted by working-class institutions under bureaucratic leadership.

### Guardian's New Left Reflexes

The *Guardian* milieu represents that element of American Maoism which has broken least with its New Left origins and attitudes. A major theme of editor Irwin Silber's recent forums has been the call for a return to the "good old days" of the antiwar movement, when the left was "united" against American imperialism. The *Guardian*'s New Leftism is immediately obvious in its very lack of an organizational embodiment. When other Maoists were busily proclaiming themselves "democratic-centralist cadre-type parties," the *Guardian*'s nods in the direction of Lenin and "party-building" were purely platonic. At a time when it had no substantial political differences with the October League (OL), the *Guardian* chose to remain an "independent radical weekly," acting as a unity broker within the Maoist movement and mouthpiece for assorted nationalist groups, such as the Puerto Rican Socialist Party.

Since its break with Peking-loyal Maoism, the *Guardian* has tended toward reconstructing the old New Left. Thus it is now participating in the "People's Bicentennial" (July 4th Coalition), even while admitting that it is the worst kind of liberal/populist constituency politics, and denouncing as "ultra-left" the OL, which is abstaining from the bicentennial hi-jinks, and the Revolutionary Communist Party, which is organizing its own separate demonstration.

However, the *Guardian*'s Menshevik and specifically polyvanguardist organizational attitudes did not lead to any real trouble with the more serious Maoist October League. It was, rather, the primacy of the *Guardian*'s commitment to "Third World" nationalism which led it to dissociate itself from Peking's alliance with U.S. imperialism, the conflict erupting over Angola. If the dispute between the *Guardian* and the OL were reduced to basic principles—which neither side is willing to do or even capable of doing—it could be stated as follows: for the OL's Mike Klonsky the interests of "socialist" China, as expressed by its (none too stable) Stalinist leadership, are the highest political value to which all other considerations will be sacrificed; for the *Guardian*'s Irwin Silber, the colonial people's struggle for national liberation is the supreme political goal. For the latter, Maoist China is simply the most "advanced" of a series of progressive national liberation movements.

**During World War II Communist Party called on American imperialism to open "second front" in Europe against Nazi Germany.**

### National Liberation and Workers States

The concrete and immediate counterrevolutionary politics of the Peking-loyal Maoists do not mean that the dissident *Guardian* is moving to the left. At the purely formal level, the *Guardian*'s national liberationism has, if anything, even less in common with genuine Leninism (Trotskyism) than do the doctrines of the Peking Stalinists.

For Leninists, the obligatory defense of a workers state stands higher than the principle of national self-determination, a bourgeois-democratic right. On a world-historic scale, to be sure, the equality of nations can be realized only through the victory of the communist movement—the creation of revolutionary workers states. In particular conjunctures, the military defense of a workers state may require violating the sovereignty of a smaller capitalist nation.

For example, in 1921, Bolshevik Russia conquered and annexed Menshevik-governed Georgia in the Caucasus, although the majority of its largely peasant population undoubtedly opposed this action. This violation of national independence was justified because Georgia had become a base for British incursions dangerous to the embryonic Soviet state. Anticipating Mao by half a century, liberals and social democrats in the West denounced the conquest of Georgia as "red imperialism," as the expansion of the "new tsars." The Bolshevik conquest of Georgia was an unfortunately *necessary* violation of national self-determination for the sake of higher principle, the defense of a workers state.

> **"The Soviet Union in 1921 forcefully sovietized Georgia which constituted an open gateway for imperialist assault in the Caucasus. From the standpoint of the principles of national self-determination, a good deal might have been said in objection to such sovietization. From the standpoint of extending the arena of the socialist revolution, military intervention in a peasant country was more than a dubious act. From the standpoint of the self-defense of the workers' state surrounded by enemies, forceful sovietization was justified: the safeguarding of the socialist revolution comes before formal democratic principles."**
>
> **—L.D. Trotsky, "Balance Sheet on the Finnish Events," 25 April, 1940**

**U.S. hegemony led not to "international New Deal" as Stalinists hoped, but new imperialist atrocities as in Vietnam.**

**Cartoon in CAP's newspaper, Unity and Struggle.**

The narrow nationalist policies of the Stalinist bureaucracies sometimes lead to *unnecessary* wars against smaller capitalist nations, however. Thus, in 1939-40 Stalin needlessly invaded Finland without adequate military preparation or any attempt to win over the Finnish working masses. Liberals, social democrats and erstwhile fellow travelers sympathized with "little, democratic" Finalnd (loosely tied at the time to Britain) and denounced Soviet "imperialism." The Trotskyist movement did not. While condemning Stalin's megalomaniacal adventurism and bureaucratic highhandedness, Trotsky unconditionally defended the military victory of the USSR, a bureaucratically ruled workers state, against Baron Mannerheim's Finland.

### Stalin's Alliance with U.S. Imperialism

Since the *Guardian* adheres to the "superpower" doctrine, its position that U.S. imperialism is the main enemy of the world's peoples is essentially empirical: it is American capital which economically exploits the "Third World" and virtually all popular struggles in these countries are directed against U.S. imperialism and its client regimes.

To this empirical argument, the hard-line Maoists have a counter-argument based on orthodox Stalinist precedent. It is a fairly effective counter-argument, moreover, because the *Guardian* accepts the precedent: namely, Stalin's alliance with Britain, France and the U.S. against Nazi Germany. Before World War II, argue the Peking loyalists, wasn't Britain the global power exploiting millions of colonial slaves? But, they continue, wasn't it Nazi Germany, the aggressive have-not imperialism, which was the more dangerous?

Analogies between Hitler's Germany and its role in world politics and Brezhnev's Russia now pervade Maoist literature. To quote Mike Klonsky:

> "The Soviet Union can be compared to Hitler Germany during the period of the '30s. At that time, the British, French and U.S. imperialists were in the most dominant position in the capitalist world. But Germany's imperialists were the most dangerous precisely because they were trying to seek hegemony and replace the other imperialist powers as top dog. This is the goal of Soviet social-imperialism today."
>
> —*Call*, 31 May 1976

The message is clear: if it was correct for Stalin's Russia to ally with American imperialism against fascist Germany, then it is correct for Mao's China to ally with American imperialism against "social-fascist" Russia.

At the level of *ideology*, the equation of the Soviet Union, a degenerated workers state, with fascist Germany, the most barbaric expression of capitalist rule, is the greatest crime Maoism has committed. However, the reactionary import of Klonsky/Mao's position is not limited to the equation of the Soviet Union with Nazi Germany. To further his military bloc with the Allies against fascist Germany, Stalin endorsed the war aims of the "democratic" imperialists and forced the Communist Parties of the West into the most shameful betrayal of proletarian class interests, in direct subservience to the Roosevelts and Churchills. This was a counterrevolutionary act of monumental historic consequences.

The enormous moral revulsion at the atrocities committed by the Nazi psychopaths should not obscure which contending imperialism was the greater force for global counterrevolution. Nazi Germany was a local power whose demented dictators were capable of great destruction, but not of being the guardian of world capitalism for a

*continued on page 10*

# Workers Strikes Roll Back Price Hike in Poland

JUNE 28—Last week the Polish government suddenly withdrew its plans to institute massive price increases only one day after the decree had been announced. The hasty retreat was in direct response to a wave of strikes that followed the publicizing of hikes in food prices ranging from 30 to 69 percent.

On June 25 at the Ursus tractor factory outside Warsaw, workers tore up railroad tracks, built barricades and disrupted rail traffic. Strikes were reported at other plants in the capital area, including the Zeran auto plant producing Polish Fiats. At the shipyards of Gdansk and Szczecin, the scene of mass worker protests in 1970 that toppled the Gomulka government, peaceful sit-ins were staged. In Radom, a leather tanning center 60 miles south of Warsaw, the headquarters of the ruling Polish United Workers Party (PUWP) was reportedly set on fire.

The announcement retracting the price increases was made by the Polish government after a day of "consulting" with workers in key factories throughout the country. (In the Stalinist deformed workers states, the proletariat is always "consulted" after the fact!) The regime vainly attempted to belittle the scale of the protests ("Only in a couple of dozen [!] isolated cases was the course of the discussion connected with temporary stoppage of work. Only in two cases, at Radom and Ursus, did the emotions spill out into the street").

At the same time, in a statement worthy of any bourgeois reactionary, it slandered the protesters as rabble: "No civilized country, no civilized society *irrespective of its political system*, can stand idly by while attempts are made at looting and inciting the lowest instincts of the mob, threatening both social order and individual citizens" (UPI dispatch quoting the 28 June *Cycie Warszawy*, our emphasis). Official rallies supporting Premier Edward Gierek were also held, hoping to bolster the stature of the blemished Polish Stalinist leader.

The hasty government retreat was obviously due to fear that there would be a repetition of the explosive 1970 events. In that year the announcement of price increases, coupled with the imposition of a program of wage and pension freezes and speed-up of the workforce led to mass marches by Polish workers on PUWP headquarters in several cities, centered on the Baltic seaports. When police and troops opened fire on marchers in Szczecin (the toll of killings in the 1970 events numbered at least 56), angry protesters burned down party headquarters while singing the "Internationale." In the face of this mass upsurge, the local PUWP organizations collapsed with many of their activists going over to the workers' side. Amid rumors of Soviet intervention, the Polish army then occupied the Baltic ports. As the rebellion spread to Warsaw, Poznan and other industrial centers, the government temporized. Wladyslaw Gomulka resigned as head of the PUWP and his place was taken by Gierek.

Under Gierek the government made a number of concessions to the working masses, the chief one being a freeze on food prices which has been in effect for five and a half years. Gierek's promises to focus on raising the notoriously low living standards of Polish workers did bear some fruit: real wages rose an estimated 30 percent over five years.

However, this was achieved only at the cost of substantial deformation of the Polish economy. Increased imports of consumer goods from the West led to a massive trade deficit (over 50 percent of Poland's foreign trade is with capitalist countries, an unprecedentedly high figure for an East European nation). While retail prices were frozen, farmers were receiving higher prices for their products. This government subsidy to the peasantry assumed enormous proportions, amounting to $5 billion a year.

The situation has become even more aggravated recently as farmers demand further increases. With open market prices 50 percent above prices offered by the state, farmers have been holding back sales of grain and other produce to government procurement agencies. Since the vast bulk of Polish agricultural production is carried out on private farms and because Gierek had previously eliminated compulsory procurement, the government found itself at the mercy of farmers and attempted to finance increased prices for farmers by driving down the living standards of workers.

The huge hikes in food prices were preceded by other austerity measures such as reductions in the rate of annual wage increases and raising labor productivity by tightening up on "abuses" of sick leave. However, the Polish working class was in no mood to tighten its belts. The modest reforms under Gierek notwithstanding, the living standards of Polish workers remained substantially inferior to those of workers in neighboring East Germany and Czechoslovakia, while their hours and working conditions were far more arduous.

The recent strikes in Poland underline the definitive failure of the Gierek reforms—a failure that is no less than that of his predecessor, Gomulka.

Party headquarters in Szczecin burned during 1970 Polish workers revolt.

Gomulka consolidated his power after the Polish regime was shaken in 1956 by massive food riots centered in Poznan. Gomulka, who promised numerous economic concessions to the masses, was also touted as a "reformer" at that time. However, the 1970 events smashed that illusion, and now Gierek has run afoul of the same obstacles that derailed Gomulka.

Of immediate importance is a solution to the conflicting demands of the Polish working class and a large section of the peasantry. A carefully modulated program of agricultural collectivization is a necessary step toward achieving this goal. However, a solution to these economic woes cannot be achieved through "self-reform" of the parasitic, nationalist bureaucracy which maintains a political stranglehold over the proletariat of the Polish deformed workers state. Stalinist "reformers" like Gomulka and Gierek are incapable of more than zigzagging blindly between enforced austerity for the working class, indiscriminate crackdowns on the peasantry or increased dependence on the capitalist nations.

Escaping from material poverty requires transcending the limited confines of the relatively economically backward Polish state. This poses the need for a workers political revolution to oust the present Stalinist apparatus wedded to the reactionary theory of "socialism in one country" and replacing it with a Trotskyist leadership dedicated to international proletarian revolution.■

# July 4 ...

*(continued from page 1)*

Revolution. The "founding fathers" had no children who could claim that the principles of 1776 had been betrayed in the interests of the rich and powerful. The era of the war of independence did not give rise to a living revolutionary tradition.

### John Brown's Body

There is a social revolution in American history which troubles the imperialist bourgeoisie to this day. It did not begin in 1776, but in the anti-slavery confrontations. The issue raised by the civil war and particularly the period of Radical Reconstruction—the intimate relationship between capitalism in America and racial oppression—awaits its fundamental resolution in future revolutionary struggle. The wasn't-it-tragic attitude of the bourgeoisie to the civil war era contrasts sharply with their celebratory attitude toward the war of independence. The signing of the Emancipation Proclamation, unlike the Declaration of Independence, will never be a holiday in racist, imperialist America.

It is in the civil war era that there are parallels with the plebeian component of the French Revolution. The contemporary bourgeois treatment of John Brown resembles the French ruling class attitude toward Robespierre. They cannot disown the anti-slavery cause outright, but they condemn John Brown for his fanatical commitment and violent methods. The Reconstruction era of 1867-1877 is the only period in U.S. history which the present ruling class rejects an un-American extremism. Two important films, D. W. Griffith's *Birth of a Nation* and the later *Gone With the Wind*, are outright apologies for white supremacist terror against the only radical-democratic governments this country has ever experienced. The Compromise of 1877, when the black freedmen were abandoned to the merciless regimes of the ex-slaveholders, was the American bourgeois-democratic revolution betrayed. And the reversal of that historic betrayal awaits the victory of American communism.

Because of the American revolution's limited social mobilization, those whose principles ultimately clashed with bourgeois rule—the likes of Tom Paine and Sam Adams—were easily disposed of. The radical abolitionists—John Brown, Sojourner Truth, Frederick Douglass—are the only figures in American history before the emergence of the workers movement whose commitment to democratic principles actually threatened bourgeois rule. For the same reason that the present-day bourgeoisie denounces John Brown as a dangerous extremist, we communists can claim the radical abolitionists as ours. Only a victorious American socialist revolution can give to the heroes and martyrs of Harper's Ferry and the "underground railway" the honor that is their historic right.■

Sojourner Truth

John Brown

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# "Law and Order" General Elected President

# CP in Deep Trouble in Portuguese Elections

Lisnave shipyard workers in 1974. Recently Communist Party influence has eroded in key industrial centers.

Informations Ouvrieres

Editor's Note: *The following article was written before the June 27 presidential elections in Portugal. In the voting, army chief of staff General Eanes was elected, with 61 percent of the vote. Of the remaining candidates, Major Carvalho received 17 percent, Admiral Azevedo was next with 14 percent and the Communist Party candidate, Octávio Pato, finished last with less than 8 percent.*

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JUNE 25—Although the approaching presidential elections in Portugal have failed to awaken much interest from the bulk of the population, they have considerably shaken up the left. In particular, the Communist Party (PCP) is panicked by the almost total lack of response (even from the party ranks) to its candidate, who is trailing miserably in the opinion polls. Meanwhile, most of the groups that place themselves to the left of the PCP have abandoned all pretense of working-class independence and are slavishly campaigning for Major Otelo Saraiva de Carvalho, former head of the COPCON security forces.

By all accounts, the candidate that has provoked the least enthusiasm is army chief of staff General Antonio Ramalho Eanes, universally regarded as the shoe-in favorite to win. Although backed by the Socialist Party (PS), Popular Democrats (PPD), Social Democratic Center (CDS) and several smaller parties (including the Maoist MRPP and PCP-ML)—forces which between them won 77 percent of the vote in the April legislative elections—Eanes' campaign rallies have been virtually unattended, with both the PS and PPD drawing less than 10,000 to Lisbon's Campo Pequeno stadium. Moreover, at least one important PS local organization (Aveiro) has refused to support the mastermind of the successful power grab by rightist officers last November 25.

The reasons for leftist unease over Eanes' candidacy are not hard to fathom. Selected by the top military command as the most viable strongman to "stabilize democracy," i.e., rebuild the army and straitjacket the workers movement, his ties to the violently anti-communist General António de Spínola are well-known. In fact, it is widely rumored that the bemonocled former president—the leader of the ultra-rightist Democratic Movement for the Liberation of Portugal (MDLP), which is in turn linked to the fascistic Portuguese Liberation Army (ELP)—will be allowed to return to the country following an Eanes victory. Furthermore, it was recently revealed that Eanes' brother-in-law was one of the pilots who bombed the left-wing RAL-1 barracks during the March 1975 Spinolaist putsch (*Times* [London], 28 May).

With the workers parties (primarily PCP and PS) receiving over 50 percent of the vote in April, Eanes has refrained from whipping up an anti-communist frenzy since this could cost him many Socialist votes. But his bourgeois backers have been accommodating, and the U.S. has given its stamp of approval in the form of a recent shipment of advanced military equipment (armored personnel carriers and M-48 tanks) to equip an elite "intervention brigade." While the army commander's election manifesto uses vaguely "progressive" language, his campaign slogan, "liberty in security," is an unmistakable call for capitalist "law and order." Ominously, Eanes has threatened that the left that "doesn't manage to collaborate in the transformation process in the manner that it should...will have to be repressed" (quoted in *Expresso*, 2 June).

Another indication of the "interest" of the leading imperialist powers in Portugal's presidential elections came in the candid remarks of the second-place candidate and current prime minister, Admiral José Pinheiro de Azevedo. When asked by Associated Press whether the Communist Party might participate in a future government (the PCP has one minister in the present cabinet, but Eanes has said he would call on the Socialists to form a minority government by themselves), the "admiral without fear" replied meekly:

> "that depends on American policy. It's up to America...it doesn't depend on me at all....I've got my feet on the ground, and today there is no total independence, but alliances with compromises."

Pinheiro de Azevedo is not only frank about his orders from Washington, he also clearly expresses his hostility to the working class. When construction workers struck for higher wages last fall, at one point surrounding the presidential palace for two days, he told them to "go to hell." Although currently posing as a "progressive" alternative to the army commander, Azevedo's "Sixth Government" repeatedly sought just the confrontation with the "military left" that occurred on November 25 and brought with it the rise of Eanes.

### "A Guide and a Friend to All Portuguese"

The joker in the Portuguese presidential elections has been Carvalho, who is campaigning as the "candidate of April 25" (he was in charge of executing the coup which brought down the Caetano dictatorship two years ago). Back in the limelight after being imprisoned (and demoted from general) following the November 25 events, the major proclaimed himself a Robin Hood—last year it was "the Fidel Castro of Europe"—and has attracted huge crowds with a flamboyant, whistle-stopping campaign.

When he set off to the north the day after announcing his candidacy, a special train bedecked with red flags was greeted at the station in Porto by a crowd estimated at between 70,000 and 100,000 people, the largest ever for a leftist demonstration in the north. And in the militant industrial belt on the south side of the Tagus River opposite Lisbon, workers at the Setenave and Lisnave shipyards massively voted endorsement of Carvalho for president, despite opposition from PCP-dominated workers commissions.

But there is a wide gulf between the appearance and the reality of the Carvalho campaign. The arch-proponent of an "MFA [Armed Forces Movement]-People Alliance" uses leftist verbiage only to tie the combative workers to their class enemy, and in particular the bourgeois officer corps. The former COPCON chief labels his candidacy "non-party" and reiterates his commitment to preserve the discipline and unity of the capitalist army ("in the service of the people," of course).

Carvalho's program (*Revolução*, 10 June) defends "the right to strike, a sacred right of the workers" and promises "never to permit repression against the working people"; it doesn't mention, however, that it was COPCON troops who broke the TAP airline mechanics' strike in September 1974. Likewise it defends "freedom of expression," but conveniently passes over the fact that COPCON troops seized radio and television stations on behalf of the Sixth Government last September, in a move to purge leftists from the mass media.

The list of contradictions is endless: Carvalho's program says he is committed to guaranteeing trade-union organization "independent from the state," conveniently "forgetting" that his security forces ousted leaders of the Maoist-dominated Chemical Workers Union in April 1975. As for the claim that if elected he would "not permit any attempts to make the working classes pay for the capitalist economic crisis," this not only flies in the face of Carvalho's actions last summer when he was calling on the workers to "win the battle of production" and the famous COPCON document supported Prime Minister Vasco Gonçalves' austerity program; it also flatly contradicts his own words during the campaign. In an interview published in *Expresso* (25 June) the "people's power" major talks of "inevitably unpopular" economic measures of the next government.

The Carvalho campaign is full of the absurdities which are the trademark of this two-faced demagogue. At one point he announced that he would be a "guide and a friend to all Portuguese," and later observed (apparently with a straight face) that, "I think I'm starting to become intransigent in the defense of social justice"! His economic program is to "give priority to agriculture" in this already partially industrialized country. But while gullible leftists were cheering the "candidate of April 25," Carvalho refused to frontally attack Spinolaist army commander Eanes ("a military

man of valor") and declared he would appoint Socialist leader Mario Soares ("a Portuguese patriot") to form a government. Soares just happens to be the choice for prime minister of both Eanes and Azevedo!

### Communist Party in Deep Trouble

While a vote for the general, the admiral or the major is clearly a vote for the bourgeoisie, we explained in our last article ("Army Strongman Candidate Threatens Portuguese Workers," *WV* No. 112, 4 June) that even the Communist Party candidacy did not represent a break with the capitalists. Rather, it is an attempt by the PCP to avoid antagonizing Eanes in a situation where it could not openly back the rightist bonaparte for fear of losing control of its working-class base. But even a party candidate has not awakened the enthusiasm of Communist supporters, and PCP leaders fear a vote less than half the size of its showing in the April legislative elections (when it received 14 percent).

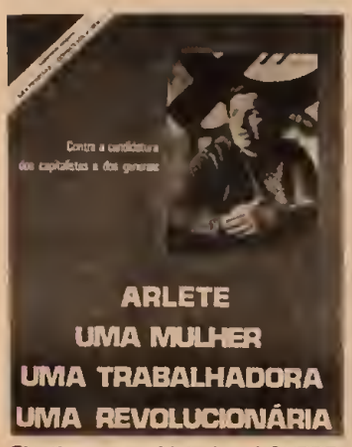
Despite their protestations that they (unlike Soares) are not electoralists, PCP tops have been thrown into a cold sweat by the impending defeat at the polls. The party's chance of gaining ministerial portfolios is nil and its ranks are in disarray. A graphic demonstration of this panic was the front page of the 9 June issue of *Avante*, the PCP newspaper. A communiqué announces imperiously:

> "The complex situation surrounding the elections for the presidency of the republic requires from all party members and sympathizers a vigorous effort to get out the view of the PCP....
> "Study and discussion of party materials is an urgent task! Every member must become informed—through party documents and proclamations, from speeches by comrades of the leadership—so that at their workplaces and in everyday conversation they can clear up doubts that may arise...."

And then the marching orders: "We must vote massively for Comrade Octávio Pato!" When a Stalinist party is reduced to publicly exhorting its own members to vote for the party candidate, one can be sure it is in real trouble!

### The Arlete Affair

What could sharply alter the course of political events in Portugal is the building of a Trotskyist party based on a clear program of class independence, breaking with all wings of the bourgeoisie, including the demagogic left-talking officers. A large part of the support for Carvalho comes from workers disillusioned with the Socialist Party's open support for and the Communist Party's cowardly capitulation to Eanes, behind whose dark glasses there lurks a monocle. A candidate calling for a break with PS/PCP class collaboration, for no confidence in the capitalist army, for the unification of the workers commissions in a national workers assembly, could point the way toward breaking through the vicious circle of "stabilizing parliamentary democracy" vs. military-dominated "people's power."




**Election pamphlet for LCI/PRT candidate Arlete Vieira da Silva.**

In Portugal over the last year the two main ostensibly Trotskyist organizations, both allied with the misnamed "United" Secretariat of the Fourth International (USec), have tailed after the CP and SP. During last fall, the LCI (Internationalist Communist League, allied with the centrist USec majority led by Ernest Mandel) was part of the "Revolutionary United Front" (FUR) that supported the popular-front Fifth Government of Vasco Gonçalves and initially included the Communist Party. At the same time, as the Socialist Party was spearheading a reactionary anti-Communist mobilization, the PRT (Revolutionary Workers Party, allied with the reformist USec minority, and in recent months specifically with the Argentine PST) incredibly called for a Soares government.

However, in the presidential elections, initially neither the Communists nor the Socialists were running a candidate (the Pato candidacy was the result of the PCP's inability to find a general it could support), so with no one to tail after the LCI and PRT decided to launch a joint presidential candidate. This was also part of on-again, off-again "unity" discussions between the two USec sympathizing groups.

Their choice as standard bearer was one Arlete Vieira da Silva, whose picture was published on flyers above the headline: "Arlete, A Woman, A Worker, A Revolutionary." A biographical sketch proclaimed that she had been a member of the PCP for 16 years and was arrested five times, once imprisoned for more than three years. A note in the USec international organ, *Inprecor* (27 May), went into the details of torture ("the traces can still be seen on her broken wrists"). Following the overthrow of Caetano, it said, she resigned from the PCP in opposition to the Stalinists' strikebreaking and class collaboration.

However, three weeks after the PRT/LCI candidate was launched, after the necessary 7,500 signatures had been gathered to put her on the ballot and on the eve of the deadline for registration, *both groups suddenly withdrew their support*. What happened? Readers of the PRT's *Combate Socialista* (2 June) were given nothing by way of explanation but an inside story with the laconic title, "The Only Candidacy of Class Independence Ceased to Exist!" This item's only answer to the "many questions which have been asked" about the sudden withdrawal was to refer to "our communiqués" on the subject, which are not printed. "Arlete Vieira da Silva gave us data about her political past which were not true," it says, "thereby not guaranteeing the political and moral fitness which a revolutionary party must demand in order to support a class candidacy...."

A few days earlier, the LCI had withdrawn its support from "Arlete," declaring that she did "not have the past nor the minimum conditions which would permit her to be an intransigent defender of a program of unity and independence of the workers movement." Placing the main blame on the PRT (which had nominated her also in the April parliamentary elections), the LCI shamefacedly admitted that it only belatedly investigated the background of its "revolutionary candidate." And it also said nothing about what it had discovered (*Luta Proletária*, 2 June).

The bourgeois press was more revealing. *Expresso* (29 May) reported that it had learned from the PRT that inquiries produced no evidence that its candidate had ever been imprisoned on political charges. In fact, the only court trial of Arlete Vieira da Silva concerned "failure to pay and embezzlement of various household electrical appliances"!! In France, the daily *Rouge* (30 May), newspaper of the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR), asked in a headline whether "Arlete" was a "Prevaricator or Provocateur"?

With the information at our disposal it is impossible to say whether the "Arlete affair" was, as the LCI and PRT suggest, a Stalinist provocation. Certainly the PCP did not come forward until quite late with whatever information it had concerning the dubious character of a former member (whose husband is reportedly a Communist Party militant), while at the same time spreading rumors. Moreover, Cunhal & Co. are no doubt already trying to use this incident in order to spread their usual slander that Trotskyists are provocateurs. What the affair definitely shows, however, is that in their congenital tailing after the reformists, the Pabloist liquidators demonstrate a fundamental lack of political seriousness which leads them to grab for an unknown quantity as a presidential candidate simply because she could serve as an advertising gimmick to rip off Communist votes. Their salivary glands are stronger than their brains, and it is clear that in presenting Arlete Vieira da Silva in the elections, the PRT and LCI gave no thought to providing serious leadership to the working masses.

Marques Valentim

**PSP leader Mário Soares**

### No Support to the Portuguese Scheidemann!

But the failure of the USec fake-Trotskyists to provide political leadership extends well beyond the personality of their ex-presidential candidate. Even if the LCI and PRT had presented a credible personality on the same political program as Vieira da Silva, it would not have represented a candidacy of working-class independence. Trotskyists could not have called for votes for the LCI/PRT candidate.

Formally the Vieira da Silva campaign was opposed to popular frontism, calling on the PCP and PS to break the anti-working-class pact guaranteeing military overlordship of Portuguese political life. An important ambiguity was introduced by the call, in the LCI/PRT agreement, on "all the organizations of the workers movement, particularly the PS and PCP, to present a single workers candidacy for the presidential elections," and the offer to withdraw the "Trotskyist candidate" in favor of a PS/PCP candidate. Since both Socialists and Communists are part of the popular-front Sixth Government, support the party/armed forces pact and subordinate themselves to the bourgeois military, this offer to withdraw could mean building support for a "workers candidate" of a popular front. However, when the PCP launched the candidacy of Octávio Pato, the LCI and PRT maintained their candidate. The latter wrote:

> "That the two large workers parties present a civilian Socialist or Communist candidate is a necessary but not a sufficient condition.... solid guarantees are necessary of complete independence toward the generals and capitalists in order for the workers to be able to support such a candidate. But the only guarantees given by the candidacy of Octávio Pato are precisely the opposite: to collaborate with the generals and support the military president that is elected."
>
> —*Combate Socialista*, 21 May

But there was another factor that was decisive in ruling out critical support to a PRT/LCI candidacy: the statement that "if elected, the candidate would be committed to call on the secretary general of the PS, Mario Soares..., to constitute a government... based on the left majority in parliament...." How can these supposed Trotskyists propose the same government as Carvalho, Azevedo or *Eanes*?

The PRT during the parliamentary elections issued a number of statements arguing that Soares' propaganda for a "*governo sozinho do PS*" (Socialist Party minority government) was a concession to the working-class ranks, who wished to see their party alone in power, not tied to the class enemy. Nothing could be further from the truth. What Soares argued in presenting the demand for a minority PS regime was that the six coalition governments were all unstable and incapable of taking decisive action to "stabilize democracy." A PS government with a strong military president (Eanes), he said, could accomplish this task.

But what does it mean to "stabilize" bourgeois democracy in Portugal, where there is no tradition of parliamentary democracy? It does not mean defending an elected parliament against military bonapartism. On the contrary, it means defending a phantom "legislative assembly" whose only base of power is the officer corps against "parallel powers" such as the workers commissions. And this means, as Soares clearly stated at the inauguration of the Sixth Government last September, crushing any germs of dual power, disbanding the workers and neighborhood commissions, eliminating all attempts at workers control, disarming workers militias and mopping up the remainders of the "military left." *That* is what the PRT/LCI call for a "Soares government" means!

Mario Soares quite consciously wishes to play the role of Scheidemann in smashing the German revolution during 1918-19. In his interviews with Dominique Pouchin (*Portugal: Quelle Révolution?*), the PS leader suggests that Germany after World War I is a more appropriate analogy to Portugal today than Spain in the 1930's or Chile in the 1970's. This is why the Socialist Party is willing to support a bona fide Spinolaist such as Eanes for president. Soares' comment that he would fight together with the ELP against "Communist dictatorship" (*ibid.*) is also indicative.

The LCI and especially the PRT make a fetish out of the "workers united front," much in the manner of the French OCI and its anti-Leninist conception of a "strategic united front." (The Portuguese supporters of the OCI, moreover, were the first to call for a Soares government.) But the present situation in Portugal is quite different from Germany in 1931-33, when the Social Democrats and Communists (in different fashions) *capitulated* to the fascists. When a "Socialist" party is *leading* a counterrevolutionary mobilization, Marxists must call for intransigent opposition to its candidates.

One might ask, if Rosa Luxemburg had run for president of Germany in late 1918, would she have offered to call upon Scheidemann (the SPD prime minister who sought, successfully, to subordinate the nascent workers councils to the military general staff through appeals for parliamentary democracy) to form a government if she were elected? As history showed, through the assassination of Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht with the connivance of the Scheidemann regime, such an offer

*continued on page 11*

## ILWU Local 6 Votes to End Strike

# Bureaucratic Defeatism Sabotages Warehouse Strike

WV Photo

**Cops "monitor" pickets at Automated Plastics Molding June 15. Later, 11 were arrested when police charged picket line.**

OAKLAND, June 28—The northern California warehouse strike moved toward an end today as members of International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) Local 6 ratified a proposed agreement. The contract has yet to be approved by striking Teamster (IBT) locals, but the ILWU vote will doubtless be used to pressure Teamster ranks into returning as well. After three weeks of a strike during which their lines were subjected to numerous vicious police attacks, many workers expressed the opinion that the settlement was the best that could be won. Doubtless they were discouraged by the criminal disorganization of the strike, particularly given the recent string of defeats suffered by Bay Area labor. The ILWU bureaucracy refused to take even the most elementary steps to put the strike on a solid footing. Old-timers on the lines interviewed by *WV* said it was the worst run strike they had ever seen the union conduct

The settlement generally follows the recently concluded Teamster Master Freight Agreement, except that it is even worse. It provides for a $1.60 wage increase over three years but with no cost-of-living (c-o-l) payment in the first year and a 25-cent cap in each of the last two. The miserable c-o-l formula guarantees that ILWU and Teamster members who lost at least $1.50 to inflation and taxes over the life of the last contract will fall even further behind. Employers' pension contributions were increased by a token 25 cents, insufficient to keep up with the ravages of inflation. Although retirement age was lowered to 63 there is some question whether this section of the contract will ever be enforced. In 1973 the companies unilaterally cancelled an agreement to reduce retirement to 62, claiming poverty: the McClain leadership capitulated, returning the retirement age to 65!

Perhaps the most ominous section of the settlement was a little-noticed clause which provides for differing wage rates depending on "experience...in the industry." Under the complex membership structure within ILWU Local 6 according to which new members are relegated to second-class citizenship for a minimum of one year, this provision could establish a permanent pool of lower-paid labor. The Bridges regime long ago cooperated with the employers in introducing the infamous "B-man" system on the docks. This provides the employers with just such a pool of lower-paid workers without union protection, who could be speeded up in order to whiplash veteran longshoremen into jacking up output to a murderous pace.

At a time when the drive for profits is leading to speed-up throughout U.S. industry, this newest concession by the McClain bureaucracy is particularly treacherous. Evidently many union members felt disgusted by the settlement. While the contract passed by 1,408 to 290, several hundred ILWU warehousemen in the crowd of well over 2,000 simply refused to vote.

The warehouse settlement is the latest in the series of defeats inflicted on Bay Area labor. While Local 6 members escaped the fate of San Francisco city craft workers who took substantial cuts in pay, and of the Golden Gate bus drivers who were forced to settle for less than the transit district's first offer, the settlement will undoubtedly mean an absolute decline in the warehousemen's standard of living. Given the enormous potential power of the transport alliance, involving the ILWU and IBT, such a settlement is a glaring setback. The capitalists have now been able to establish to their own satisfaction that even these two key unions can be brought to heel. Given the central role that the ILWU has played in the Bay Area labor movement for decades, this can only pave the way to an even more extensive anti-labor drive.

### Union-Busting Continues

Open union-busting is on the order of the day in the S.F. Bay Area. The strike continues at Associated Trucking against the company's attempt to circumvent the Master Freight Agreement. Now, emboldened by the total passivity of the warehouse union's leadership, management at Folger's Coffee in South San Francisco seems determined to follow in Associated's track. Although it is a member of the Distributors' Association, bargaining agent for Bay Area Warehouse employers, as of press time Folger's had refused to sign the warehouse agreement. Folger's was the scene of a violent confrontation during the first week of the strike, when over 80 police representing eight different police jurisdictions attacked an undermanned ILWU picket line. Some 29 pickets were arrested at that time, including President McClain, who sat down in the driveway.

WV Photo

**ILWU Local 6 president Curtis McClain.**

But McClain's token heroics were not enough to stop this union-busting outfit. Guarded by private armed security police, almost daily small convoys of scab trucks have passed through the lines, while token pickets stood helplessly by. The latest issue of the "Warehouse Militant," which urged the membership to reject the contract, warned that a capitulation to the Distributors could easily encourage some of the independent warehouses, which had earlier agreed to an uncapped cost-of-living escalator for two of the three years, to demand that their contracts be re-written now. Folger's seems to be the first step in that direction.

Responsibility for the rotten settlement must be placed squarely at the feet of the Bridges/Goldblatt/McClain machine and with supporters of the reformist Community Party in Local 6. Preaching a strategy of compromise with the employers, the leadership continually slashed the bargaining demands without membership consent. To prevent any opposition to their class-collaborationist schemes, once the strike got underway, the bureaucracy simply cancelled all membership meetings and the joint stewards' council with the Teamsters.

Yesterday's mass rally called to force through a settlement was the first membership meeting in over a month and the first local-wide meeting during the entire contract negotiations. When at a Local 6 stewards meeting, a gangster-style assault was launched against Bob Mandel, a member of the Local's executive board and spokesman for the Militant Caucus, the leadership turned a blind eye. Evidently they found it convenient to have goon attacks in order to silence critics who advanced an alternative to their sellout strategy.

Following their line of compromise to its logical extreme, the Goldblatt/McClain forces refused to make even the simplest strike preparations, on the ground that this might provoke the employers! Thus during small strikes at Victor California and Automatic Plastic Molding which preceded the master contract battle, McClain & Co. outright refused to mobilize the membership in mass pickets against company strikebreaking.

It was no surprise, then, that the Distributors' Association felt it could launch a wave of police violence against the master contract strikers and get away with it. Doing its best to cover for the leadership, time and again supporters of the Communist Party (CP) urged union members to call on local city governments to pass toothless "anti-scabbing ordinances." At the same time, the pro-CP hacks issued leaflets calling for "Unity, Unity, Unity," labeling any who proposed militant tactics to resist the employer attacks as "ultra-lefts."

Whenever the combative membership moved to defend their strikes, the leadership and the Stalinists moved in to smash the efforts. At Thrifty, where workers had refused to handle scab Nestlé cargo, Abba Ramos, a prominent CP supporter, ordered the workers to handle the goods. While the Local 6 leadership was forced to temporarily backtrack on this betrayal because of action taken by ILWU Local 34 clerks to stop a mass shipment of Nestlé containers, no effective defense was ever built for the Nestlé strike. After 13 weeks on the bricks, Nestlé workers were forced to return to work under the company's original offer.

The CP's role as hatchetman for the bureaucracy was most fully revealed by attempts of CP supporters to file bogus union charges against Stan Gow, a Local 10 executive board member. Gow was charged with "provocative actions" for objecting to a deal made by Ramos and Joe Lindsay to let management and office workers work behind Local 6 lines at Golden Grain. Gow had offered a motion adopted by Local 10 to give full support to the warehouse strike, including hot-cargoing scab products, yet not once did the leaderships of Locals 6, 10 or the International try to implement these statements of support with concrete actions of solidarity. The CP supporters were finally forced to withdraw the charges against Gow out of embarrassment when this exemplary militant was arrested and beaten during a police assault on the Automatic Plastic Molding picket line.

The absolute cynicism of the ILWU leadership is perhaps most starkly revealed in its dealings with Automatic Plastic Molding. While supporters of the Revolutionary Communist Party and Progressive Labor in the ILWU screamed about great victories at Automatic due to the "fightback," outnumbered pickets had been continually harassed and arrested. Now, even though the Distributors' Association has been managing the fight against union recognition at APM all along, the union bureaucracy has decided to call the master contract strikers back to work without forcing the Distributors to recognize the union at APM.

This treachery may very well lead to an open-shop settlement of the type reached at Victor or even the complete destruction of the union at APM. Similarly, the leadership has made no provision for forcing the Distributors to have all charges dropped against the more than 50 pickets arrested since the strike began. This leaves the very real danger that the most militant union members will be left isolated at the mercy of the capitalist state at the very time that the bourgeoisie is intensifying

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# "People's Bicentennial": Yankee Doodle Populism

The year's barrage of nauseatingly star-spangled hard-sell propaganda for America's "200th birthday" will culminate July 4th in Philadelphia, in a chauvinist extravaganza of bourgeois self-congratulation. Philadelphia's Mayor Rizzo called for (but did not get) 15,000 combat troops to protect the celebrants against potential "terrorism," suggesting they could be "deployed... ostensibly as part of the pageantry." Meanwhile the city's transit workers threatened to shut down the public transit system on the 4th unless 345 laid-off workers were rehired. The city acquiesced and the bourgeoisie can look forward to an unimpeded orgy of patriotic hoopla.

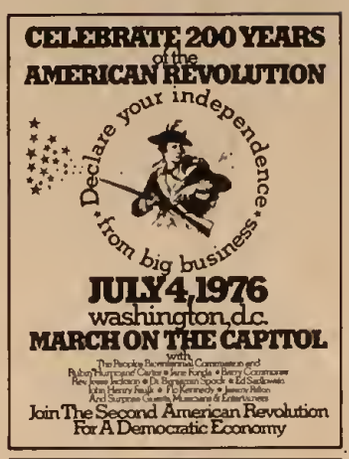
Various assortments of liberals and radicals are organizing possibly sizable but politically limp counter-demonstrations. In Washington, a star-studded array of liberals which includes Rev. Jesse Jackson, Dr. Benjamin Spock, Tom Hayden and "oppositional" Steelworkers bureaucrat Ed Sadlowski has banded together for the "Peoples Bicentennial" whose social-patriotic populism culminates in the call for "economic democracy."

In Philadelphia, a more mainstream radical crew known as the "July 4 Coalition" has assembled a hodgepodge of New Leftists, fake-Leninists and "constituency" groupings. This is the result of months of intensive maneuvering dominated by the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP) along with Youth Against War and Fascism, the Socialist Workers Party, New American Movement and a host of soft-core Maoist formations, Communist Party front groups, guilty liberals, aging antiwar activists and other now homeless flotsam and jetsam tossed up by the radical movements of the 1960's.

The main thrust of this demonstration—a "Bicentennial Without Colonies" pushed by the PSP—is simply an adaptation to reformist liberalism, implying that socialists could legitimately celebrate racist, capitalist America's bicentennial if only its foreign policy were more humane. The hundred or so participating groups are raising slogans ranging from the sub-reformist to the ridiculous, most of which boil down to "self-determination for everybody."

The "independent radical newsweekly" *Guardian*, a member of the Coalition's national commission, has felt itself obliged to point out that the Coalition has no "clear-cut political focus" and chastises the Coalition for its "undemocratic and unscientific" constituency approach, its "rank political opportunism," "political immaturity," "paternalistic tone" and "mechanical" selection of speakers—all under the headline "Support the July 4th Action" (*Guardian*, 23 June 1976)!

Somewhat irritated by this stab in the back, the PSP's Alfredo Lopez, national coordinator of the Coalition, blasts back in the next week's *Guardian*: "It is simply not correct to publish such a negative article two weeks before an action, without informing anyone of its scheduled appearance and without discussing it with the coalition first" and "the role of communists is to direct their work towards building things they support" (while keeping their mouths shut).



**Bicentennial baloney, left and right.**

The hard Maoists, meanwhile, have been denounced by the *Guardian* as "sectarian" for not joining in this acrimonious incarnation of "unity." The October League has refused to participate, while the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP) is staging a separate series of activities under the slogan "Get the Rich Off Our Backs." Though its propaganda points out that the working class and the capitalists are enemies, the RCP's slogans—"Jobs or Income Now" and "We won't fight another rich man's war"—dredged up from the pre-1966 social-democratic SDS, amount to utopian reformism.

Despite its tame "program," the RCP has been refused a parade permit and its attempt to exercise its right to demonstrate may well bring down the savage fury of Rizzo's infamous cops upon its supporters. Rizzo has set the stage for police terror against the RCP by scare-mongering statements about "disruptions, confrontations and possible violence" by radicals (*Philadelphia Inquirer*, 22 June 1976).

None of the assorted liberals and radicals in their competing "coalitions" has the capacity and program to lead what will be America's next revolution—the proletarian socialist revolution. Pandering to the bicentennial patriotism of the bourgeoisie with their utopian reformist schemes, they can offer no way forward for the working class. To the populist social-chauvinism and programless sloganeering of the liberals and their radical tail, the Spartacist League counterposes the spirit of revolutionary internationalism. Workers of the World Unite! ■

# PSP Celebrates Yankee Imperialist Holiday

## Independence Now! For a Puerto Rican Workers Republic in a Socialist Federation of the Caribbean!

On July 4 various reformist/nationalist/liberal lash-ups will sponsor competing bicentennial celebrations in conjunction with the U.S. bourgeoisie's raucous patriotic hoopla. From the macho confrontationism of the Revolutionary Communist Party's "Get the Bosses Off Our Backs" bicentennial to the moldy Vietnam-era reformism of the July 4 Coalition and the liberal jet-set trust busting of the People's Bicentennial Commission, all these political conglomerates attempt to drape themselves in the blood-soaked flag of the American bourgeoisie.

Most anomalous is the role of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP) in the July 4 Coalition. From its origins in the petty-bourgeois Movimiento Pro-Independencia, this reformist workers party has consistently drenched itself in bourgeois Puerto Rican nationalism; now, in order to achieve respectability with U.S. liberals, the PSP has taken to parroting the language of "Americanism," the nationalism of the Yankee imperialists. Its slogan, "A Bicentennial Without Colonies," is intended to gain the support of guilt-ridden liberals just as the U.S. ruling class pauses from its murderous labors to brazenly gloat over its "noble" traditions. Instead of fostering the proletarian internationalism needed to wrest Puerto Rican independence through struggle against the American bourgeoisie, the PSP and its coalition partners appeal to a supposed "American heritage" of anti-colonialism in order to prick the oppressors' conscience.

Explaining the political rationale for intervention of the party's U.S. branch into the bicentennial activities, PSP secretary general Juan Mari Bras oozes with populist acclaim of the "Spirit of '76":

> "The celebration of the bicentennial of independence of this country provides a propitious setting to sensitize the large North American masses to a fundamental problem of humankind which is directly connected to the most positive aspects of the historical significance of the revolution for independence.
>
> "...In the ideological substratum of the large North American masses—hidden in the confusion of prejudices and chauvinist arrogance fomented by the imperialist sector of the yankee bourgeoisie—there still exists a solid consensus of respect for the right of all peoples to their national independence."
>
> —*Claridad* (bilingual supplement), 18 April

Implicit in the "Bicentennial Without Colonies" slogan as in the conception of an "imperialist sector of the yankee bourgeoisie" is the old social-democratic/Stalinist fable that imperialism is merely a form of foreign policy preferred by part of the ruling class and not, as Lenin explained, "the highest stage of capitalism." In its call for the July 4 rally, the PSP-led coalition raises as one of its three key "areas of concern":

> "An end to the current foreign policy of the U.S. government, to its colonial domination over Puerto Rico and the Native American nations, to...its subversive 'intelligence' activities in virtually every country of the world, to its support—political, economic and military—of fascist regimes like those of Brazil and the Philippines or racist regimes like that of South Africa, to the constant intervention which has prevented stability and peace in Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Middle East."

In so many words, this puts forward the idea of ending imperialism not through a proletarian overturn of the capitalist system but through a grand alliance of all those ostensibly opposed to "the current foreign policy," including the liberal bourgeoisie. Although the specific contours of U.S. foreign policy can and do change, the constant features of that policy—defense of U.S. corporations' international investments, bolstering of bourgeois regimes against mass insurgencies, an autonomous foreign intelligence apparatus of spies and hit-men, etc.—are inherent political and military aspects of the imperialist stage of U.S. capitalist development.

But the July 4 Coalition chooses to ignore the organic link between colonial oppression and capitalism and hence the question of workers' revolution. Partly the reason is simple organizational appetites. The PSP has thrown major organizational resources into building the coalition hoping to grab the limelight as the "Third World" darlings of the U.S. left, a niche vacant since the collapse of the Black Panther Party. Like the reformist anti-Vietnam war coalitions on which it is modeled, the July 4 Coalition is a motley political bloc of phony revolutionaries, petty-bourgeois pacifists, liberal clergymen, ethnic community groups and a handful of bourgeois politicians like California Congressman Ron Dellums and Massachusetts state assemblyman Mel King. They are held together by the glue of red, white and blue social patriotism and an opportunist willingness to submerge their many fundamental differences.

There is a more fundamental reason why the PSP appeals to the nationalism of the oppressor and to the imperialist liberals to find aid for its cause. Like all reformists, they fear proletarian revolution, and so instinctively grasp for support from the (non-existent) "anti-imperialist" bourgeoisie. Hence the PSP's repeated calls for an "independentista united front" with the bourgeois-nationalist Puerto Rican Independence Party. Hence its illusory program for "two-stage" revolution (independence now, socialism later).

It should not be surprising, therefore, that Mari Bras and his associates have pinned their hopes on action by the United Nations. Year in and year out, the PSP crawls to the UN Decolonization Committee, begging it to declare Puerto Rican independence. In so doing, they only strengthen the claims of this imperialist den of thieves to be an effective force for "world peace and justice." Their hopes had been heightened by the appearance of an illusory "Third World majority" in the UN during recent years. But for all their petitions and rallies and appeals to the "prestige" of "Third World" despots the PSP has gotten nothing more than a slap in the face. After years of simply ruling the Puerto Rican question out of order, last August the Decolonization Committee took a new tack...it postponed consideration of the question for

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# Guardian...

*(continued from page 4)*

significant period. The qualitatively greater material base of American capitalism, compared to its German and Japanese opponents, made U.S. imperialism the last secure bastion of the world capitalist order. In some ways, the very "liberalism" of U.S. imperialism contributed to its overwhelming military superiority. The U.S. development of the A-bomb was dependent on emigré, Jewish and leftist scientists.

The military power of the Soviet Union combined with the mass resistance movements in Nazi-occupied Europe would have been fully adequate to overthrow fascism and shatter the capitalist order. When the most popular leader of the French Communist Party, André Marty, broke with Stalinism in the early 1950's, he truthfully declared that the Communist-dominated resistance could have easily taken power in 1944, but Moscow ordered it to accept Gaullist/Allied rule.

A United Socialist States of Europe in 1944-45 would have isolated American imperialism in the Western hemisphere, enormously accelerating proletarian class struggle in the last bastion of capitalism. Instead the U.S. was permitted to strangle the West European proletariat and, from its newly acquired industrial bases in West Europe and Japan, to isolate the Soviet bloc and (except for China) to secure domination over Asia, Africa and Latin America. Thus the effect of Stalin's policy of "anti-fascist unity" with Wall Street was to prolong the capitalist system for a significant historical period. *This* was the reward for the Communist Party supporters who demonstrated throughout the early war years for Washington to open a "second front" in Europe, appealing to U.S. imperialism to stop German imperialism.

The continuing sentiment that Roosevelt's America was the more humane, civilized imperialism in World War II expresses Euro-centric white prejudice. It is against the dark-skinned, colonial peoples that American imperialism has committed atrocities comparable to those of the Nazis. A Vietnamese villager who has survived the napalm and flame-throwers of the U.S. expeditionary force might well dissent from the view that American imperialism was the lesser evil compared to Japan. And to the direct crimes of U.S. armies must be added those of America's "Third World" bourgeois puppets, front-men and allies. The thousands of leftists and workers tortured to death in Pinochet's Chile—these too are the victims of the "American century."

The United States of America is the greatest military force upholding international capitalism—it is truly the most monstrous enemy of the world's working masses. The oppressed throughout the world must know that Stalin played a decisive role in creating the "American century." The second imperialist world conflagration should have been the convulsive death agony of capitalism. The exploited masses struggling to throw off the yoke of U.S. imperialism are fighting against division of the world carried out by the "democratic" bourgeoisie in and following World War II.

The Maoist sycophants who base their "strategy" on the precedent of Stalin's subordination of the revolution to U.S. imperialist war aims can offer the working people of the "Third World" nothing but defeats. Only the Trotskyist perspective of working-class independence under the banner of the permanent revolution shows the way to victory. ■

# PL Sectarianism Mars Guyton Campaign

WV Photo

SACRAMENTO—The Committee for Justice for Tyrone Guyton stands at a crossroads and must now take a clear stand against political censorship and exclusion. Recent sectarian incidents endanger the widespread public sympathy that has been developed through united-front action for the cause of Tyrone Guyton, the murdered black youth shot in the back by Emeryville cops in November 1973.

At a June 19 demonstration called by the Guyton Committee, 135 protesters marched to the California state capitol building demanding that the killer cops be indicted. However, a couple of weeks prior to the demonstration, a leaflet was issued over the signatures of the sponsoring organizations of the Committee for Justice for Tyrone Guyton (using their names without consultation) reflecting Progressive Labor Party (PL) positions that had never even been discussed in the Committee. Despite protests by the Spartacist League (SL), the Partisan Defense Committee (PDC) and several union caucuses, the leaflet was distributed before and at the Sacramento demonstration.

The worst episode of sectarianism occurred at the rally when PL "monitors" prevented Martha Phillips of the Partisan Defense Committee from addressing the crowd, even though the PDC had been assured beforehand that it could have a speaker. Further, PL tried to enforce its own chants, objecting to the SL contingent's chant which drew the class line: "Don't Trust the Democrats! For a Labor/Black Defense!" Such anti-democratic attempts to suppress class-struggle politics will only backfire against the Guyton Committee's cause, driving out all groups that disagree with PL's particular brand of reformist politics.

This is not the first time that a Stalinist group has attempted to capture the Committee and turn it into a bureaucratically manipulated front group. From May through August 1974 the SL participated in the Committee for Justice for Tyrone Guyton, until at a demonstration Spartacist supporters were excluded by Revolutionary Union (RU) goons for carrying signs demanding labor/black defense. Within a matter of weeks, all other groups participating either quit or were thrown out by the RU and the Committee was driven into the ground, eventually lapsing into inactivity.

The SL and PDC helped spark the revitalization of the Guyton Committee in recent months. In December the PDC organized a forum with speakers from the Guyton Committee, the Committee for Justice for the Calhoun Family and the Philip L. Allen Defense Committee. In February and again in April, the PDC and SL played an instrumental role in organizing demonstrations called by the Committee and publicizing the case. Moreover, the Committee for a Militant UAW and supporters of "Warehouse Militant" and "Longshore Militant" obtained support of their union locals for these united-front demonstrations, as well as financial contributions totaling several hundred dollars.

The Committee for Justice for Tyrone Guyton must now decide if it will build a broad campaign open to all those who support the cause of fighting cop terror, or whether it is to become a docile instrument for PL reformism, censorship and exclusion.

# ILWU...

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its anti-union drive. All union militants must demand that these charges be dropped immediately.

Undoubtedly, the defeat will leave a section of the ILWU demoralized and discouraged. However, drawing a balance sheet of the events will enable class-struggle militants to prepare a successful struggle in the future. By no means was defeat foreordained. The weak defense of the picket lines, combined with impotent appeals to city governments to halt police scabherding, was an act of conscious bureaucratic sabotage. A militant union leadership would have countered scabbing with mass picketing.

Instead of leaving decisions in the hands of the treacherous labor fakers of the ILWU and the IBT, a joint strike committee elected by the membership of both unions should have been set up. And instead of minimizing the impact of the strike—even allowing some companies belonging to the Distributors' Association to continue operations—the struggle should have been broadened into a West Coast transport strike, encompassing longshoremen and truck drivers as well as warehousemen.

The warehouse strike has confirmed what has been clear in the ILWU for many years: the encrusted regime of Harry Bridges is rotten to the core. With the threat of deregistration on the docks clearly posed and the prospect of renewed employer attacks under the warehouse contract, the urgent necessity of a militant leadership is posed. Only the supporters of the Militant Caucus of Local 6 and of "Longshore Militant" in Local 10 presented a strategy of militant solidarity between longshore, warehouse and the Teamsters that was capable of leading to victory against the companies in this strike. ■

# Times Square...

*(continued from page 2)*

the Hays case to make it "news," except that sex is involved. The Washington scandals have about as much to do with sex as the ancient Roman banquets had to do with hunger. But they do sell papers.

On the subjective level, there is something exquisite about watching Hays' career being ripped up in an orgy of self-righteousness. Hays, currently being dumped from his post as head of the House administration committee, led the crusade against Adam Clayton Powell for misuse of funds in 1967. A powerful and popular Harlem Democrat, Powell was barred from the House for having put his ex-wife on the government payroll. His ouster, preceded by a puritanical campaign of character assassination, was alleged to have nothing to do with the fact that he was the first black to head a House committee. No, it was simply a matter of the "dignity" of the House and the "ethics" that politicians prattle about. And Wayne Hays prattled the loudest.

Now Gerald Ford is taking the opportunity to register his moral outrage at Hays' pecadillos. He is not interested, he says, in Hays' private life; rather, he assures us, his concern is that public funds have been used for purposes not intended!

But it is not just Hays who deserves to be exposed and driven out! So do the hypocritical moralizers who repaid Hays for years of highhanded lording over junior Congressmen by stripping him of his powerful committee chairmanship. All their small-time embezzlements pale in comparison to their truly monstrous crimes against the working people of the world.

"Misuse of public funds?" It was Ford and his henchman Henry Kissinger who arranged for funds to be used for white mercenaries in Africa. The entire CIA budget is secret. But from the standpoint of the bourgeoisie, there is no "misuse" involved in the CIA's spending money to install regimes of savage torture throughout the world, or in the FBI's using its budget to burgle the offices of left-wing organizations, harass labor militants and infiltrate provocateurs into militant black groups. Gerald Ford has vented his spleen about Hays' "misuse of public funds"; he has nothing to say about the use of those funds to murder Black Panthers in their beds.

Russell Baker caught the irony of the moralizing recently in his syndicated humor column. He noted that New York City politicians have passed an unconstitutional law to sweep the midtown streets of pimps and prostitutes so that the city will be morally "clean" for the week of the Democratic convention. He then made the modest proposal that the pimps and prostitutes might consider holding their own convention in Washington. But in an imaginary interview with a Times Square streetwalker, she refuses, saying: "The streets are crawling with Congressmen and predatory female clerks. The whole scene is sick." She will consider a convention in Washington only when they "sweep the streets of Congressmen."

The air of New York may indeed be unwholesome and the seedy sexploitation of 42nd Street unappealing. But it is far too good for the Democratic convention! The corrupt servants of the twin parties of racism and imperialism pollute the world with their wars in Vietnam and their coups in Chile. The revolutionary proletariat, to which falls the task of "sweeping the streets of Congressmen," will not be sidetracked by the bedroom venality of Wayne Hays and his ilk from dealing with the real crimes of the imperialist rulers! ■

# Esmeralda...

*(continued from page 12)*

the Chile Solidarity Committee, complains that the torture ship's visit violates "the very principles of freedom and independence upon which this nation was founded." The Campaign has made its major focus an appeal to the New York City Council.

We think the visit of the junta butchers' death ship is a fitting symbol of the bicentennial. What could be more appropriate than the Esmeralda—with its Chilean, South African, Argentinian and Paraguayan officers—wishing American imperialism a happy birthday? It is the economic and military might of U.S. imperialism which holds up international reaction from Santiago to Johannesburg and throughout the world. The liberals' and Stalinists' touching faith in patriotic appeals to the "progressive" bourgeoisie mirrors their earlier confidence in the popular-front Allende government, whose class collaborationism paved the way for the bloody coup in Chile.

The interests of the international working class demand that the terror regime in Chile be crushed and its symbols of reaction isolated and protested wherever they appear. We call on all those who oppose the blood-drenched Chilean junta to protest the Esmeralda. Join the pickets at the pier at 50th Street and Hudson Street at 1 p.m. on July 5. In particular, the labor movement must boycott this floating death ship. Tugboat workers must refuse to escort the Esmeralda up the Hudson. Longshoremen must not allow the torture ship to dock. Maritime workers must refuse to service the Esmeralda. Its officers must not be permitted to disembark. Stop the Esmeralda!■

# PSP...

*(continued from page 9)*

a year! Even if the U.N. voted to affirm Puerto Rico's right to self-determination, the resolution wouldn't be worth the paper on which it was written. Ten years ago for example the General Assembly voted that racist South Africa had no rights over Southwest Africa, a vote which remains a dead letter to this day.

Earlier this year, the U.S. Congress drafted a "Compact of Permanent Union" which reaffirms the colonial status of Puerto Rico while providing a linguistic face-lift by changing its English designation from "commonwealth" to "free associated state" (which was always the obfuscating Spanish designation). In opposing this arrogant bill (now temporarily shelved), the PSP and its supporters waved the stars and stripes in the face of unimpressed Congressmen. Rosa Borenstein, executive secretary of the Puerto Rico Solidarity Committee, told the House Committee on Territorial and Insular Affairs that "To approve this bill would mean treason to those who fought in a bloody war to gain U.S. independence from England" (*Claridad*, bilingual supplement, 23 May). In this scene it is hard to decide who are the crasser hypocrites: the U.S. Congressmen who don't believe a word of the Declaration of Independence, or the PSP spokesmen who know this but pretend not to. The PSP's effort to sucker the American ruling class is as futile as it is pitiful.

But even more indicative of the PSP's constant willingness to water down its demands to attract a few liberal benefactors is that it now focuses on calling simply for "discussion" of Puerto Rico's status by the Decolonization Committee and "discussion" of the compact in Puerto Rican communities in the U.S. Not to be outdone, the lead-off rallies by the July 4th Coalition have tacitly dropped the demand for Puerto Rican independence, limiting themselves to opposition to the "Compact of Permanent Union."

Even formal political independence for Puerto Rico cannot now be won by striking a deal with U.S. liberals or through hobnobbing with UN notables. The PSP will not bring it a step closer by demonstrating their political respectability. It will be won only through the determined struggle of the Puerto Rican masses and the solidarity of the American workers movement with that struggle.

The fight for an independent Puerto Rico must be led by a revolutionary workers party, a Trotskyist party, which employs the methods of the class struggle and calls upon international proletarian solidarity to win genuine national liberation, going beyond formal political independence to the revolutionary expropriation of imperialist and native capital.■

# Portuguese Elections...

*(continued from page 7)*

would have been fatal, not only to the working class but particularly to these ostensible revolutionaries who claim to oppose the reformists' class collaboration.

And what *did* Rosa Luxemburg say? In the programmatic statement of the Communist Party of Germany, "What Does the Spartakusbund Want?" she writes: "The Spartakusbund refuses to share government power with the bourgeoisie, with the Eberts and Scheidemanns, because it views such cooperation as a betrayal of the principles of socialism, a strengthening of counterrevolution and a laming of the revolution." The call today for a Soares (Scheidemann) government does not aid the workers in breaking from the bourgeoisie; rather, it paves the way for bloody termination of the pre-revolutionary situation that has existed in Portugal since May 1974.

### Lame Ducks in Troubled Waters

The election campaign period in June has amply confirmed the fact that the PRT/LCI candidacy was not a firm opposition to "the capitalists and generals." In the very next issue of *Combate Socialista* (2 June) after declaring that the only guarantees given by the PCP candidate are those of collaborating with the generals, the PRT announces that worker militants should cast their votes for Octávio Pato. It goes so far as to admit that "now it is impossible to vote for any candidate who is running against the generals, because...that candidate does not exist." Perhaps the best expression of this bankrupt policy is a subtitle in the same article: "A Game With an Empty Hand." The PRT certainly has an empty hand politically, and its call for "expressing your repudiation of the principal military candidate," Eanes, by a vote for Pato opens the door to all kinds of "lesser evil" policies *including voting for a popular front (such as the Allende coalition in Chile) against the reactionary right.*

The LCI has also called for a vote for Pato, as has every other ostensibly Trotskyist organization in Portugal, including the OCI supporters (CLMRP), the Healyites (LCPR) and a group of supporters of the American Socialist Workers Party expelled from the PRT earlier this year. It is only the Spartacist tendency that warned that neither the general "with the dark glasses," the admiral "without fear," the "Robin Hood" major nor their Stalinist lap dog offers an opportunity to cast a vote for working-class independence.■

# Sergeant Cardenas...

*(continued from page 12)*

the departure of the fleet was the signal for the coup (as later occurred, on September 10), so they immediately rushed to their units in order to prevent the ships from sailing. But when they arrived they were arrested by the cossacks of the naval infantry (marines) and the military intelligence service.

The torture suffered by the sailors was ferocious. After being repeatedly kicked and beaten they were thrown into "the pool"—a tank full of mud, excrement, gravel and all kinds of garbage—and then forced to lie down so that their bodies were cut open by the gravel. A second form of torture consisted of submerging the victim in an oil drum filled with excrement and urine. during the questioning, the sailors were repeatedly ordered to admit that Altamirano, Enriquez and Garretón were their leaders, and when they refused they were strapped to the "cross," a medieval torture device, where they were left expecting to be "quartered" at any time. In the case of Cárdenas, simulated executions were also used in an attempt to force a "confession." Other prisoners who saw him some days after the arrests noted many head injuries.

During this entire time, the naval prosecutor refused to let anyone see the accused. Neither lawyers nor senators were permitted to enter the naval bases, much less speak with the prisoners. Meanwhile, the naval high command was demanding the removal of parliamentary immunity for Altamirano and Garretón, so that they could be tried for encouraging a mutiny. Simultaneously, the air force was brazenly carrying out searches for arms in factories around the country, and the truck owners' "strike" reduced food supplies and sent the petty bourgeoisie into a panic. "Destabilization" was going full blast; the coup was under way.

### The UP Responds

Despite the tortures, the sailors were not broken. They managed to smuggle out a letter, signed by 29 of the arrested, which denounced the lie that they had conspired with left-wing political leaders. On the contrary, they said, "We, sailors who oppose a coup d'état, have attempted by every means to inform the people and the government of the coup being prepared by the officers of the Navy." After describing the incredible brutalities inflicted upon them, the signatories concluded:

> "Is it a crime to defend the government, the Constitution, legality and the people? Or, on the other hand, is it legal not to respect the law, to overthrow the government and wipe out the lives of thousands of people?
> "WE WILL LET THE WORKERS ANSWER THAT."

This letter was read by Carlos Altamirano at a mass rally in the National Stadium (soon to be used as a torture center on September 9). But what did this "socialist," who led the left wing of Allende's party, do during the preceding month? His only action was to issue an equivocating statement calling for "agreement between the people and the armed forces in a noble and patriotic mission" and stating, "we don't want to suggest that our armed forces...could choose the way of armed *pronunciamientos* which would lead them to lead reactionary dictatorships such as in countries like Brazil..." (*Punto Final*, 11 September 1973).

And Allende? On August 9, two days after the announcement of the mass arrests by naval authorities, he swore in a new cabinet, including the heads of the three armed forces and the national police, denouncing "ultra-leftists" who would create a "parallel army" and stating: "The mission of this Cabinet is to restore political order and to put an end to fascist *or left-wing* groups that try to subvert that order" (*New York Times*, 10 August 1973, our emphasis). As part of the tacit "deal" which laid the basis for the short-lived UP-military coalition, Allende kept hands off the armed forces during his last month of office. This permitted the generals to organize their coup without interference from outside, and to continue the reign of terror against "unreliable elements" within the military.

The popular front failed to defend those courageous sailors who risked their lives to defend it. This is not becauseof any "right turn" by the UP in its last months, but is inherent in the nature of the popular front. From the very beginning, with the inclusion of the Radicals and other small bourgeois parties in the Popular Unity coalition, the reformist Socialist and Communist parties gave guarantees of their commitment to remain within the bounds of the capitalist system. In the end this meant surrendering meekly, without resistance, to a horrendous bloodbath that cost the lives of thousands of the most militant workers and leftists, and of Allende himself.

—Smash the junta through workers revolution! No popular front illusions!

—Free Juan Cárdenas and his comrades! Free all class-war prisoners in Chile!

**STOP THE RIGHTIST TERROR IN ARGENTINA!**

**Hands Off Mario Munoz!**

*Public Meeting Sponsored by the Committee to Save Mario Munoz*

**Friday, July 9 at 8 p.m.**

*Speakers*
Andrew Brewin, NDP, MP for Greenwood
David Archer, President, Ontario Federation of Labour
plus speakers from the Group for Defense of Civil Rights in Argentina, International Spartacist tendency, Socialist League, and others

*Chair:*
Paul Copeland, Attorney

**Innis College Town Hall**
**2 Sussex**
**TORONTO**

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Michigan Union, U. of Michigan
Ann Arbor, MI 48109

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WORKERS VANGUARD

## Chilean Torture Ship Invited for July 4

# Stop the Esmeralda!

The Chilean prison ship Esmeralda will sail into New York harbor July 4 as part of U.S. imperialism's bicentennial festivities. This floating torture chamber symbolizes the Pinochet junta's reign of terror against the working people of Chile. For many of the countless victims of the repression, the Esmeralda is more than a symbol—it is the incarnation of pain, fear and death for themselves, their families, their comrades.

The Esmeralda must be stopped! Its welcome by the American rulers is an arrogant insult to the international working class. Elementary solidarity with the persecuted victims of reactionary repression demands that left and labor militants prepare a more suitable "welcome" for the blood-drenched Esmeralda: a massive protest to block the torture ship. Down with the junta—Stop the Esmeralda!

The Pinochet junta has tried to deny that the Esmeralda is, in the words of one Chilean lawyer, "a torture chamber, a flagellation chamber, a floating jail of horror, death and fear to Chilean men and women." But the voices of its victims cannot be silenced. "Everyone was stripped naked and placed under a jet of seawater... the screams and the crying of the women who were detained next to us cannot be expressed in this declaration," one former prisoner of the Esmeralda's sadistic torturers told Amnesty International. Another told an Organization of American States commission: "The seven of us were tortured on the Esmeralda for nine days. They applied electric shock on my skin, on my testicles, on my chest and back...."

The five-nation investigating team reported that the Esmeralda was cited "with significant unanimity" as a place of torture by inmates of 12 different Chilean prisons. In 1974 the OAS Inter-American Commission on Human Rights was prevented from inspecting the ship on the grounds it was designated as a "military area." The Commission's report cited testimony from prisoners who were held on the Esmeralda and "beaten so badly that they had urinated blood and from other prisoners

who said their tongues had been burned."

Frank Braynard, head of "Operation Sail" which has organized the 228-ship bicentennial flotilla, answered the charges against the Esmeralda with the remark, "it's too bad to hamper a good ceremony by bringing politics into the picture." William Whipfler of the National Council of Churches appropriately replied that the invitation of the Esmeralda is analogous to "having the Germans bring mobile gas units here for an automobile show in the 1940's."

The liberals and Stalinists are moaning that the Esmeralda's participation in the celebration mars the meaning of the bicentennial. A leaflet of the Campaign to Stop the Esmeralda, coordinated by

*continued on page 11*

## Victim of Allende's Popular Front and the Pinochet Junta

# Free Sergeant Cárdenas!

Beginning on 5 August 1973, a wave of arrests swept through Chilean naval installations in the ports of Valparaíso and Talcahuano. In all, more than 100 people were detained on charges of seditious activity. They were brutally tortured and held incommunicado until, on September 11, the Popular Unity (UP) regime was overthrown by a military conspiracy.

But the "plotters" were not released by the new regime, for the "crime" of the non-commissioned officers and sailors arrested in early August had been to oppose an attempted coup against the elected government of Salvador Allende. For this they were imprisoned for more than 30 days under the UP without the government lifting a finger to defend them, and have sat in jail for more than 33 months since then.

Last month, 57 of the accused were finally sentenced on charges of mutiny and subversion. Most received three-year terms, others got eight years. Two civilians from the MAPU party, Hernán Pacheco and Leopoldo Luna, were given 11 and 10 years respectively, and Juan Cárdenas, the sailor identified by the naval prosecutor as leader of the "conspiracy," was sentenced to 13 years at hard labor.

These men are among the most viciously persecuted victims of the barbarous Pinochet junta. They are also forgotten men. Their names are not included in the lists of prisoners highlighted by the various "Democratic Chile" committees internationally for a simple reason: to raise their case is to indict the criminal passivity of the Socialist and Communist leaders in the face of the real conspirators; it is to call into question the popular front that bound the workers to the "constitutionalist" military officers.

Defend Juan Cárdenas and his comrades, victims of the junta, pariahs of the popular front! Their crime? They sought to prevent the mass butchery that has already cost over 30,000 lives.

### The "Conspiracy"

The 62 naval personnel against whom charges were filed were of modest origins. Sergeant Cárdenas was the highest ranking non-com and a majority of the naval personnel were enlisted men; 17 were employees of the government shipyards. None were affiliated with left-wing political groups.

After the *tancazo*, the attempted putsch by an armored regiment in Santiago on 29 June 1973, Socialist Party general secretary Carlos Altamirano and MIR leader Miguel Enriquez called on soldiers and sailors to disobey orders for a coup. In response, a group of naval personnel arranged a meeting with Altamirano, Enriquez and MAPU chief Oscar Garretón. At this meeting, they informed the political leaders of preparations for a putsch taking place in the navy, and swore to defend the legal government

The naval commanders evidently found out about this meeting, and decided to smoke out the "unreliable elements." On the eve of August 5, the crews of the cruisers Blanco Encalada and Almirante Latorre were informed that the high command had resolved to take power; they were given two hours to settle personal affairs and present themselves in formation. The non-coms and enlisted men who had pledged to defend the UP government knew that

*continued on page 11*

WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

No. 117 9 July 1976

## Stop Supreme Court Bloodbath of Blacks and Poor!

# Abolish the Death Penalty!

It would have pleased this country's rulers to have been able to celebrate the Fourth of July with a public execution of a black "cop-killer," most fittingly aboard the Chilean torture ship Esmeralda. And they came close. In what is certainly the racist spirit of 1976, the Supreme Court this week started up the machinery for a legal bloodbath of hundreds of doomed men and women, mainly black, who have waited in their cells for years poised between hope and death. Untold hundreds or thousands more will take their places on death row, on their way to the gas chamber, the gallows, the firing squad and the electric chair.

For nine years these instruments of official murder have been gathering dust. Not since Louis Jose Monge was gassed to death in Colorado on 2 June 1967 has a prisoner been legally executed in the U.S. But the momentum behind the reactionary Supreme Court decision has been building. The rulings of this session of the high court form a racist pattern of the ebb of liberalism in the face of social crisis.

With this 7 to 2 decision the Supreme Court reversed an earlier 5 to 4 ruling against the death penalty established in the 1972 case of Furman v. Georgia. This year's dissenters were Brennan and Marshall, who in 1972 had opposed the death penalty in principle as "cruel and unusual punishment" proscribed by the eighth and fourteenth amendments. Those who had in 1972 opposed the death penalty on the grounds of its "wanton and freakish" application now uphold its exercise by states where they deem it satisfactory in practice.

So the automatic death penalty laws of Louisiana and North Carolina are struck down and their prisoners most likely reprieved. The laws of Texas, Florida and Georgia—and by implication of most of the 30 states which have passed death penalty legislation—are upheld as providing sufficient consideration of "mitigating" and "aggravating" circumstances. So racist juries of Georgia can now decide—as prescribed by the law signed by Jimmy Carter in 1972—whether a convicted black criminal is to be executed. All the states which have passed capital punishment laws similar to those sanctioned by the court can begin executing their prisoners. Other states are no doubt feverishly rewriting their laws to bring them into line with the Supreme Court's decision.

It is a bitter irony for civil-rights liberals that it is through their futile "best hope" for progressive change—the courts—that so much of the racist reaction is being codified. The legalistic NAACP which alongside the ACLU has campaigned for abolition of the death penalty, stressing the predominance of blacks among those facing execution—now finds its chosen instrument, the courts, spearheading the backlash which is reversing the liberals' much-touted "victories."

For the abolition of the death penalty is not the only victim of the anti-reform drive. Busing has taken a beating and it is clear that the courts are another current in the flood of racist hysteria and not a dam against it. Minimum wages and other matters are being "returned to the states" in a measure again aimed particularly against the blacks and the poor, but which is geared to worsen the wages and living standards of the entire working class. Puritanical anti-sodomy laws are upheld with bible-thumping proclamations. The two exceptions to the retrograde pattern of this year's Supreme Court (ruling that abortions do not require the woman's family to consent and that newspapers should not be barred from discussing criminal cases undergoing trial) are "safe" decisions involving no racial angle.

### Capital Punishment and the Capitalist State

At the heart of the racist Supreme Court decision lies the function of the capitalist state in repressing with force

*continued on page 10*

Wide World

# Financiers Order New Government in Madrid

**Down with Juan Carlos! Smash the Francoist Regime! For A Workers Republic!**

Informations Ouvrieres

King Juan Carlos

JULY 6—Thursday's announcement that Spanish king Juan Carlos I had requested the resignation of Prime Minister Carlos Arias Navarro provoked a wave of expectation in the so-called "democratic opposition." Newspapers suggested that the foreign minister, José Maria de Areilza, might be named head of government in order to "quicken the pace of change." Liberals sent urgent messages to the king renewing pleas for a pact with the "moderate" opposition. But within three days, a new prime minister had been named that once again (as last December) dashed the vain hope of the "reformers" for a carefully orchestrated passage to a semi-bonapartist regime à la Karamanlis in Greece. The king's selection: Adolfo Suárez González, outgoing minister for the National Movement, political vehicle of the Franco dictatorship and organizing center for the bitter-end Francoist Bunker.

Rather than a blocking maneuver by fascistic Falangists, however, it turned out that the nomination of Suárez was a power grab by the Opus Dei, a Catholic lay organization that acts as a representative of powerful Spanish banking interests, aimed above all at preventing the likes of Areilza or interior minister Manuel Fraga Iribarme from making any kind of deals (however limited) with the opposition. Iberian high finance moved to ensure that the Francoist dictatorship will not be dismantled despite various projects for "liberalization."

The liberals and reformist socialists who place their hopes in a "negotiated break" with the Francoist regime had been pushing for an agreement with Fraga. But while the reformists refuse to recognize the tremendous explosion which the elimination of the moribund dictatorship would bring, the big capitalists have once again shown their understanding of the dangers to bourgeois rule inherent in any "democratization." They have opted for a *continuista* regime such as the Caetano government which ruled Portugal following the death of long-time dictator António Salazar.

### The Platajunta

At the end of March, the various opposition groups comprising the two popular-front formations, Junta Democrática and Platform of Democratic Convergence, merged to form the Democratic Coordinating Council (CD). In its founding declaration the CD calls on "the economic, professional, cultural and public administration sectors, as well as the ecclesiastical, military and judicial institutions" to open a "dialogue on the altar of higher patriotic interests, leading to the realization of the peaceful alternative...." It then addresses "all democratic, politi-

*continued on page 3*

# Letters

## Cops and Racist Terror

26 June 1976

Dear Comrades:

In recent months *WV* has carried several articles dealing with Nazi and KKK inspired assaults on Blacks in the area of southwest Chicago. Recent documentation has also revealed a persistent pattern of collusion between these sages of reaction and the bourgeois state. From the deep south to the 'liberal' north, evidence has demonstrated that the line between cop and Klansman is very thin and sometimes non-existent. That the state is not neutral - that it *won't* defend oppressed minorities and the labor movement—is painfully obvious.

A revealing analogue to this pattern of oppression is the history of pogroms in Czarist Russia. Beginning with the Odessa pogrom in 1871, complicity for the murder of Jews rested squarely on the shoulders of the Czarist police and the highest echelons of the state apparatus. There were some 225 pogroms between 1881 and 1883, reports of which illustrated the marriage of forces between the pogromists and the police.

The infamous Kishinev pogrom in the spring of 1903, one of the most brutal in Russian history, was directly fostered by the Czarist state. Before the bloodbath, Count Plehve (the minister of the interior) commanded the governor of Kishinev to order his police not to fire upon the pogromists! Primarily under the leadership of the Jewish Bund (the SWP should take note of this!) independent defense units were formed in the wake of the Kishinev pogrom. Pogroms then acquired a new dimension: police would assail the defense squads and then step out of the affair. The description of a 1903 pogrom in Homel by the historian Dubnov is particularly implicating:

> "Frightened, the other peasants fled, and then the police proceeded to arrest many Jews.... The looters were just at the point of making a hasty retreat when a detachment of soldiers appeared and fired a salvo in the direction of the Jewish defenders.... Seeing themselves supported by the police, the looters regained their courage and recommenced with even greater enthusiasm their destructive work. Wherever they went, they were preceeded by soldiers who protected them against the Jews, striking the latter with their bayonets and rifle butts... Among those arrested were many more Jews than Christians.
> —Quoted from *The Jews in Russia* by Gerard Israel

Two years later, in the midst of the revolutionary events of 1905, a new, more violent series of pogroms swept Odessa, Kiev, Chernigov, and numerous other towns. Under the financial and organizational tutelage of the Czar and his entourage, reactionary gangs, such as the Black Hundreds and the League of the Russian People, appeared. Inciteful proclamations were printed at police stations and the Czar himself was reported to have donned the badge of the anti-semitic League of the Russian People.

It is noteworthy that in a recent series of articles in the *Militant* on the Jews in Russia by David Frankel, the complicity of the Czarist state in the instigation of pogroms and the existence of Jewish self-defense groups is documented. But Frankel, however, does not conclude that the organization of self-defense squads on the basis of the labor movement and the oppressed minorities is a central and immediate task.

To the contrary, the SWP, for which he is a spokesman, tenaciously and perfidiously clings to the notion that cops and troops can be forced to defend blacks. Obviously, this is neither the lesson of the civil rights movement nor of the Czar's pogroms! The history of Czarist Russia corroborates precisely what the SWP attempts to deny: legalism and opportunism notwithstanding, federal troops will defend blacks in the same manner as the Czar's police defended the Jews.

With Bolshevik Greetings,
B.W.

# Mass. Alliance Tops Bow to Court Ultimatum

BOSTON, July 6—Following the aborting of a militant strike after only three days by the leadership of the Massachusetts Alliance, Massachusetts state workers here will vote on a new contract this Friday.

On June 24 the bureaucrats capitulated to an ultimatum by Suffolk County Superior Court Judge Thomas R. Morse, who had imposed a $200,000-a-day fine on the striking unions. As in every other aspect of this tightly controlled strike, which grew more solid every day despite government threats, the union tops did not consult the ranks in any way before issuing the back to work order.

The settlement produced by mediation is a $2,450 increase spread over three years. While this is the first wage increase for Massachusetts state workers since 1969 (!), it is reportedly only $50 higher than the state's final offer before the strike and $1,200 below the union's demand for a two-year contract. Unsurprisingly, the *Boston Globe* (1 July) reports that "Administration officials appear to be very happy with the final agreement."

UPI

**Mass. Alliance striker picketing state office building in Boston.**

Although Governor Michael Dukakis promised amnesty for strikers after they returned to work, he announced that they will not be paid for days on strike. Massachusetts public employees must reject this fraud, which the spineless leadership is attempting to foist off as a "victory." The rotten settlement must be voted down and the strike resumed! For a substantial pay boost with a full cost-of-living escalator! End all anti-strike laws!■

## Letter to Joseph Hansen

Revolutionary Communist Group
London
24th June 1976

To Joseph Hansen
*Intercontinental Press*

Dear Comrade Hansen,

We recently received a letter from John Benson asking me to sign an enclosed statement condemning the use of slander by the WRP in their campaign against the Socialist Workers Party, and in particular Joseph Hansen and George Novack, in relation to the assassination of Trotsky. The RCG clearly condemns this unsubstantiated campaign of slander against the Socialist Workers Party. However, we have certain criticisms against the rather liberal and individualistic way the SWP has responded to this campaign. We believe that the response has to be a political one and while we have nothing against important individuals, unconnected with present Trotskyist organisations, signing the statement, we think that the statement should have the support of revolutionary organisations and not representative individuals from the entire spectrum of the Trotskyist movement.

We wish to know why it is that until this time the International Spartacist Tendency, an organisation with which we have very little in common, has not been asked to sign the statement. We obtained this information through informal discussion with them on the question of the statement. We approached them for information, through their comrades in Britain. We would not like to think that you were not asking one of the leading Trotskyist tendencies in the USA to sign the statement because of political differences with them. This would go against the whole tenor of your campaign. We would like some information on this.

The Political Committee of the RCG has agreed to allow me to sign the statement on two conditions.

1. That after my name in brackets it should say 'for the PC [Political Committee] of the RCG'.

2. That we receive assurances from you that all organisations who are prepared to sign the statement and who are regarded as part of the Trotskyist left are asked to do so. This would include the International Spartacist Tendency.

Yours fraternally,
David Yaffe
(for PC of RCG)

## Letter to Spartacist League

Spartacist League

31 June 1976

Dear Comrades,

As per my telephone conversation today with a representative of your Central Committee, enclosed is a copy of the statement the SWP is circulating rejecting the Healy slanders against George Novack and Joseph Hansen. The statement will be published, together with the list of signers, at the end of July.

We request that a leading member of Spartacist sign this statement, which we are circulating widely among groups and individuals associated with Trotskyism or Trotsky. I would suggest that Jim Robertson would be a good person to represent you, because of his international reputation. If you have any suggestions for others in the U.S. or other countries who might be willing to endorse this statement, that would be appreciated.

Comradely,

Barry Sheppard
National Organization Secretary
[Socialist Workers Party]

## Letter to Socialist Workers Party

New York
7 July 1976

Barry Sheppard
National Organization Secretary
Socialist Workers Party

Dear Comrade Sheppard,

It is with a felt sense of obligation that on behalf of the International Executive Committee of the international Spartacist tendency I sign the "Statement on the Slanders Circulated by the Healy Group Against Hansen, Novack, and the Socialist Workers Party" which you have sent us.

Of course we find the Healy-Banda accusations monstrous. We have campaigned consistently over the years against those who—importing bourgeois practice into the workers movement—invoke the cheap accusations of "cop" against their political opponents. The late biographer of Leon Trotsky, Isaac Deutscher, lived long enough to himself unequivocally condemn an earlier and lesser version of this Healyite practice in connection with the beating of Ernest Tate.

The Spartacist tendency's differences with the Socialist Workers Party and its leading representatives Joseph Hansen and George Novack are, in our view, of a programmatic magnitude amounting to the difference between revolutionary Marxism and reformism. It is the very magnitude of these differences which leads us to particularly welcome this opportunity to assist in the defense of the honorable reputations of two veteran socialists. Given the decades of socialist activity on the part of these comrades, we are repelled by the Healyites' egregious effrontery and can only echo, with all proportions guarded, Trotsky's remarks to the Dewey Commission. Defending himself against the Stalinists' incredible charges that he had secretly worked against the USSR on behalf of fascism, Trotsky in his closing testimony pointed to a veritable mountain of his books, articles and speeches in defense of the USSR and socialism and noted: "One gets the impression that I built a skyscraper to 'camouflage' a dead rat."

As you know, the Spartacist League in this country campaigned virtually alone for months, with leaflets and pickets of Workers League meetings, to protest the Healyites' scurrilous defamation of Hansen and Novack. These efforts on behalf of workers democracy goaded the Healyites into extending their wild accusations to include our tendency. We are pleased to solidarize with the efforts now undertaken by the Socialist Workers Party to expose and discredit the Healyite slander campaign.

Fraternal greetings,
James Robertson
National Chairman, SL/U.S.

Informations Ouvrieres

Barcelona demonstration in February demands amnesty.

Der Spiegel

Former premier Arias Navarro

# New Madrid Government...

*(continued from page 1)*

cal, labor and social forces" calling for

> "the establishment at the time of the break of organs of executive power with a broad coalition, without exclusions or obligations, that guarantees the full use of democratic liberties and rights and the opening and development of the constituent process...."
>
> —*Mundo Obrero*, 9 April

The call for a "constituent process" and a provisional executive power constitute an offer by the forces of the Democratic Coordinating Council (or the "Platajunta" as it has become known)—fundamentally the Communist Party (PCE), Socialist Workers Party (PSOE) and their Christian Democratic allies—to hold off a democratic vote by the population and thereby shore up the Francoist regime. But the new element here is the declaration's failure to *in any way* attack the monarchy, and the (definitely intended) implicit extending of the hand to Francoist "reformers" Areilza and Fraga. A "broad coalition" with a sector of the dictatorship itself—this is the conclusion to which the PCE's policy of "national reconciliation" has led.

The response of the government, however, was as negative as the recent appointment of Suárez González: on April 3, when they were about to announce the communiqué of the CD, three "Platajunta" leaders, Marcelino Camacho, Alvarez Dorronsoro and Nazario Aguado were arrested, and kept in jail for over a month. However, several weeks later José María Gil Robles, head of the Democratic People's Federation which had just joined the CD, was received by King Juan Carlos. And on May 10, Foreign Minister Areilza spoke at a private club in Madrid offering to the opposition the perspective of "a national pact" (*Guardian*, [London], 12 May). It may be just such offers, and various corridor contacts between the "reform" ministers and the "democratic opposition," which prompted the Opus Dei to force a change of regime.

### Break With Popular Frontism!

In every conceivable way, Santiago Carrillo's PCE has sought to assure the Spanish bourgeoisie that it does not intend to threaten capitalist rule in Spain. Enter NATO? Fine. No elections? Okay, we'll call it a "constituent process." Maintain the Guardia Civil, Political-Social Brigade, riot police and other special forces of repression? No problem, all mention of these bodies is dropped from the Platajunta declaration. But even so, the capitalists are unwilling to consent to a "negotiated break" and a popular front.

This does not make the Communist Party's class collaboration any less dangerous. Already there are numerous significant bourgeois political formations in the CD (Gil Robles, who during the Spanish Civil War sided with Franco; political counselors of Don Juan, the father of the king; the Democratic Left of Joaquim Ruiz Jimènez). In the 1930's, the popular front in Catalonia could not muster any more than a few motley labor lawyers (Companys) to represent the bourgeoisie, but even this faint "shadow of the bourgeoisie" was sufficient to serve as the guarantee for private property and the maintenance of the capitalist state. This was the lesson which Trotsky and the Spanish Bolshevik-Leninists sought to drive home, and which centrist formations such as the POUM ignored at their peril, and to the great detriment of the Spanish proletariat.

Today the POUM is up to its old games, having applied to enter the Socialist Convergence of Catalonia (a regional social-democratic formation), which in turn has applied to enter the CD. Meanwhile the ostensibly Trotskyist French OCI raises funds for the POUM; there is no contradiction, moreover, since the OCI's central slogan is for a "republic in Spain"—a policy which is entirely compatible with the bourgeois popular-front Democratic Coordinating Council.

The Liga Comunista (LCE, Spanish supporters of the reformist minority of the "United Secretariat") have, in a different fashion, also adapted to the class collaboration of the dominant reformist workers parties. With characteristic deviations from Trotskyism (such as calling for "purging" the capitalist state apparatus of Francoist criminals and "democratic control" of the bourgeois army), the LCE in the past has mechanically called for a general strike to overthrow the dictatorship. Its governmental slogan was for a provisional regime made up of the forces involved in the toppling of Francoism, a formula which could include bourgeois forces.

More recently however, reflecting its closer ties to the American SWP, the LCE has couched its demands in exclusively "democratic" terminology. Thus, the task of a "provisional Catalan workers government" would be to organize a constituent assembly. And for the Basque regions a recent issue of *Combate* (14 April) raised a series of slogans, including for a Basque constituent assembly, that fails to even mention the demand for a workers government. While Trotskyists raise the demand for a democratic constituent assembly in Spain to mobilize the masses against the Francoist dictatorship and expose the conciliationist moves by the PCE and the popular front, we do not make this into a preliminary "democratic" stage of the revolution.

To do so means to support the bourgeoisie in smashing incipient forms of dual power which would arise during and following the overthrow of the Francoist regime. And this is precisely what is happening in Portugal, where the LCE's co-thinkers of the Partido Revolucionário dos Trabalhadores (PRT—Revolutionary Workers Party) line up with Socialist leader Mário Soares in the name of a "sovereign constituent assembly" while the social democrats are calling for the dissolution of all "parallel powers" and disarming of workers militias.

In contrast, the Spartacist tendency calls for the formation of a workers government responsible to a soviet body. In Portugal this could be formed through the unification of various workers commissions, soldiers committees, neighborhood commissions and other working-class organizations. In Spain, the workers commissions and other clandestine labor organizations would play a key role in the formation of such a body. But we do *not* call for a constituent assembly as a necessary "stage" of the revolution. This reformist conception would lead straight to social democracy or Stalinism, and recalls the dissolution of the German workers councils in 1919 in favor of a bourgeois parliament. ■

Vioujard/Gamma-Liaison

Mass for Basque demonstrator killed by police near Bilbao in March.

## CORRECTIONS

The article, "Victory to Mass. State Workers Strike!," in *WV* No. 115 (25 June) reported that the raised bridges which jammed traffic in Boston on the first day of the state-wide public workers strike were later lowered by striking bridge-tenders under a court order. We have subsequently learned that the bridges were actually lowered by supervisory personnel.

In *WV* No. 114 (18 June) an error appears in the article "Klan, Nazis Riot—Daley Arrests Black Protesters." As a result of a faulty telephone transcription, a statement by Socialist Workers Party congressional candidate Andrew Pulley calling upon his Democratic and Republican opponents "to put pressure on the city government and mayor *to arrest* the culprits" (i.e., the fascist thugs) was incorrectly rendered as "to address the culprits."

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## At L.A. Convention

# CWA Tops Raise Dues, Raid Strike Fund, Ignore Layoffs

LOS ANGELES Under the banner "A National Union in the National Interest," the Communications Workers of America (CWA), representing 450,000 members, mainly phone workers, convened here for its annual convention June 21. While generally a ho-hum affair, the convention did, however, manage to take a few significant steps backwards. It whitewashed the International's strikebreaking in 1974, raised dues and rifled the already small strike fund to bolster sagging union finances. The convention also put the union on record in support of racist, "right-to-work" Jimmy Carter for president.

The report of a special committee on collective bargaining was necessitated by the colossal record of sabotaging CWA strikes run up by the union's International leadership. In 1971, in violation of union rules, CWA tops called off a strike before the ratification vote was completed. In 1974, the first year of so-called "national bargaining," the leadership imposed a complete "news blackout" during bargaining, effectively keeping the membership in the dark. No strike vote was taken at all until after the contract had expired. Then, despite a two-to-one margin in favor of striking, the International cancelled a nationwide strike mere hours before it was scheduled to begin!

At the 1975 convention, protesters, spearheaded by delegates from CWA District 10 (the South) presented resolutions calling for mandatory taking of strike votes before contract expiration, "no contract no work," no news blackout, and an end to national agreements which placed restrictive conditions on local bargaining. After a desultory floor fight, in which supporters of the resolutions ended up swearing allegiance to the International, the disputed questions were tabled to a committee.

The committee's report to this year's convention was a whitewash of the regime of CWA president Glenn Watts and contained no essential changes. The convention did pass an amendment to the committee's report, which provides that "brief daily reports shall be made by tape, by both National and Local bargaining committees." In return for this piddling concession, the bulk of the committee's report, which called for rejection of all the changes proposed in 1975 (including such elementary demands as "no contract—no work"), was adopted. The report also endorsed other strikebreaking measures. It asserted that strikes should not be called if a "tentative agreement" is reached with the company before the contract expiration date unless and until this agreement is explicitly rejected by the membership. It also reaffirmed the power of the CWA executive board to halt strikes in progress before ratification when a tentative agreement is reached.

### Dues Increase Instead of Fighting Layoffs

While granting wider powers to the International to sabotage strikes, the convention resolved to do nothing about the widespread cutback in jobs in the Bell system. Over 25,000 union members were lost during the last year alone. The International bears direct responsibility for this. At last year's convention, it failed to even address itself to layoffs which had then claimed an estimated 12,000 jobs. The 1974 contract incorporated a so-called "automation clause" to be "worked out."

Nonetheless, company automation plans are rolling right along. New "ESS" (Electronic Switching System) triples the call volume handled while reducing the personnel necessary for this operation by 75 percent. Changes in consumer services like charging for directory assistance will also have devastating effects on the workforce. In areas where such charges have been instituted (such as New York) call volumes have dropped well over 90 percent. Some 25 percent of non-management phone workers are operators: of these, a third to a half are in directory assistance.

Predictably, the CWA leadership offered no solution at the convention except legislative lobbying to fight changes in the company's rate structure. The 1974 contract also failed to challenge Bell's barbaric absence control system under which phone workers have no sick leave. Now that item has disappeared even from the executive board's recommended bargaining items for the upcoming contract.

Rather than mobilizing the union ranks in militant strikes with the aim of reversing the loss of jobs, the International's sole strategy to defend the CWA is...to raise dues! After hearing the leadership bemoan the union's battered financial state, as the result of the loss of dues-payers (including some non-members enrolled under the CWA "agency shop"), the convention obediently passed resolutions calling for an increase of per capita dues of 50 cents a

A NATIONAL UNION
IN THE NATIONAL INTEREST

month, plus another one dollar increase in four installments over the next two years, representing a 40 percent hike in dues allotted to the International.

In addition, the convention voted to transfer 50 cents per month per member over a six month period out of the small strike fund (worth only $9.5 million) into the International's general fund. This will only further cripple the CWA when its contract with Bell expires next summer.

### CWA Strengthens Links with CIA

The Communications Workers are somewhat unique among labor unions in this country in the openness with which they flaunt their connections with known CIA fronts like the American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD) and the Post, Telegraph and Telephone International (PTTI). CWA is a member of the latter, which claims to represent 3,300,000 workers around the world.

Daily World

**Local 1101 pickets during 1971 CWA strike in New York.**

According to former Central Intelligence Agency operative Phillip Agee, the CIA utilizes CWA to control the PTTI. Joseph Beirne, CWA's founder and president until his death two years ago, worked hard to establish a reputation as an anti-communist zealot, and his merits were recognized when he was awarded the post as head of AIFLD by the CIA, which was looking for labor figures to paint a façade of legitimacy on its bloodstained operations. The CWA donated its facilities in Front Royal, Virginia, as a center for training PTTI and AIFLD operatives.

In pre-Watergate days, William Doherty, executive director of AIFLD, boasted to a Senate committee of AIFLD's effectiveness in helping to stage the rightist coup which overthrew the government of João Goulart in Brazil. The right-wing military junta which still rules in Brazil has jailed, tortured and murdered thousands of labor militants. In Pinochet's Chile, where the penalty for striking is death and the national union federation has been banned by decree, AIFLD-trained and affiliated unions were permitted by the government to hold a "labor" conference in Santiago a couple of years ago.

The 1976 convention voted to grant almost $240,000 to the foreign affairs department of CWA, which represents an 80 percent increase in this budget over three years. Some $175,000 was allocated to PTTI, $13,000 to the "Cuban Telephone Workers in Exile," and an additional $50,000 to help finance PTTI's international conference scheduled in Washington, D.C., in 1978. The convention also paid tribute to a string of former CWA staffers, now on assignment in the field of international labor espionage.

This distinguished service to anti-communism made it fitting for the CWA to endorse Carter, who as governor of Georgia spoke out in defense of mass murderer William Calley and was a vigorous supporter of the Vietnam War! Despite its tradition of supporting cold War liberals, it is not surprising

CWA

**CWA president Glen Watts testifying before the Democratic Platform Committee.**

that the CWA bureaucrats came out for such a dyed-in-the-wool reactionary. After getting stuck with McGovern in 1972, the executive board report listed as its top political goals this year the election of "labor delegates" to the Democratic convention and "selection of a nominee who can win in November."

International president Watts is a member of the Democratic National Committee, and served as a spokesman for a Labor Coalition Clearinghouse at the Democrats' platform committee. The union's contribution to the AFL-CIO COPE fund is enormous ($999,000). But in spite of all the jabbering about how the impotent Humphrey-Hawkins bill will solve unemployment, the union bureaucrats' support for capitalist politicians only spells endless defeats for labor. The "friends of labor" Democrats have a record of strikebreaking and union-busting legislation as long as the Republicans', yet this doesn't stop Watts & Co. from pouring millions into the

*continued on page 8*

# ÖBL Target of Austrian Witchhunt

In the first attempt to implement new provisions of the Austrian penal code that further restrict freedom of the press, the Österreichische Bolschewiki-Leninisten (ÖBL - Austrian Bolshevik-Leninists), sympathizing section of the international Spartacist tendency, are being prosecuted by the Socialist Party (SPÖ) government of Bruno Kreisky. In the trial scheduled for July 8, the ÖBL is charged with offending the bourgeoisie's "general perception of justice" by defending a group of pro-Palestinian terrorists against imperialist persecution. It is the duty of all socialists and defenders of democratic liberties to demand that the witchhunting charges against the ÖBL be immediately dropped!

The pretext for the state's attack is an article in the February issue of the *Bulletin der Bolschewiki-Leninisten*. The taking of hostages by a group calling itself the "Arm of the Arab Revolution" during a December 1975 meeting of the Oil Producing and Exporting Countries at OPEC headquarters in Vienna caused a roar of indignant outrage from local rulers, the eager hosts of the oil sheiks and colonels. Against this hypocritical outcry, the ÖBL article called on the left and labor movement to defend the commandos against persecution by the bourgeois state:

> "Trotskyists consider the concept of petty-bourgeois individual terrorism to be completely misguided.... [However,] the defense of persecuted proletarian and anti-imperialist fighters is an essential component of the traditions of the workers movement and absolutely necessary in creating a united battle line against the bourgeoisie."

In contrast to indiscriminate terror, such as attacks on department stores or train stations "where the victims are themselves members of the oppressed masses," the ÖBL wrote, "making hostages of a handful of monopolists, whose hands are dripping with the blood of countless workers and peasants" is an "eminently defensible action."

The article denounced the self-proclaimed "Trotskyists" of the Gruppe Revolutionäre Marxisten (GRM—Revolutionary Marxist Group, Austrian section of the United Secretariat), whose criticism of the terrorist OPEC kidnapping failed to say one word in defense of the commandos against the imperialists. This cowardly abstention is quite a shift from the USec's earlier wild enthusing over PRT/ERP kidnappings in Argentina or similar terrorist actions by Basque nationalists. French USec supporters even made excuses for the indefensible massacre of Israeli athletes at the 1973 Olympic games in Munich!

The law from which the charge against the ÖBL is derived, Paragraph 282 of the Austrian penal code, outlaws not only "inciting to actions punishable by law" but also "approving of an act punishable by imprisonment of over one year in a fashion such as to offend the general perception of justice or to incite to committing such an act." Official commentaries on this catch-all censorship law include as possible causes for punishment "public denigration or attempts to break down institutions of marriage, the family or legal concepts of property as well as immoral or illegal actions"!!

A defense leaflet (7 June) by the ÖBL points out the utter hollowness of such talk of a "general" sense of justice in class society.

> "The ruling class considers it utterly justified to exploit oppressed peoples and to drive nations into starvation and poverty.... The murderous imprisonment of the RAF [Red Army Faction, usually referred to in the bourgeois press as the "Baader-Meinhof Gang"] comrades injures its 'sense of justice' just as little. In the capitalists' state unemployment and inflation are as 'just' as national persecution of the Slovenian minority in Austria. The sense of justice of the working class will be expressed when the exponents and defenders of the ruling class are brought to trial to answer for their criminal acts: before the court of a workers government."

Paragraph 282 calls for sentences of up to two years' imprisonment of the legally responsible editor, in this case Comrade Dorner of the ÖBL. Moreover, this deliberate attempt to silence the Austrian Trotskyists is part of a more generalized "red scare" atmosphere being whipped up in central Europe. Charges under the same law are pending also against the Maoist MLS in Austria, while in Germany a similar law was passed earlier this year providing for up to three years' imprisonment for "written or publicly spoken support of serious crimes" (*New York Times*, 17 January).

When it is a question of censorship of Socialist views in Portugal (the *República* affair), Kreisky and his fellow social-democratic bureaucrats are strongly in favor of freedom of the press. But when it is a question of revolutionary opposition to their administration of the capitalist state at home, they resort to the worst kind of witchhunting thought-control laws. Today the target is the Trotskyists—tomorrow it could be the unions and all workers' organizations.

—Down with the press law! Abolish Paragraph 282!

—Drop the charges against Comrade Dorner and the ÖBL!


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# Bicentennial Demonstrations Fizzle

JULY 5—The once-ringing ideals of American bourgeois democracy rang hollow at bicentennial celebrations across the country yesterday, as even the ruling class was unable to muster much enthusiasm for its touted "200th birthday." Official ceremonies centered on Washington, Philadelphia and New York fell far short of expectations, as a pervasive mood of hopelessness and lack of confidence in any institutions of U.S. society permeates the population.

WV Photo

**July 4 Coalition March in Philadelphia called for "Bicentennial Without Colonies." PSP calls for independence for Puerto Rico.**

This sullen mood was reflected in major national polls taken for the historic occasion. To the bourgeoisie's distress, the Harris Poll reported that nearly two Americans out of three "no longer feel their voices count anymore," a sense of estrangement affecting only 34 percent ten years ago. Likewise, from 1966 to today confidence in the executive branch of government has fallen from 41 percent to 11 percent; in the churches, from 41 percent to 24 percent; in big business from 55 percent to 16 percent; in the military from 62 percent to 23 percent; and in organized labor, from 22 percent to 10 percent. Sixty-one percent expressed dissatisfaction with their own lives (*New York Times*, 5 July).

But despite this widespread disillusionment of the U.S. population, neither did the various "people's bicentennial" counterdemonstrations generate any significant response. (The Harris Poll reported that, despite everything, nine out of ten believed that the American system still could be made to work.) A reporter covering the radicals' demonstrations reported seeing only a single U.S. flag in a drive through "dozens and dozens" of blocks in the city's black ghetto. However, the deep alienation in the black population was reflected in the relative absence of blacks in the counterdemonstrations as well.

It is no accident that a group whose "constituency" is in part outside U.S. society was the only one able to generate any substantial support for its "people's bicentennial" activities. The Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP) mobilized approximately 2,000 supporters to demand a "bicentennial without colonies," whose main focus was independence for Puerto Rico. The reformist PSP was able to generate a sizable contingent and dominated the 10,000-strong July 4 Coalition march because it can claim the legitimate grievance of an oppressed colony fighting for its liberation, even though the PSP's reliance on UN maneuvers and pressuring U.S. liberals will not achieve that goal.

But for the American working class, the stale "power to the people" rhetoric of the aging New Leftists offered neither power nor a program. The liberal "People's Bicentennial" rally in Washington drew only a few thousand to hear big business denounced as "the new monarchy." In Philadelphia, the main "radical" march drew (aside from the PSP, a small number of American Indians and some right-wing black nationalists) a rag-tag "counter-culture" crowd, whose moral indignation at the atrocities of U.S. imperialism has never produced anything more threatening to the ruling class than this unremarkable event. A smaller, separate demonstration by the Maoist Revolutionary Communist Party (that received a parade permit at the last minute) attracted at most 1,500 of its own supporters, whose militant posturing in bright red tee-shirts under the watchful eye of the police could not hide the

*continued on page 8*


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## LCR Seeks Grand Pabloite "Unity" with French PSU

# Mandel Offers to Renounce Trotsky, Fourth International

> **"By its very nature opportunism is nationalistic, since it rests on the local and temporary needs of the proletariat and not on its historic tasks. Opportunists find international control intolerable and they reduce their international ties as much as possible to harmless formalities... on the proviso that each group does not hinder the others from conducting an opportunist policy to its own national task.... International unity is not a decorative façade for us, but the very axis of our theoretical views and our policy."**
>
> **—Leon Trotsky, "The Defense of the Soviet Union and the Opposition," 7 September 1929**

In January 1974 the "Tenth World Congress" of the United Secretariat (USec) of the "Fourth International" unanimously adopted a set of organizational measures supported both by the centrist Europe-based International Majority Tendency (IMT) of Mandel/Maitan/Krivine and the reformist Leninist-Trotskyist Faction (LTF) dominated by the U.S. Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and the Argentine Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST) in a desperate attempt to prevent further splits in its sections and to suppress the debates which were tearing it apart.

The deal worked out was a non-aggression pact which urged the reunification of split national sections while implicitly legitimizing non-application of democratic centralism in the USec by recognizing the decomposition products of split national groups as "sympathizing sections." But as we noted at the time, "the organizational maneuvering of the last several months is at best a stop-gap measure which will be unable to prevent new oppositions and splits" ("USec World Congress Preserves 'Scotch-Tape' Unity," *WV* No. 42, 12 April 1974).

For several years, we pointed out, a common predilection for unprincipled organizational maneuvering has been nearly the only thing holding the USec together. But with the political polarization escalating, the de facto split between the two wings has been expressed in public splits between IMT and LTF supporters in country after country. Now, with the outbreak of open factional warfare within the LTF (leading to the appearance in several countries of *three* competing organizations all claiming adherence to "the Fourth International"), the USec's façade of "unity" is threadbare.

This has not prevented both IMT and LTF from seeking to make a virtue of necessity by pointing to the public factional fracas as a tribute to the eminently "democratic" character of their common swamp ("everyone welcome but Bolsheviks"). That the USec's dirty linen has piled so high that it can no longer be laundered in private testifies not to USec "democracy," however, but to the aggressiveness of the bloc partners' conflicting opportunist appetites.

Thus the suit-and-tie SWP reformists want to slough off Régis Debray-style guerrillaist allies who impede them from becoming respectable influence peddlers to their own bourgeoisie. The centrists, in turn, want unrestricted political freedom of maneuver in order to grab onto the coattails of the "broad vanguards" of their choice. But as their competing schemes become more clearly articulated, *all* of these fake-Trotskyists are finding even nominal international "discipline" intolerably wearisome.

### Democratic Centralism? Never Heard of It!

The reformist American SWP went into opposition to the USec majority prior to the "Ninth World Congress" in early 1969 which adopted a vicarious "guerrilla warfare" line toward Latin America. In the context of ever-deepening adaptation to the norms of social-democratic reformism—overwhelming electoralist "strategy," parliamentarist reform gimmicks (the "Bill of Rights for Working People"), sidling up to the liberal wing of the labor bureaucracy the SWP has grown increasingly determined to dissociate itself from the scruffy and frequently embarrassing unreconstructed New Lefters of the European USec sections.

This was expressed most succinctly when the SWP unceremoniously chucked out its pro-IMT members (grouped in the ill-starred "Internationalist Tendency," since disappeared) on 4 July 1974, and then curtly told Mandel & Co. to keep their noses out of its internal affairs. The IMT howled about SWP "federalism," but ended up knuckling under to the flagrantly undemocratic regime of its "fraternal supporters" in the U.S. Now the SWP is aggressively shopping around for a new international marriage of convenience, as if oblivious to the fact that it does not yet have a divorce from the IMT.

The SWP has been perfectly explicit in disavowing the Leninist principle of international democratic centralism. In the words of SWP national secretary Jack Barnes:

> "The structure of the international is different from the party. For instance, the decisions of the international are not binding on members of national parties. In other words, the highest body of a party is its national convention—it decides its tactics and elects its leadership—not the conventions or congresses or meetings of the Fourth International."
>
> *Militant*, 11 June 1976

The context makes this blatant disavowal of Leninist norms even more despicable; it comes in a deposition that is a key part of the "socialist Watergate." Note that it is the SWP which brought the court action, not the government.

Moreover, Barnes' gratuitous renunciation of international democratic centralism is accompanied by an explanatory note (*Militant*, 18 June) admitting that the SWP voluntarily supplied the court with "copies of the party's documents, resolutions, speeches, and pamphlets." This clears up the origins of the SWP international internal bulletins to be found in the court record of this case (see "SWP Renounces Revolution in Court," *WV* No. 59, 3 January 1975), and would at a minimum lead to a control commission investigation in a revolutionary International worthy of the name.

That the SWP has no intention of letting "the international" tell it what to do has been clear for some time. Previously, however, the SWP had been content to hide behind the paper-tiger Voorhis Act (a reactionary statute prohibiting international affiliation, which is patently unconstitutional and has never been applied). Now Barnes has made a "principle" out of the SWP's declaration of independence.

For Trotsky, there was nothing "different" about democratic centralism on the international level. The founding statutes of the Fourth International (which, should SWP leaders have forgotten, called itself the "World Party of Socialist Revolution") clearly state:

> "The sections are required to observe the decisions and resolutions of the International Conference and, in its absence, of the International Executive Committee, represented during the intervals between its meetings by the International Secretariat."

On paper, even the revisionist USec majority espouses disciplined international organization. Its statutes as published after the 1974 "world congress" proclaim:

> "The highest body of the Fourth International is constituted by the World Congress.
>
> "Decisions of higher organs are strictly binding on lower organs....
>
> "Decisions are taken by majority vote. Minorities are obliged to apply majority decisions."

In practice, the IMT has long since abandoned international democratic centralism in order to maintain the band-aid "unity" of its "international." Now, however, it is rapidly finding reason to disavow the formalities as well. Just as Stalin found it expedient to officially dissolve the Third International as an encumbrance which unnecessarily frightened the bourgeoisie, the IMT has discovered that orthodox labels like "Fourth International" and "democratic centralism" are getting in the way of its appetites toward the timid centrists and social democrats of the "broad (formerly new mass) vanguard."

This impressionistic conglomeration is comprised of petty-bourgeois radi-

**In interview with Politique Hebdo Ernest Mandel asks "what difference do labels make?" offering to renounce the Fourth International.**

**PSU leader Craipeau replies "it's not the label that will have to be changed."**

SUR L'INTERNATIONALISME (II)

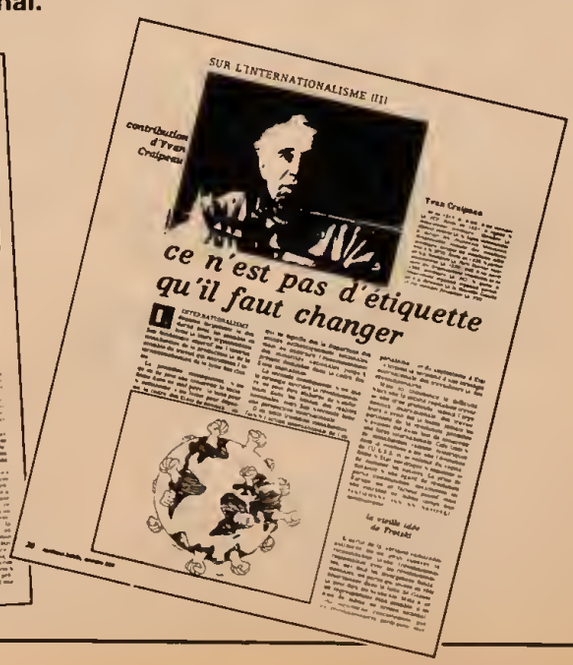
« qu'importent les étiquettes »

Ernest Mandel

Commune

PRENEZ LES ARMES !

entretien avec Ernest Mandel, membre du secrétariat unifié de la IVe Internationale


SUR L'INTERNATIONALISME (III)

contribution d'Yvan Craipeau

Yvan Craipeau

ce n'est pas d'étiquette qu'il faut changer

cals, "Third World" nationalist movements, militant workers outside the control of the Communist Party, oppressed strata such as racial minorities and women—along with anything else that strikes the IMT's fancy at any given time. The IMT dreamed up this non-category to denote a combination recruitment pool—to be attracted by catering to the mood of the moment—and ready-made "revolutionary" force whose spontaneous militancy can supposedly substitute for a Trotskyist vanguard party at the head of a conscious and organized working class.

### What's In a Name?

The showpiece section and main power base of the IMT is the French Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR). And as far as the LCR is concerned, the incarnation of the "broad vanguard" is the left-social-democratic Parti Socialiste Unifié (PSU), particularly the wing dominated by ex-Trotskyists such as Yvan Craipeau and Michel Pablo. For some time, the LCR has been playing with possibilities for entries or fusions involving the PSU—in the political resolution of the LCR's first congress the PSU is termed "centrist" and included in the "revolutionary far left" with the additional note:

> "For it must be clearly stated that we aim farther and higher than tactical alliances and suspicious cooperation. *We must aim* at a common revolutionary organization [of the "far left"], based on a prior debate on revolutionary strategy and the destruction of the bourgeois state, on the characterization of the Union of the Left and tactics toward the reformists, and on a practice which sets aside any sectarian spirit."
> —*Rouge*, 27 December 1974

Now it appears that Pablo & Co. are willing to consider a "regroupment"—on certain conditions. Some elements of the LCR (Tendencies 1 and 4) will have to be disposed of and the name "Fourth International" abandoned.

In response to these nibbles of interest, IMT leader Ernest Mandel leaped into the pages of *Politique Hebdo* (10-16 June 1976), a radical weekly which the LCR carefully cultivates as a means to pursue fun and games with the PSU, to demonstrate sweet reasonableness and disabuse skeptics of any notion that his associates might get bogged down in dogmatic formalities. Accordingly, we suddenly find Mandel singing Jack Barnes' tune as regards international democratic centralism:

> "The variety of national situations implies a variety of tactics and democratic centralism cannot be applied internationally as it is nationally. This is what, along with the concern to make debates public, has allowed us to do away with reminiscences of Stalinism which are associated with this structure."

Linking the principle of international democratic centralism to Stalinism and pronouncing himself in favor of public attacks on official policy by oppositional minorities, Mandel has launched a frontal assault on the Trotskyist program in this amazing interview. Asked whether the "existence of the Fourth International is not an obstacle" to the kind of regroupment envisioned by the USec, Mandel is unambiguous:

> "What difference do labels make? If in the political arena we encountered political forces which agreed with our strategic and tactical orientation and which were repulsed only by the historical reference and the name we would get rid of it in 24 hours."

For the benefit of anyone not satisfied with jettisoning the Fourth International, Mandel magnanimously offered to throw out all references to "a bearded man named Leon Trotsky" as well! Trying to give this grotesquely opportunist policy the aura of "success," Mandel adds:

> "We have become a modest pole of attraction. And when we join with ETA VI [in Spain], the Colombia Socialist

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# Newspaper Guild Coddles Washington Post Scabs

WASHINGTON, D.C. The annual convention of the Newspaper Guild met here from June 28 to July 2, but what had threatened to be a decisive floor fight over the strikebreaking by Guild members in the *Washington Post* strike was diverted by the nervous bureaucrats. A compromise solution, which in essence removed any threat of disciplinary action against the Guild scabs at the *Post*, was accepted by both sides.

The *Washington Post* strike, which began last October, provoked considerable dissension within the Newspaper Guild. It became clear very early that the real objective of management was to break the pressmen's union, the most militant union at the *Post*. To this end, the *Post* obtained injunctions outlawing mass picketing, utilized personnel carefully trained beforehand in craft operations at a notorious scab-training school in Oklahoma and even used helicopters to airlift material back and forth from non-union printing plants in the surrounding area.

Most importantly, however, the majority of the Guild, which organizes reporters, editors and commercial workers, scabbed from the first day, thus insuring the *Post* of a steady supply of copy. In February the Guild strikebreakers were joined by the other craft unions, led by the printers and mailers, who marched back to work across the pressmen's picket lines. Since then, the pressmen have been effectively locked out of the *Post*.

The *Washington Post* unit of the Guild voted several times during the strike to cross the picket lines of craft workers. To do this, it had to defy instructions from the leadership of the Washington-Baltimore Guild Local (of which the *Post* unit is a part). In addition to this despicable behavior, in subsequent unit elections the *Post* Guild members voted in as chairman Don Baker, one of the leading scabs. Furthermore, a number of scabs presented a petition to the NLRB to decertify the Guild and replace it with the "independent" Washington Newspaper Union. After being delayed several times, decertification elections were set for July 17.

The International leadership of the Guild has consistently intervened on the side of the scabs. As early as last January, the International executive board refused to allow disciplinary action to be taken against the scabs. As a further concession to the scab majority in the *Post* unit, the International removed Brian Flores, a strong supporter of respecting picket lines, from his position as Local negotiator. In June International president Charles Perlik, Jr. intervened openly on the side of scab Baker against the majority leadership of the Washington-Baltimore Local 35. Perlik urged support for Baker's motion that a separate local be carved out of Local 35 for the *Post* Guild unit. This was turned down by the executive board majority.

### International Sides with Scabs

In his opening address to the Guild convention, Perlik reaffirmed clearly his refusal to do anything about the scabbing: "I don't propose to spend any time discussing what happened or who did what in those early October days. The time is long past for that." Perlik went on to flaunt the results of a "straw poll" which reputedly indicated that while only 33 percent of the *Post* unit would vote for the Newspaper Guild against 42 percent for the Washington Newspaper Union, a majority (61 percent) would support remaining in the Guild *if* the *Post* unit could have its own local. Perlik recommended that this concession be made to the scab *Post* unit, which with its 800 members, happens to be the fourth largest unit in the Newspaper Guild. For Perlik, maintenance of dues income, even if it comes from a scab local, is clearly more important than elementary trade-union principles.

To carve another local out of Washington-Baltimore would entail an amendment to the Guild constitution. A resolution to that effect was presented at the convention by a group of delegates. The authors tried to dress up this pro-scab resolution with gibberish about the "courage" required to "forgive" past sins, etc. Prominent among the signers was Tom Grubisich, recently elected as head of Local 35. Grubisich is known as a moderate who has always opposed disciplining the scabs. While originally respecting the picket lines, he returned to work at the *Post* not long after the craftsmen returned. Since the pressmen are still maintaining their picket lines (which are still being respected by about 20 Guild members), Local president Grubisich is daily engaging in scabbing.

Opposing the split-off of the *Post* unit was a grouping centered around the majority leadership of the Washington-Baltimore Local, including Brian Flores. While ostensibly opposing scabbing, these bureaucrats also have a lot of perquisites to lose if the local is split. The local would be deprived of one third of its membership and a corresponding amount of power. (After New York, Washington-Baltimore sent the largest number of delegates to the convention.) Just recently, as part of the preparation for the NLRB elections, the majority leadership of the local agreed to withdraw charges against 300 union members for scabbing. Thus, these bureaucrats also showed their willingness to make concessions to the scabs to keep them in the union!

AFL-CIO News

**Some Newspaper Guild members joined pickets at Washington Post although majority of Guild members at Post scabbed during strike.**

### Convention Rewards Strikebreaking

However, while the battle lines had apparently been drawn up, there proved to be no fight at the convention. Brian Flores made a dramatic speech offering a compromise. The *Post* would remain part of Local 35, but the scabs were offered numerous concessions. They would be permitted to be members of the Local's standing committees and they, like other Guild members, would be permitted to observe the local executive board meetings. Finally, Flores would resign his local union position if the Guild won the NLRB election at the *Post* unit, to avoid friction with the scabs. This "solution," which made more concessions to the scabs without splitting the local, apparently made everyone happy. And it didn't hurt Flores either, who was warmly praised for his act of "self-sacrifice." Flores, who has challenged Perlik before for the presidency of the Guild, will no doubt utilize this for his future electoral ambitions.

This was not the only hypocrisy perpetrated around the *Post* incident. The convention endorsed a number of boycotts approved by the AFL-CIO and the Canadian Labour Congress. Among these was...a boycott of the *Washington Post*! Thus, while every day almost the entire Guild *Post* unit is crossing picket lines to put out the scab paper, a resolution is passed calling for consumers to boycott it!

Another piece of double-talking is the proposed merger of the Guild and the International Typographical Union (ITU). A. S. Bevis, president of the ITU, was a guest speaker at the convention. Both he and Perlik made a number of pious comments about the importance of "trade-union unity," and pledged their two unions to further cooperation in the coming year. This is no doubt fitting, since the Guild and the ITU "cooperated" this year very well—in shafting the pressmen: *Post* printers and mailers, who led the craft unions across the picket lines, are members of the ITU!

Most definitely *not* invited to the convention was a representative of the International Printing and Graphic Communications Union, to which the pressmen are affiliated. None of the deals and bureaucratic bargaining at the

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# CWA...

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coffers of these representatives of big business.

### Lip Service to Equality

Over half of CWA's members are women, who, for the most part, are stuck in the worst, lowest paying jobs with little hope of upgrading. Telephone operators (the "traffic" department) earn less at top pay than many entry-level craft jobs, which are mostly held by males. A very popular button worn at the convention read "Upgrade Traffic to Craft." A women's committee meeting drew 800 people, who were treated to a production of a short play by the Family Service Agency, "Adam and Eve," about a secretary who wanted to get into management, and her boss who finally overcame his male chauvinism and promoted her.

Unfortunately this fairy tale was the most the CWA had to offer its women workers. In fact, the union has never done anything to stop the gross sex discrimination in hiring, upgrading, pay and treatment of female employees, particularly operators, by the Bell system. The elevation of Dina Beaumont as the union's only woman International executive board member (there are no blacks at all!) and CWA's endorsement of CLUW, vehicle for the female bureaucratic counterparts of George Meany, will do absolutely nothing to improve the lot of the mass of women telephone workers.

The historic division between plant and traffic cannot be wished away – it will take a determined fight against the AT&T monopoly. Yet the International is hardly even making a pretense of such a fight. Nowhere on its list of recommended bargaining items is there any mention of opening up transfers on a company-wide seniority basis (thus eliminating one of the most blatant forms of company discrimination against women employees while undercutting the government's union-busting "affirmative action" plans), nor is there any mention of across-the-board, rather than percentage, pay increases.

### For a Class-Struggle Oppposition

There were a couple of delegates present who did claim to oppose the regime of CWA president Glenn Watts. However, members of the United Action Caucus (UAC), supported by the International Socialists, after having sniffed the air and discovered that delegates were not in a fighting mood, quickly pulled in their own horns. UAC refused to do anything in its own name. It issued a pathetic leaflet signed "Concerned Delegates" which offered no program, but invited those who were concerned about a dues increase, "no contract no work," manhole safety, etc., to come to a meeting. Despite its opportunistic efforts to downplay its politics, it succeeded in attracting a handful anyway!

The UAC has a long history of capitulating to whatever is "popular." In New York it supported Ed Dempsey then a slick-talking out-bureaucrat for president of Local 1101 after the disastrous 1971 NY wildcat. No sooner was Dempsey elected than he began rewriting the Local bylaws, reducing membership meetings to twice a year (in a local of 11,000 members) and recently even pushed through another change which enabled him to run unopposed for a second term as local president.

The telephone monopoly bosses will continue to turn the screws on their workers and drive tens of thousands onto the unemployment lines until the CWA is rebuilt into a strong union. A small opposition group with a five-year history in the union, the Militant Action Caucus (MAC), was also in attendance at the convention with a program to accomplish this urgently needed about-face.

The MAC leaflet called for a shorter workweek with a big pay boost and full cost-of-living allowance, for smashing the vicious absence control program and winning paid sick leave with no penalties for being sick, and putting an end to the company's reform-school-like work rules. To win these demands it called for a militant national strike against AT&T to shut communications down tight, conducted by membership-elected bargaining and strike committees. Terming Carter, Ford and Reagan "simply three different labels on bottles of the same political poison," MAC called on the CWA to break from "the twin parties of capitalism, the Democrats and Republicans, and forge a workers party based on the trade unions and committed to fight for an end to the capitalist system...."

MAC concluded by pointing out: "For the CWA to become a class-struggle union capable of defending its members it is necessary to oust the present pro-capitalist bureaucracy. It is necessary to educate the membership and to show them that a leadership that accepts capitalism, accepts AT&T's "right" to make a profit, enters the fight with its hands tied behind its back and with a leash around its neck." ■

# Newspaper Guild...

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convention even pretended to redress their just grievances. By its failure to take action against the scabbing at the *Washington Post*, the Newspaper Guild convention went on record as countenancing such activities. This betrayal will prove a far greater handicap to the union than the potential loss of the bunch of scabs working at the *Post*! And it demonstrates once again that the pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy, including so-called "militants" like Flores, will inevitably sell out sections of the working class in order to advance their personal careers.

### SWP Defends "Rights" of Scabs

There is a tawdry footnote to this tale of treachery, namely the disgusting position taken by the reformist Socialist Workers Party (SWP). Having recently taken to defending the "rights" of fascists in the name of "consistent democracy," the SWP is today taking up the cudgels for scabs. It has consistently opposed taking any disciplinary measures against the strikebreakers in the Guild. It also supported the campaign of Tom Grubisich and the latter's softness toward scabs.

The July 2 *Militant*, organ of the SWP, contains a column written by Lee Oleson, identified as a member of Washington-Baltimore Guild Local 35 and a member of Grubisich's "Unity Reform" slate. Oleson complains bitterly about a proposed convention resolution that would allow a local executive board to require a unit to honor a picket line whether the unit votes to or not. The outraged Oleson remonstrates: "Strong unionism is not created by officials who issue orders and deal out punishments. That is bureaucratic, not militant, unionism."

Thus, Oleson opposes the right of a union to enforce such elementary measures as respecting picket lines. Of course, for Oleson, this would infringe on the "rights" of scabs. However, genuine union militants realize that neither scabs nor fascists have any rights and that their activities represent a direct peril to the continued existence of workers organizations and trade unions. Those, like the SWP, who apologize for these scum, are literally digging their own graves. ■

# Bicentennial...

*(continued from page 5)*

reformism of their slogans, "We won't fight another rich man's war" and "Jobs or income now."

The only consolation to the marchers was that the official bicentennial demonstration only slightly outdrew them, with a bored crowd reportedly giving at most light applause to President Ford's utterly non-descript "apple pie" speech. The political impotence of the July 4th Coalition which kicked off with an "interfaith" church service (!), was expressed by the fact that its rally speakers could do no more than read off endless lists of atrocities committed by U.S. imperialism, interspersing this with idiotically optimistic populist folk/pop songs and dances. Even though the official theme could be summed up as "self-determination for everybody," a tiny dispirited band of Yippies dragging at the tail end of the march was continually harassed by parade marshals because of their marijuana-leaf-studded black flags. The incredibly tawdry affair came to an abrupt end in a crashing thunderstorm which cut off the "entertainment."

The deadbeat character of the bicentennial counterdemonstrations confirmed that radical-liberal populism is no more an attractive alternative to the mediocre "Americanism" of Ford and Carter than the oppressive totalitarianism of Stalinist "Communism" and the uninspiring social-democratic "welfare states" of Western Europe. While Stalinists and social democrats tried to wrap themselves in red, white and blue to claim the holiday of U.S. national chauvinism for "the people," the Spartacist League's militant proletarian internationalism alone showed the way forward to tear down the decaying (but still very real) ideology of imperialist "democracy."

As the bourgeoisie's bicentennial drags to an end, we can at least predict that there will be no tricentennial. Either the imperialists will obliterate humanity in nuclear holocaust and barbarism, or the reactionary national states will be swept away and replaced by world socialist revolution! ■


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# Mandel...

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> Bloc or the Icelandic Socialist Youth, they don't discuss the label."

No doubt! What this expert in maneuverism fails to mention, however, is that when the USec group in Chile helped set up the MIR in 1965, they also (and quite explicitly) didn't discuss the "label" of the Fourth International. This led to the expulsion of all "Trotskyists" a couple of years later and places on Mandel & Co. the responsibility for the fact that militants wishing to go farther than the UP were instead tied to the popular front by the MIR's "critical support" to Allende.

The debate over "labels" and "numbers" has a history in the French Trotskyist movement. During the so-called "French turn" (the Trotskyists' mid-1930's entry into the French social democracy), Trotsky waged a harsh polemic against those (led by R. Molinier and P. Frank, now part of the USec) who wanted to capitulate in the face of the charge by Marcel Pivert that the Trotskyists "alienated the masses" by their "label" (Bolshevik-Leninists) and their "number" (Fourth International). Trotsky answered Pivert and implicitly addressed the conciliators in an article entitled "'Labels' and 'Numbers'":

> "By their name the Bolshevik-Leninists say to each and all... that they base themselves on the experiences of October, developed in the decisions of the first four Congresses of the Communist International; that they are in solidarity with the theoretical and practical work accomplished by the 'Left Opposition' of the Communist International (1923-32); finally that they stand under the banner of the Fourth International. In politics, the 'name' is the 'flag.' Those who today renounce a revolutionary name to please Blum and Co. will tomorrow just as easily renounce the red flag for the tricolor flag."
>
> *Writings, 1935-36*

He adds, "To invoke the 'masses' serves, in this case, only to cover one's own hesitations." Trotsky's polemic against those who wanted to accommodate Pivert's "Revolutionary Left" took concrete form when the Molinier-Frank group first proposed a "mass" paper and then broke discipline to begin publishing *La Commune*. Even before Molinier's fake-agitational paper appeared, Trotsky strongly attacked it.

This whole controversy is unmistakably alluded to by an informed editor of *Politique Hebdo*, for the Mandel interview is appropriately entitled "What Difference Do Labels Make?" and the photo of the USec leader is published next to the title page of... an issue of *La Commune*! A follow-up interview with Craipeau two pages later bears the title, "It's Not the Label That Will Have to be Changed."

As for Pablo, the arch-revisionist whose liquidationist policies led to the destruction of the Fourth International in 1951-53, Mandel and Krivine are now attempting to reunite with him on the basis of once again breaking with the SWP and this time formally giving up the "label" of the Fourth International to boot! Those who deny the Pabloist liquidationism of USec policies will have a hard time explaining this one.

### On to the Popular Front

Capturing the periphery of the PSU's over-age ex-Trotskyists is but a modest step in the LCR's grandiose "strategy" of building revolutionary parties by sucking in the "broad vanguard." A recent series of policy statements in IMT publications, touched off by the Italian and Portuguese elections, gives a good idea of what Mandel/Maitan/Krivine have in mind. Thus the Italian USec section, the Gruppi Comunisti Rivoluzionari (GCR), envision a Communist Party/Socialist Party government which might include "independents who are not members of either of these two parties or representatives of possible new formations might be part of such a

government, provided they were willing to accept its program and discipline" (*Inprecor*, 24 June).

The reference to "new formations" is an unmistakable allusion to the Democrazia Proletaria (DP) electoral bloc which won six seats in the June 20-21 Italian elections. Its components are the Party of Proletarian Unity (PDUP), Avanguardia Operaia and (most recently) Lotta Continua, thereby encompassing the entirety of the USec's sought-for "broad vanguard." It is not surprising that the GCR ran candidates (it was only allowed three) on the DP slate in the election; now Maitan draws the necessary conclusion and calls on Democrazia Proletaria to accept the "program and discipline" of the PCI!

While the DP parties were giving a "critical" cover to the PCI's campaign for a "historic compromise" with Christian Democracy, by calling for a "left government," the GCR maintained a fig leaf of orthodoxy pointing out that this slogan opened the way to a popular front with bourgeois forces. However, the LCR, yearning for the chance to put together a similar prop to the popular front in France, praised the Democrazia Proletaria bloc uncritically. Krivine wrote:

> "Going beyond sectarian traditions[the far left] managed to run united in the elections. There thus appeared a pole of attraction for all those who are suspicious of the experience of class collaboration."

There were disagreements within the DP slate, says Krivine, but "it was a question of a debate within a framework of unity which unfortunately has not yet appeared in France" (*Rouge*, 19 June). A *Rouge* editorial (21 June) on election day in Italy cheered: "DP succeeded in emerging as a consistent and politically viable pole, especially to the degree that it expressed the slogan of a government of the lefts with a certain homogeneity."

What's behind the slogan of a "government of the lefts" is revealed in the same 1974 LCR resolution that called for a "common revolutionary organization" of the far left. It states: "To denounce the Union of the Left as a popular front could only lead to a dangerous confusion of [our] tasks." Even before this congress the LCR assiduously avoided any such "confusion," calling for votes to Union of the Left candidates in the second round of the 1973 legislative elections. In 1974, it called for votes for the single candidate of the Union of the Left on the second round of presidential elections. And now Krivine & Co. call for an Allende-style popular front in Italy. Only Italy? No, the LCR also lusts for a united left slate for the 1978 French legislative elections, to include the PSU, Révolution! and Lutte Ouvrière. Such a French DP would be the "far left" vehicle for tailing after the Union of the Left.

The same line has been extended to Portugal, with some modifications due to the political role of the Armed Forces Movement (MFA) and the relative preponderance of Maoist groups in the misnamed "far left." Throughout early 1975, USec articles and declarations sidestepped or obfuscated the bourgeois character of the MFA. However, when Portuguese IMT supporters—the Liga Comunista Internacionalista (LCI)—signed the document of the "Revolutionary United Front" (FUR) in late August, calling for support to the "MFA-People Alliance," IMT leaders rapped them on the knuckles. The flurry which this precipitated in the USec was stilled when the LCI at a special conference in January adopted a sharp "self-criticism" denouncing its capitulation to the FUR as "sectarian and divisionist"—in other words, as ultra-leftism rather than class collaboration.

Now, however, with the fiasco of the Portuguese USec supporters' joint presidential candidate (withdrawn at the last minute and denounced by her erstwhile sponsors as a provocateur) simply swept under the rug, the question of what policy to take in the June 27 elections led to a sharp division within the LCR which has been displayed in the pages of *Rouge* (30 June). Filoche, the leader of ex-Tendency 1 who is close to the SWP, calls for a vote for the Communist candidate, Pato. Krivine calls for a vote for Major Carvalho, arguing that since "Otelo" is supported by the "broad vanguard," revolutionary Marxists should back him. But wait, there is a third position! Perhaps a section of the LCR has thrown off unprincipled maneuvering and told the workers clearly that they should refuse to vote for the bourgeois officer or the Stalinist candidate whose program is a popular front with the armed forces? Alas, it is only Bensaid, who calls for votes to *both* Carvalho and Pato!

## Where Is the USec Going?

The Leninist-Trotskyist Faction whose core is the bloc between the SWP and Argentine PST is apparently no more stable than the USec as a whole. The PST has increasingly distanced itself from the SWP's disgustingly rightist stands on Portugal and Angola and at the February 1976 USec plenum voted for the IMT's Angola position and against both the resolutions on Portugal (*Inprecor*, 4 March 1976).

The PST's new-found repugnance for the SWP's international line certainly has as its basis considerations of horse-trading. Well in advance of its rapprochement with the IMT, the PST was already locked into a power struggle against the SWP within the pro-LTF sections. The PST-engineered split in the Mexican Liga Socialista in September 1975 must have been months in the making, and, according to the SWP, months of factional intriguing in the Portuguese Partido Revolucionario dos Trabalhadores culminated in the expulsion of SWP supporters by PST supporters ([SWP] *International Information Bulletin*, April 1976).

The SWP seems to be on a converging course with the French Organisation Communiste Internationaliste (OCI) of P. Lambert and its international allies. The SWP/OCI discussions have been a bone of contention in the USec since 1974. More recently, much to the IMT's annoyance, the SWP-aligned Quebec group has undertaken serious fusion discussions with its OCI-affiliated counterpart. The Quebec Lambertists' attendance at the LTF group's December 1975 conference, like the presence of an OCI representative at the August 1975 SWP convention, is an unambiguous declaration that diplomatic obeisance to the "unity of the Fourth International" will not stand in the way of the SWP's pursuit of more congenial bloc partners.

The political logic behind the USec's main tendencies—the SWP toward mainstream social-democratic reformism, the IMT toward the "recomposition" of centrist forces into trial-run electoral blocs in the direction of classic popular frontism—will tend to impel them toward an outright split. But the fundamental organizational principle of both the centrist and reformist wings of the USec is maneuverism, so the political physiognomy of the eventual split will no doubt distort the programmatic axes of the seven-year factional struggle beyond recognition.

Unlike the former "third tendency"—which has, in fragmented fashion, either capitulated to the majority (Germany) or linked up with the rotten remains of an earlier USec split, the Spartacusbund (Austria and Italy)—oppositionists within the USec, if they are to find their way to authentic Trotskyism, must break with the revisionism of both the IMT and the LTF. Only the international Spartacist tendency, which has refused to capitulate to popular frontism or bourgeois populism and whose adherence to international democratic centralism is based on principled programmatic congruence, provides the groundwork upon which the Fourth International can be reforged. ■

**In recent weeks a number of important new endorsers of the campaign to save Chilean mine union leader Mario Muñoz have been added, notably from France and Australia. In France, the Committee to Save Mario Muñoz has received endorsements from Alfred Kastler; the Comite de Soutien aux Luttes du Peuple Argentin; Andre Merlé, senator from Haute Garonne, vice president of the French Senate; Charles Josselin, deputy; the Centre Quskar International; Jean Bernard, deputy. Last week the Committee also received the endorsement of Hernan Cuentas, Peruvian miners leader recently released from prison as the result of an international protest campaign; and Genaro Ledesma, miners union lawyer released along with Cuentas. In Australia, in addition to the names published in WV No. 11S, 25 June, the following endorsements have been received:**

Abbotsford Branch ALP
Albert Park Branch ALP
WR Albury (Lecturer, La Trobe University)
Altona Branch ALP
Amalgamated Metal Workers Union (Burwood, Melbourne and Sydney Branches)
Johann Arnason (Lecturer, La Trobe University)
Australian Coal and Shale Employees' Federation (Miners Federation)
Australian Railways Union (Victorian Branch)
Australian Tramway and Motor Omnibus Employees' Association (Victorian Branch)
Australian Union of Students
Meredith Bergman
Fred Bells (actor)*
GH Boehringer (Senior Lecturer in Law, Macquarie University)
Elizabeth Brooke (Lecturer in Politics, Swinburne Institute of Technology)
BWIU (NSW and Victorian Branches)
J Burnheim (Senior Lecturer, University of Sydney)
Canberra Trades Council
Max Charlesworth (*Catholic Worker*)
David Combe (Federal Secretary, ALP)*
Combined Pensioners Association (Victoria)
Committee for Solidarity with the Chilean People
Communist League
Steve Cooper (Research Officer, AMWU)
Eva Cox
Gregory M Dening (Professor of History, Melbourne University)
AF Donovan (Senior Lecturer, Department of Behavioural Science, University of NSW)
John Ducker (Member of the Legislative Council, NSW, President of the NSW Branch of the ALP; Junior Vice-President of the Federal ALP, Secretary of the NSW Labor Council)
BD Dyster (Lecturer, Economic History Department, University of NSW)
Grant Evans
Federated Clerks Union of Australia (NSW Branch)
Federated Cold Storage and Meat Preserving Employees' Union of Australia (Victorian Branch)
Federated Liquor and Allied Industry Employees' Union (Victorian Branch)
Federated Miscellaneous Workers' Union (Victorian and South Australian Branches)
Federated Shipwrights and Ship Constructors' Association of Australia (Victorian Branch)
Federation of Australian Anarchists
Dr Herbert Feith (Reader in Politics, Monash University)
Firemen and Deckhands' Union of NSW
M Fisher (Organiser, Storeman and Packers Union)
D A T Gasking (Professor of Philosophy, Melbourne University)
Senator George Georges*
Caroline Graham
R F Hall (Professor, Department of General Studies, University of NSW)
Bill Hartley (Member, Federal Executive of the ALP)
Stephen C Hill (Professor of Sociology, University of Wollongong)*
Dr R Horn (University of Sydney)
Robin Horne (Lecturer, Department of Sociology, University of Wollongong)
Hospital Employees Federation (Victorian Branch 2)
W E Hotchkiss (Lecturer, School of Economics, University of NSW)
Michael Hourihan (Secretary/Editor, NSW Teachers Federation)
Dr M Jackson (University Lecturer)
Dr Evan Jones (Lecturer, Economics Department, University of Sydney)
Senator Jim Keelle (Deputy Leader of the Opposition in the Senate)
Claire Kelly (VSTA member)
Richard Kennedy (Lecturer in Australian Social History, University of NSW)
D Kirsner (Lecturer, Philosophy Department, Melbourne University)
K L Krishna (Senior Lecturer in Econometrics, Monash University)
La Trobe Clubbe Communiste
La Trobe University SRC
David A Lawton (Lecturer, Department of English, University of Sydney)
Macquarie University Students' Council
Patrick Maloney
Alan Marshall (author)
Michael Matteson
Monash Association of Students
Municipal Employees Union (Federated Municipal and Shire Council Employees' of Australia)
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Spartacist League
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Victorian Labor College
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University of NSW ALP Club
University of NSW Students' Union
Tom Uren (Deputy Leader of the Parliamentary Labor Party)
J L Vaux (Lecturer, Department of General Philosophy, University of Sydney)
Water and Sewerage Employees' Union
Mick Young (MHR)*

* verbal endorsement only

## COMMITTEE TO SAVE MARIO MUÑOZ

**The Committee to Defend the Worker and Sailor Prisoners in Chile and the Partisan Defense Committee are co-sponsoring a Committee to Save Mario Muñoz. Individuals and organizations who wish to endorse the campaign to save Mario Muñoz, work with the Committee and/or contribute financially should fill out the blank below and send to: PARTISAN DEFENSE COMMITTEE, Box 633, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013.**

☐ I endorse*

☐ My organization endorses*

the international defense campaign to save Mario Muñoz, organized around the demands:

*Hands off Mario Muñoz!*

*Chilean Working-Class Leader Must Not Die!*

*Free all victims of right-wing repression in Argentina and Chile!*

*Stop the Manhunt!*

Name _____

Organization _____

Address _____

_____

☐ I am willing to work with the Committee to Save Mario Muñoz.

☐ I pledge $_____ to help save Mario Muñoz. (Make payable to Partisan Defense Committee. Earmark for Committee to Save Mario Muñoz.)

*Endorsement indicates willingness to permit your name or your organization's name to be used to internationally publicize the campaign of the Committee to Save Mario Muñoz

# Death Penalty...

*(continued from page 1)*

any threat to the social order of private property. Although liberals take pride in the claim that the categories of capital crimes have been narrowed in recent years, the direction of that narrowing is telling indeed. Now the death penalty is applied mainly to crimes against the representatives of the state. The killing of cops, prison guards, capitalist politicians is punished more severely than are other murders. The message to urban blacks is clear enough: if you shoot each other you get one penalty, but shooting a cop is another matter.

The death rows are stacked up with black "cop-killers." The only condemned man in the state of New York, for instance, is Joseph Davis, a 38-year-old black man convicted of killing a cop in September 1974 in Yonkers. Davis is by no means an atypical death-row convict. Although the newspapers prefer to cite the example of Charles Starkweather, the crazed mass murderer electrocuted in 1959, the typical condemned prisoner is black and young. Blacks have constituted nearly 50 percent of those executed since 1930, and this statistic is likely to get worse. From the point of view of the working class, the criminals are not the cop-killers but the brutal, racist cops. Free Joseph Davis! Down with the racist death penalty!

Cop terror is a fact of life on the hellish streets of U.S. ghettos where the cops glory in the role of judge and jury, torturer and often executioner. In the prisons, the sadistic racist guards delight in the brutalization and humiliation of black convicts. It is the role of the capitalist courts to supply punitive protection for these hired terrorists of the capitalist class.

The Supreme Court holds out death as the penalty for those who take the lives of the instruments of the state. And who is the most likely to wind up in a gun battle with a cop? Not Richard Nixon—all he does is drop bombs and napalm on Asian peasants while at home spying on his opponents and cheating on his taxes. Not Lt. Calley, convicted of the slaughter of masses of Vietnamese. Not Chicago's former district attorney Hanraban and the FBI who provoked, planned and led the pre-dawn gestapo killer-raids on sleeping Black Panthers. Not the CIA which uses assassination as an instrument of counterrevolution the world over. It is the system of the Nixons and Calleys, the cops and CIA FBI, which is claiming the "right" to wield the barbaric death penalty to protect itself against imaginary legions of young black cop-killers.

### "Cruel and Unusual"

The Supreme Court decision holds that the death penalty cannot be regarded as a "cruel and unusual" punishment under the eighth and fourteenth amendments, noting that the "framers of the Constitution" did not intend its inclusion in the proscribed category. The Constitution counted a black person as three-fifths of a human being when apportioning legislative representation by population. Perhaps the Supreme Court would like to cling to that original intention as well.

Justice Brennan in his dissenting opinion argued as he did in 1972 that it is contemporary "standards of decency" which inform the meaning of the Constitutional prohibition of "cruel and unusual" punishment. He insisted that those standards have changed and "the law has progressed to the point where we should declare that the punishment of death, like the punishments on the rack, the screw and the wheel, is no longer morally tolerable in our civilized society."

The majority justices own that "standards of decency" change. But for them the big change occurred between the 1972 Furman decision and the present:

> "The petitioners in the capital cases before the court today renew the 'standards of decency' argument, but developments during the four years since Furman have undercut substantially the assumption.... It is now evident that a large proportion of American society continues to regard it as an appropriate and necessary sanction."

But why is capital punishment so popular? Certainly the reason is in part the politicians' and media's presentation of the death penalty as a solution to violent crime. In short, the American public believes that capital punishment is a deterrent. A public saturated with racism, in cities where walking the streets is indeed dangerous and getting more so, is an easy mark for the gutter press like the New York *Daily News*, which hailed the Supreme Court decision and put forward mass execution as the solution to "rising crime":

> "Now that the fundamental question has been resolved it should be a simple matter for the states to pass or revise capital punishment laws.... With homicides rising alarmingly, the sooner they do so the better."

The American public has plenty to fear from crime as its urban centers collapse under the weight of an economy that cannot provide jobs, instead creating not a reserve army of unemployed but a virtual population of permanently unemployed. Masses of Americans have an overwhelming sense of powerlessness confronting the increasing menace of robbery, rape, assault and murder. Marxists do not dismiss these fears, nor do we prettify the parasites who prey mainly on the working and the black population. But the reimposition of the barbaric practice of capital punishment has nothing to do with a "solution" to crime.

"Get tough with the criminals" yells the *Daily News* while the liberals argue for gun control schemes to complete the monopoly of the means of violence in the hands of capitalism's armed thugs. "More crime? Then more punishment." This is the meaning of the Supreme Court decision.

The high court offers in justification for its ruling only the most arrant philistinism: the popularity of the death penalty among a public which believes it deters crime. But the majority ruling admits that capital punishment does not deter crime! Citing "statistical attempts to evaluate the worth of the death penalty as a deterrent to potential offenders," the justices are forced to admit, "The results simply have been inconclusive." There is simply no basis for the assertion that stiffer criminal retribution deters crime. It is worth recalling that eighteenth-century England finally terminated the public hanging of convicted pickpockets noting the increased pickpocketing among the crowds which gathered to witness the executions.

Capital punishment always becomes more "popular" after its abolition. In the period since the 1972 decision put a moratorium on executions, the clamor for their restoration certainly increased. When capital punishment is reinstituted, however, it becomes increasingly unpopular as its ineffectiveness becomes obvious.

Parade

**Men are not to be treated like beasts said Marx.**

The entirety of capitalist class "justice" is aimed not at deterrence but at punishing those who are caught. The function of cops is not to "prevent crime" but at most to arrest the perpetrators (and usually not even that). In fact, by any fair standard cops represent the largest concentration of actual criminals. They kill more people, both purposefully and accidentally, than any other group. They are intertwined with organized crime and illegal paramilitary rightist gangs, and are engaged in every kind of kick-back from drugs, prostitution and protection rackets. In New York City alone last year, the cops were convicted of stealing $73 million in heroin. The cops are fond of figuring "street price" for drugs, but what is the price in "street crime" for the cop traffic in heroin? Surely the cops are the most vicious and pernicious criminals of all.

The cops' instinctive response to the "soft courts' permissiveness" and the decline in the use of the death penalty has been to increase their summary executions of suspects on the spot. The hired gunmen of the capitalist class are the worst offenders against "law and order" and the most casual dispensers of violence, dealing out death with virtual impunity.

An essential component of the outcry over "permissive" courts is simply racism. The sanctimonious justices who peg "decency" to the prevailing reactionary mood are certainly aware that the statute reestablishing the death penalty in Delaware followed hard on the heels of the wide publicity given to ugly incidents of interracial murder.

Abolitionists have long noted that the death penalty cannot be equitably applied, in part due to the rarity of its use. In its "wanton and freakish" capriciousness, the death penalty is cruel even by bourgeois standards. The example most often cited occurred in North Carolina, where four men were convicted of a robbery in which a shopkeeper was killed. Two of the men were spared death after they testified for the state against the other two, who were executed. It is clear that the execution was not related to the killing, but to the refusal to turn state's evidence. This is always what "discretion" means in the capitalist courts—political, racist, class-determined bias.

In upholding the capital punishment laws which left a margin for "mitigating circumstances," while sending mandatory death penalty statutes back to the drawing board, the Supreme Court has in fact put a premium on prejudice. For those who would sanction the capitalist state's "right" to kill, there is no way out of this bind. To exact a mandatory death sentence for certain crimes is punitive and vicious. To allow for "discretion" in the context of a deeply racist capitalist society is to guarantee the disproportionate victimization of blacks and poor people.

AP

**Caryl Chessman, executed in 1960, became a focus of movement to abolish death penalty.**

### Equivalence and Deterrence

In disowning the deterrent theory the Supreme Court gives up much of what may be considered progressive in bourgeois penal attitudes as compared with feudal ones. For Benthamite utilitarians the question of punishment was considered from the standpoint of deterring crime rather than of retributive justice.

Even the Old Testament notion of "an eye for an eye" is milder than the previous code of Hammurabi, which called for a punishment greater than the crime (e.g., two eyes for an eye). The idea of equivalent retribution is appropriate to the period of the market-place.

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There the individual producer, unaware that he is part of a social world, seeks an individual "fair return." This fetishized model is the basis for defining justice as an exchange of equivalents. You get what you pay for and vice versa. Cruelty, then, is understood as paying "too much." This is fundamentally the notion that persists on today's Supreme Court.

It is this sense of equivalence which French writer Albert Camus addressed in his famous attack on the death penalty:

> "For there to be equivalence the death penalty would have to punish a criminal who had warned his victim of the date at which he would inflict a horrible death on him and who from that moment onward had confined him at his mercy for months. Such a monster is not encountered in private life."

The deterrence argument upheld by the utilitarians in the period of industrial capital represented an advance. The notion that penalties were intended to deter crimes rather than simply "get even" with criminals was associated with the abandonment of the barbarous practices of torturing and maiming convicts. The confidence in deterrence reflected the bourgeois utilitarians' confidence that a rational and orderly system modeled on the marketplace could construct its institutions for the purpose of protecting society.

In the epoch of imperialist decay, the bourgeoisie and its institutions cannot protect society. They have passed over to the camp of naked reaction and must be smashed by the revolutionary proletariat, the only social force which can establish a world social system based on order, peace and justice.

The bankrupt ideologues of the bourgeoisie must cling to the lie that the cause of crime is criminals' insufficient fear of punishment, for they are not about to suggest that there might be another source of crime: the degenerate capitalist system itself. In fact, the criminal world merely reflects in a small-time way the "ethic" of the big-time capitalists. As the murderer MacHeath says in Brecht's "Three Penny Opera," "What is the crime of robbing a bank compared to the crime of founding one?"

## WAS THIS CORRECTION NECESSARY?

### New York Times, 3 July 1976

**EARLY CITY EDITION**

The Justices found basically that the death penalty would not always be considered excessive. They relied heavily on the fact that many state legislatures had enacted laws reflecting contemporary standards of **decadency**, and that legislatures had considered the penalty necessary as a deterrent, and as retribution.

**LATE CITY EDITION**

The Justices found basically that the death penalty would not always be considered excessive. They relied heavily on the fact that many state legislatures had enacted laws reflecting contemporary standards of **decency**, and that legislatures had considered the penalty necessary as a deterrent, and as retribution.

### Marx on Capital Punishment

The Marxist attitude toward crime and punishment is that we are against it.

Marx in 1875 succinctly summed up his opposition to the notion of retributive justice. Attacking the reformist demand for the "regulation of prison labour," he wrote:

> "A petty demand in a general workers' programme. In any case, it should have been clearly stated that there is no intention from fear of competition to allow ordinary criminals to be treated like beasts, and especially that there is no desire to deprive them of productive labour, their sole corrective. This was surely the least one might have expected from socialists."
>
> —*Critique of the Gotha Program*

Socialists do not proceed from the standpoint of punishing the offender. Such a vindictive penal attitude is fundamentally a religious rather than a materialist conception of social relations. Before the *Communist Manifesto*, Marx had already exposed the hypocritical religious premises of the German "Critical critics." The Marxists design ultimately to get rid of the world of crime and law, but even before this aim has been achieved we have no use for retributive punishment. For the "Critical critic" it is otherwise: "He quarrels with the world of law not over *'punishment'* itself, but over the *kinds* and *methods* of punishment" (*The Holy Family*).

First Marx takes up the Christian hypocrisy of retributive physical punishment:

> "This is the Christian means—plucking out the eye if it offends or cutting off the hand if it offends, in a word killing the body if the body gives offense; for the eye the hand the body are really only superfluous sinful appendages of man. Mass-type jurisprudence, too, in agreement here with the Critical, sees in the *taming* and paralysing of human strength the antidote to the objectionable manifestations of that strength."
>
> —*The Holy Family*

Marx also exposed the sickening religious notion of being "saved" through repentance—often tied to a burning stake (or through solitary confinement, indoctrination or other more subtle methods). He ridiculed the notion that for his salvation a robber would be converted to "a *monk* whose only work is prayer. Compared with this Christian cruelty, how humane is the ordinary penal theory that just chops a man's head off when it wants to destroy him." Marx insisted that the law itself was necessarily "one-sided" violence; it was barbarous to force the criminal to admit to being "saved" when what he is being is coerced. It is religion's job to convince the criminal that he is engaged in self-punishment when it is the other way around. Looking toward communist society, Marx states:

> "Under *human* conditions punishment will *really* be nothing but the sentence passed by the culprit on himself. No one will want to convince him that *violence* from *without*, done to him by others, is violence which he has done to himself. On the contrary, he will see in *other* men his natural saviors from the punishment which he has imposed on himself; in other words, the relation will be reversed."
>
> —*The Holy Family*

### Bolsheviks Reject the Death Penalty

When the Bolsheviks in 1917 led the first and only proletarian revolution in history, they carried out their program and banned the death penalty in Russia. This was maintained even under civil war conditions. The determination that the penal code of a workers state would not be based on retribution found its fullest expression in the party program of 1919, which advocated:

> "a fundamental alteration in the character of punishment, introducing conditional sentences on an extensive scale, applying public censure as a means of punishment, replacing imprisonment by compulsory labour with retention of freedom, and prisons by institutions for training, and establishing the principle of comradely courts."
>
> —quoted in E. H. Carr, *Socialism in One Country*, Volume II, page 447

The Bolsheviks carried out revolutionary terror in defense of their new state. For this task not only the Red Army but the Cheka (Extraordinary Commission to Combat Counterrevolution and Sabotage) was required. The war against counterrevolution was understood as a temporary episode which would need temporary and drastic measures. But the penal code was a more permanent feature of the proletarian state. The Cheka was set up as a temporary instrument reflecting the necessity to consolidate and defend soviet power against bourgeois restoration and imperialist invasion. The penal code embodied the Bolsheviks' expectations that the securing of soviet power and the extension of the revolution internationally would open up a period of social reconstruction on the path to the gradual "withering away of the state."

The Cheka which ran the concentration camps (mainly for political prisoners, of whom no forced labor was demanded) had no taste for torture. Roy Medvedev cites the example of the *Cheka Weekly*, a "small journal published in Moscow," which in 1918 uncritically published a letter calling for the torture of Bruce Lockhart, a British diplomat expelled from the Soviet Union as the head of a conspiracy against the revolutionary regime. The authors of the letter, entitled "Why the Kid Gloves?", included the head of the party committee from Nolinsk and the local Cheka group.

In refusing to subject Lockhart "to the most refined tortures, to get information and addresses," the letter said, the Cheka showed it,

> "has not broken with petty-bourgeois ideology, the cursed legacy of the prerevolutionary past.... Tell us why, instead of subjecting him to such tortures, the mere description of which would make counterrevolutionaries' blood run cold, tell us why you let him 'leave' the Cheka greatly embarrassed. Or do you think that subjecting a man to horrible tortures is more inhumane than blowing up bridges and warehouses of food...for the overthrow of the Soviet regime?"

The Nolinsk group was answered by the central party leadership along with an angry Cheka. The Cheka explained that in the interrogation of the tsarist secret police, torture was not exchanged for torture:

> "Often dying under the gendarmes' tortures, we could not help asking: 'Don't you see that you can kill us right away...but why torture us? But now all the Okhranniki are pitiful...when they have to stand before the regime of the proletariat.... The proletariat is merciless in its struggle. At the same time it is unshakable and strong. Not a single curse at our most wicked enemies. No tortures and torments!... Vanquished hirelings, former torturers of workers, must be wiped off the face of the earth."

The highest governmental body in the land passed a resolution:

> "The Presidium of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee, having discussed the article 'Why the Kid Gloves' which appeared in the third issue of the *Cheka Weekly*, has taken note that the thoughts expressed in it on the struggle with the counterrevolution are in gross contradiction with the policy and the tasks of the Soviet regime. Although the Soviet regime resorts of necessity to the most drastic measures of conflict with the counterrevolutionary movement, and remembers that the conflict with the counterrevolution has taken the form of open armed conflict, in which the proletariat and poor peasants cannot renounce the use of terror, the Soviet regime fundamentally rejects the measures advocated in the indicated article, as despicable, dangerous, and contrary to the interests of the struggle for Communism."
>
> —quoted in Roy A. Medvedev, *Let History Judge*, pages 260-262

The *Cheka Weekly* was closed down and its authors dismissed and forbidden to hold office in the Soviet Union.

The tradition of no retribution and no death penalty was well established in the Bolshevik revolution. Even when the civil war was hardly finished, the Cheka on 30 December 1920 issued a special order:

> "Information received by the Cheka establishes that members of various anti-Soviet parties arrested in political cases are being kept in very bad conditions.... The Cheka points out that the above listed categories of people must not be regarded as undergoing punishment, but as temporarily isolated from society in the interests of the Revolution. The conditions of their detention must not have a punitive character."
>
> —quoted in Medvedev, page 274

By 1922 the revolutionary regime, embattled and already isolated, was forced to adopt other temporary measures. The Cheka was disbanded and the GPU took its place. A new criminal code was developed which included the death penalty. In May 1922 death became for the first time in the war-ravaged, hunger-ridden new soviet state an act of law rather than an act of war. Like so many other necessary measures, this step was intended to be temporary but backward steps were becoming the rule.

In 1923 the reference to the "temporary character" of the death penalty had been struck from the code. But the tradition against capital punishment was strong and Dzerzhinsky—leader of the Cheka and a man not known for any squeamishness about the use of political terror—continued to argue the traditional party position that the death penalty ought not to be "a permanent institution of the proletarian state." He urged the substitution of "forced labour camps" for the death penalty (Carr, pages 454–455).

### Down with the Death Penalty!

Like so many other measures employed temporarily by the young workers state, under the Stalinist Thermidor these measures were made permanent and twisted into the most grotesque opposite of what the Bolsheviks intended. Russia under Stalin came to be a hell of torture—and not just physical torture but humiliation, desperate privation, forced false confessions and enforced self-degradation.

A generation of revolutionaries steeled in the tradition of Marx and the example of Lenin and Trotsky had to be destroyed in order for the Stalinist bureaucratic caste to consolidate its stranglehold over the Russian state. The secret police learned that under enough torture some men will confess that Trotsky was an agent of the Mikado, as earlier men had confessed their commerce with the devil. But Stalinism not only mutilated, tormented and slaughtered the best of the Bolsheviks. It also squandered the moral authority which the Cheka's old hands understood was a material force, a military consideration. "No tortures and torments!" echo the voices of the Cheka, revolutionaries and organizers of terror against counterrevolution upon whose memory the Stalinists heap blood and shame.

Men are not beasts said Marx in 1875. "We are men, we are not animals" said the prison rebels of Attica as they lashed out against a brutal system of institutional racist torture that was to spill rivers of their blood in cell-block D. For the same reason that Nelson Rockefeller ordered the Attica massacre, the Supreme Court has reinstituted the death penalty. The instruments of social control become increasingly more savage and their purpose more naked for a ruling class at the end of its rope. ■


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WORKERS VANGUARD

## CP Exclusionism Frustrated

# Militant Demonstration Against Chilean Torture Ship Esmeralda

JULY 5 The presence of the Chilean death ship Esmeralda in New York harbor is a vile insult to all working people. In its hold scores, perhaps hundreds, of workers and leftists were brutally tortured in the aftermath of the bloody military coup that overthrew the Allende government in September 1973. Now the bloodstains have been removed, the decks neatly scrubbed down so that unsuspecting tourists will only remember the cadets in their naval whites. But this weekend the Esmeralda was "greeted" by several hundred demonstrators who would not let visitors and crew forget that this floating chamber of horrors was the scene of indescribable bestialities that crippled some of the most valiant Chilean militants as Pinochet's butchers took power.

The Communist Party-dominated Chile Solidarity Committee (CSC) was concerned above all to keep the demonstration within the political limits of bourgeois respectability, with signs like "Our Bicentennial Celebrates Democracy, Not Fascism," and "The People United Will Never Be Defeated." But the CSC goons and sectarianism were not able to suppress the militant proletarian internationalism of a 100-strong Spartacist League (SL) contingent. When the Stalinists feebly chanted "Chile sí, junta no," they were drowned out by a powerful "Obreros [workers] sí, junta no" from class-struggle demonstrators.

Throughout the demonstration at Pier 86, CSC "marshals" tried to set up SL demonstrators for arrest, provoke fights, divide the demonstration—in short, do anything to keep away revolutionary politics. The previous evening CSC goons told SL protesters they could not carry signs denouncing "popular front illusions" or calling for "workers revolution." They tried again today to censor slogans and exclude the Trotskyists, but they were stopped at every turn by a vigorous defense of workers democracy against Stalinist exclusionism.

After seeing their slimy maneuvers and thug tactics stymied, the Stalinists tried to split the demonstration, leaving (for a while) the east side of 12th Avenue a sea of Spartacist signs calling for a boycott of military goods to Chile; for freeing Sergeant Juan Cárdenas, a Chilean naval non-com tortured (along with 100 other sailors) for opposing a rightist coup; for the construction of a Trotskyist party in Chile. Partisan Defense Committee and SL signs called for saving the life of Mario Muñoz, a revolutionary Chilean miners leader now being hunted down by Argentine authorities. In the center was a brilliant banner with a symbol of the torture ship, proclaiming, "Stop the Esmeralda! Smash the Junta Through Workers Revolution!" Referring to the Argentine and South African officers aboard the Esmeralda, SL signs demanded an end to junta terror and "Avenge Soweto!"

At one point the Stalinist goons attempted to exclude the Spartacist contingent from the demonstration. Reaching a hysterical frenzy, the CSC "marshals" began shoving, trying to rip away the SL's bullhorn, while quietly pulling away their supporters to a smaller demonstration across the street. Only the tight discipline of the Spartacist supporters prevented further violence at this point and the police arrests the Stalinist thugs were trying to provoke. But the SL held its ground, booming out, "Stop Stalinist exclusion, for workers revolution" as the CPers retreated.

Although the "official" demonstration left a small knot of sullen "monitors" watching the Spartacists, and a line of police (many of them mounted) quickly materialized after the Stalinist provocations, this did not prevent the entire SL contingent from moving over to the dock 40 minutes later, setting up their banner and long picket line directly in front of the Esmeralda and next to the CSC's exclusionist demonstration.

If there were any doubts about the Chile Solidarity Committee's deliberate exclusion, they were soon answered as the Communist Cadre group left the predominantly Spartacist demonstration and attempted to join the CSC picket. There they were knocked to the ground, their signs ripped out of their hands; eventually they rejoined our lines.

Even at the end, the Stalinists were unable to prevent Spartacist militancy from dominating the demonstration. As SLers sang the Internationale, it was picked up by several protestors in the "official" demonstration and a few hesitant fists went up in support of proletarian internationalism.

The Chile Solidarity Committee did not succeed in mobilizing the mass demonstrations it had hoped for. The demonstration on July 4 (when many radicals were in Philadelphia for "people's bicentennial" marches) was roughly the size of the advertised "main demonstration" the following day. Moreover, these inveterate reformists' strategy was to pressure the city council into banning the Esmeralda, since it supposedly violates American ideals of "freedom and independence."

While the CP and its liberal friends were appealing to the "Spirit of '76" at home and praising the Allende popular front in Chile, the Spartacist League's powerful presence and calls for workers revolution dramatically challenged the passivity and abstention of the bulk of the U.S. left which failed to join the protest. The Esmeralda must be stopped. No berth for the junta's torture ship! ■

WV Photo

WV Photo

# WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 118

16 July 1976


## Bosses Endanger Lives of Patients

# Victory to NYC Hospital Strike!

### Enforce Picket Lines, Call Out AFSCME Hospital Workers!

JULY 11 Over 700 militant pickets of Drug and Hospital Workers Union Local 1199 massed in front of the doors of Mount Sinai Hospital in upper Manhattan last Wednesday afternoon, on the first day of the largest hospital workers strike in U.S. history. Presently on strike are more than 30,000 workers at 33 private hospitals and another 5,000 at ten municipal hospitals and 14 nursing homes. At Mount Sinai, the mostly black and Puerto Rican blue collar and clerical employees were challenging a giant "non-profit" hospital complex, whose board of trustees includes an ex-president of the New York Stock Exchange and a liberal Congressman, Herman Badillo.

An early center of militancy in the strike, the Mount Sinai pickets attempted, in the face of a media campaign accusing them of jeopardizing patients' lives, to do what pickets everywhere are supposed to do: keep scabs out. After roughing up and turning back several strikebreaking "volunteers," the pickets rallied on Madison Avenue, stopping traffic. Thereupon NYC cops quickly stationed themselves in the doorways, attempting to escort doctors, nurses, patients, visitors and "volunteers" into the hospital.

But the militant strikers continued to turn away workers and patients whom *they* did not consider to constitute "emergency" cases, and the frustrated police resorted to vicious reprisals. At one point, according to an 1199 picket captain, five cops isolated one black woman striker, shoving her against a wall, fracturing her nose and arresting her. After several other arrests and with tensions escalating, a union official arrived, bringing not reinforcements or tactical leadership but a calypso band (!) and these words of warning to the strikers:

> "Don't touch anybody. If you touch them you deserve a whipping.... We work at Mt. Sinai. They [the scabs] work at Mt. Sinai. If you touch anybody you will cause confusion and then you deserve anything you get."

This has been the union's consistent policy toward scabs: at every critical

*continued on page 8*

Daily World

**Hospital workers called for binding arbitration at pre-strike demonstration in front of Governor Carey's office last week.**

# The Lessons of Entebbe

On July 3 a Mercedes limousine rolled into Entebbe airport outside Kampala, Uganda. Inside was an Israeli paratroop officer with blackened face dressed up to impersonate Uganda's president Idi Amin. This "Mission Impossible" touch was part of the Israeli paratroop raid which released 106 hostages seized by Palestinian terrorists who hijacked an Air France airbus.

On Sunday, June 27, supporters of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) had hijacked the plane, which was carrying 244 passengers and 12 crew members from Tel Aviv to Paris. The hijackers forced the plane to fly instead to Entebbe airport. On Tuesday the terrorists demanded the release of 53 Palestinian and pro-Palestinian prisoners in return for release of the hostages. By Thursday the 148 non-Israeli passengers had been released and the terrorists were demanding, in exchange for the remaining 107 Israelis, the release of the 53 prisoners and the payment of $5 million. Throughout the negotiations it was clear that Amin, Uganda's murderous maniacal despot, had collaborated closely with the hijackers.

On Saturday, Israel launched the commando "Entebbe operation." Three Israeli units landed at the Ugandan capital's airport and proceeded to blow up 10 Soviet-supplied MIGs, shoot their way through the 60 to 100 Ugandan soldiers guarding the terminal where the hostages were being held, release 106 hostages, load them aboard waiting C-130 Hercules transport planes and fly them back to Israel via Nairobi, Kenya. During the raid 20 Ugandan soldiers, one Israeli commando, seven PFLP guerrillas and three hostages were killed.

Israeli familiarity with the set-up at Entebbe airport facilitated the commando raid. Israel had previously trained Amin's air force and army and had begun the construction of the airport. Amin was himself given paratroop training in Israel, and at least until last week contined to wear the Israeli paratroop insignia.

The hijacking of the airbus was an indefensible act of indiscriminate terrorism. Wanton violence against individuals whose only "crime" is their citizenship is totally alien to the aims and methods of the working class. But the oppressed peoples of the world can have nothing but disgust for the sanctimonious and utterly cynical protests of the Israeli militarists and their Western imperialist protectors, who rail against terrorism while preserving a discreet silence about the Israeli state's vicious acts of wanton violence against the Palestinian people. The punitive bombing raids on Palestinian refugee camps, the shooting of unarmed Palestinians in the West Bank during the recent "disturbances"—these are no less criminal because they are executed, not by guerrillas, but by an arrogant state power flaunting the spoils of its usurpation of the lands and national rights of the Palestinian people. The brilliantly executed Israeli commando raid being lauded in the bourgeois press will serve only to whip up a wave of self-satisfied chauvinism in Israel and serve as a model for further terror against the oppressed Palestinians.

The 47 member-states of the Organization of African Unity on July 8 denounced "the Israeli aggression against Uganda as a violation of its sovereignty and territorial integrity." The international working class must

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Liaison

**Israeli commandos training for Uganda raid.**


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## Open Canadian Borders to Victims of Junta Repression!

# Toronto Rally Defends Mario Muñoz

TORONTO, July 9—Nearly 90 people came to protest right-wing repression in Latin America at a public meeting here tonight sponsored by the Committee to Save Mario Muñoz. A report by Committee spokesman Bob McBurney that Muñoz had been arrested by the Mendoza (Argentina) police a week ago, and released only because international protest on Muñoz' behalf had made the persecuted Chilean union leader too hot to handle, underlined the urgency of carrying forward this campaign.

McBurney and the other speakers expressed indignation at the Canadian government's hypocritical refusal to offer asylum to the Chilean refugees trapped and hounded in Argentina; while it has openly welcomed the South Vietnamese stooges of imperialism, pimps and drug pushers, like General Quang, who fled Saigon after the fall of the U.S. puppet regime a year ago. Attention was drawn in particular to the plight of 27 Chilean refugees who occupied the Canadian embassy in Buenos Aires July 2 in a dramatic plea for safe haven from the junta butchers. So far, Ottawa has refused to grant visas.

Within its own borders, the Canadian "liberal democracy" several days earlier announced its intention to deport Sergio Peres, a supporter of the Chilean Communist Party who fled to Canada after the Pinochet coup. While the government has since responded to pressure on behalf of Peres by suspending the original deportation order, it initially rationalized its brutal intentions with the cowardly evasion that Peres was "a *mere member*" of "one of the many parties which supported former President Allende" and thus supposedly had not been singled out for "special treatment" (quoted in *Globe and Mail* [Toronto], 29 June). Trudeau & Co. are assuredly quite familiar with the "treatment" meted out to tens of thousands of other "mere members" by Pinochet's Gestapo.

Such mealy-mouthed "explanations" to the contrary, the threatened extradition of Peres is an attack on all anti-junta militants and must be vigorously opposed. In a July 6 telegram to the Minister of Manpower and Immigration, the Trotskyist League of Canada demanded that deportation proceedings be dropped and that Peres be granted full citizenship rights. Tonight's speakers also solidarized with the fight to save Peres and the refugees occupying the Canadian embassy.

In describing the efforts to save Muñoz, union militant McBurney (a shop steward of Letter Carriers Union of Canada Local 1) detailed the endangered Chilean workers' leader's role in organizing and building the militant miners union movement in Chile, his election to the Regional Miners Council during the Allende regime, and his escape to Argentina after the bloodthirsty Pinochet coup in September 1973. The speaker went on to note Muñoz' valiant efforts in aiding other Chilean refugees in Argentina, despite the enormous hardships of exile, and pointed to the threats of the Argentine military *gorilas* to have Muñoz shot or extradited to Pinochet's torture chambers.

The united-front meeting, chaired by Canadian Law Union member Paul Copeland, was also addressed by speakers from the Socialist League, Revolutionary Marxist Group, and the international Spartacist tendency (iSt), represented by Bill Logan, central committee member of the Spartacist League of Australia and New Zealand. Although scheduled speakers Andrew Brewin (New Democratic Party member of provincial parliament for Greenwood) and Ontario Federation of Labour (OFL) president David Archer were unable to attend, a telegram expressing the support of Archer and the OFL was read to rally participants, as were statements of solidarity from the OCI-affiliated Socialist Workers Group of Quebec (GSTQ) and the Group for Defense of Civil Rights in Argentina.

While the Canadian Committee to Defend Latin American Political Prisoners (CLA) has refused, in its sectarian liberal fashion, to endorse the efforts to save Muñoz (its U.S. counterpart, the Socialist Workers Party-dominated USLA, retracted its original endorsement for explicitly anti-communist reasons), a CLA spokesman was given time to report on another Latin American victim of rightist repression, socialist militant Hugo Blanco, who was recently arrested by the Peruvian junta. An iSt speaker offered "full support to any international campaign to free Comrade Blanco."

Speaking for the iSt, Comrade Logan outlined the painful lessons for working-class militants internationally of the treacherous Allende popular-front government. In disarming the Chilean workers and peasants prior to the coup, militarily as well as politically, the popular front paved the way for the bloody defeat suffered by the Chilean masses. Pointing to the Spartacist tendency's insistence on the necessity for proletarian class independence, Logan expressed the "particular responsibility" of Trotskyists in defending the revolutionary union leader, because "Mario Muñoz was able to perceive this central necessity in a situation where the rest of the labor movement with very few exceptions had a policy of allying the proletariat with the left-wing bourgeoisie."

Time is running out for Muñoz and the other Chilean refugees in Argentina. "The fight to save the life of Mario Muñoz" declared Logan, "is a fight to save the very ability of the South American proletariat to struggle!" Hands Off Mario Muñoz! Open the Borders to All Victims of Junta Repression in Argentina and Chile!


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# URGENT COMMUNIQUÉ

# Mario Muñoz in Grave Danger

On July 2, Mario Muñoz Salas and 12 others were violently taken from the place of refuge assigned to them by the United Nations. The raid and arrests were carried out by agents of Section 5 of the Mendoza police. Among the 13 arrested were seven legally designated as political refugees. The prisoners were transferred to the Fifth Precinct and after several hours to the Bureau of Identification Prefecture in the same city. While being held at these two locations they were interrogated, identified and booked one by one. They were subjected to every sort of physical abuse (tortures) and to inhuman conditions—were left exposed to harsh weather and 20-degree temperatures, inadequately clothed, until the early hours of the morning.

Of all these imprisoned, Mario Muñoz faced the greatest danger. The police had complete files on him, from both Argentina and Chile, and at first the official position was to deport him to his native country. The U.N. committee in Mendoza, which was immediately informed, was unable to prevent this flagrant violation of the most elementary rights of asylum. This is standard practice for the Argentine government's paid assassins. The refugee camps have become prisons, from which union militants and political activists are taken for interrogations carried out in classic WWII Nazi style. At best, they are later returned to the "refuges" physically and mentally shattered; even worse, they often remain in prison or are deported to their country of origin—Chile, Uruguay, Brazil, etc.—where torture and death await them.

In this context, when international pressure frustrates the insidious action of the armed forces, "civilian" bands appear on the scene, such as the AAA (Argentine Anti-Communist Alliance), which daily assassinates with impunity dozens of worker militants and even liberal personalities, deputies, senators. The repression in Argentina is clearly being stepped up day by day. The "hard-liners" within the government have the upper hand, as exemplified in the forced resignation of general Corbetta, chief of police of Buenos Aires.

Mario Muñoz and those arrested with him, among whom were two supporters of the Chilean Communist Party, Manuel Garrido Vargas and Juan Armey Cruces (of the CP Youth), were released on July 3. The criminal band was momentarily checked by the action of the prisoners' *compañeras*—among them Chileans, Peruvians and Argentinians—who went en masse to the precinct and the Prefecture and stationed themselves in front of these buildings demanding liberty for their *compañeros*. Likewise the support given to the campaign to save Mario Muñoz by working-class and democratic organizations, prominent individuals, trade-union and leftist militants throughout the world, was decisive in stopping the extradition of Muñoz.

But a brutal threat hangs over the life of Mario Muñoz, as with all class-war prisoners in Argentina: abduction and murder at the hands of the AAA or the Coordinating Committee of Repression of the Southern Cone. The U.N. has been unable to guarantee his life and liberty. At this very moment Mario Muñoz could again find himself in the dungeons of the Argentine dictatorship or in the hands of the no less bloody Pinochet. Only action and struggle by working-class organizations, trade unions and parties can save his life and enable him to leave Argentina.

**COMMITTEE TO SAVE MARIO MUÑOZ** — **8 July 1976**

# WV Salesman Arrested

CHICAGO, July 13—Yesterday evening a *WV* salesman, Amy Richardson, was arrested and charged with criminal trespass on Chicago Transit Authority property. As she distributed the issue headlined "Abolish the Death Penalty!"—a sharp attack on the legal murder of blacks and poor people—a CTA policeman, waiting nearby for the slightest pretext to prevent dissemination of the newspaper to the predominantly black transit workers, arrested Richardson.

Incensed when asked for proof of his authority, the cop threatened to "teach her a lesson" by pressing further charges of disorderly conduct. Cop harassment continued at the jail. Instead of releasing her on her own recognizance, bail was set at an outrageous $1,000! Friends who arrived to post a bond were put off with the lie that her fingerprints had to be retaken, and Richardson was kept in jail overnight, long after the processing was completed.

This blatant assault on constitutional and democratic liberties is an obvious act of political repression by the CTA, which is attempting to censor what its employees may read. It is a threat to freedom of the press and to the rights of the left and labor movement. Drop the charges! Defend Amy Richardson!

## State of Emergency Imposed

# Political Gang Warfare Escalates in Jamaica

Three weeks ago the government of Jamaican prime minister Michael Manley declared an indefinite state of emergency. For months, the "island paradise" has been wracked by bloody fighting between politically inspired gangs in the shantytowns of Kingston, the capital, and the regime has responded by enacting increasingly draconian measures to suppress the violence. The declaration of emergency followed discovery of an arms cache in the grim Trench Town slum on June 19. Among those "detained" since then is Pearnel Charles, deputy leader of the opposition Jamaica Labour Party (JLP).

The JLP, headed by Edward Seaga, claims that the violence and state of emergency are part of a plot by Manley's People's National Party (PNP) to establish a Caribbean "red axis" between Havana and Kingston and to pave the way for the "suspension of parts of the Constitution before next year's election" (*Times* [London], 23 June). The JLP, despite its name, is a capitalist party closely tied to the island's ruling class. In recent years Seaga and his cronies have been sharply critical of the "anti-imperialist" rhetoric of the ruling bourgeois party.

Seaga took over the JLP leadership following its resounding defeat in the 1972 elections. It was thought that this political "tough guy" would be able to recoup the party's losses, but by-elections for four parliamentary seats late last year were all won by the PNP. This defeat was soon followed by the outbreak of violence, which has so far claimed over 100 lives, including 20 members of the radically inclined PNP youth group. Herb Rose, executive board member of the JLP, recently resigned from the party stating, "I have seen young men being trained and brainwashed to commit murder" (*New York Times*, 20 June).

Manley, on the other hand, charges that the JLP is behind the violence against his supporters in an effort to weaken the government and embarrass it internationally. The wave of attacks began in January during an International Monetary Fund meeting on the island. In one particularly outrageous incident, a gang of gunmen set fire to a tenement block in West Kingston and cut down fleeing tenants in a hail of bullets. Firemen were also shot at, and the carnage resulted in 11 deaths and many serious injuries.

### Slum Warfare

Violence has long been a fact of life in the Jamaican capital's impoverished slums, but in recent years it has been exacerbated by a number of factors. The country faces a severe economic crisis, with export earnings down sharply as the result of falling sugar and bauxite prices and the smallest sugar harvest in 25 years. With oil import costs tripling since 1973, this has meant that many essential items (including wheat and other staples) have become scarce and soared in price. Additionally, between a quarter and a third of the population is unemployed, the bulk of them among the youth of West Kingston.

Simultaneously the growing marijuana trade with the U.S.—a multi-million dollar operation involving elements of every stratum of Jamaican society—has not only meant ties to the Mafia, but also a flood of sophisticated weapons entering the country. Jamaican marijuana dealers were recently stuck with counterfeit U.S. currency and have since demanded payment in guns, for which they find a ready market among the street gangs.

In March 1974, in response to a series of drug-related murders and an escalating crime rate that was cutting into the tourist trade, the government passed the drastic Suppression of Crime Act, which established a special "Gun Court" empowered to conduct secret trials and mete out indefinite sentences for firearms law violations. When the Privy Council ruled indefinite detention unconstitutional, the law was simply changed to provide a mandatory life sentence!

Political gang warfare is a product of the hopeless condition of unemployed youth in the lumpenized slum population. Alienated from the tightly knit black bourgeoisie, the labor movement and the rural population that has benefited from government land redistribution programs, the shanty dwellers are prey for demagogues from both parties, eager to buy votes and round up hully boys to terrorize their opponents.

Seaga's 1967 campaign to retain his parliamentary seat was marked by bitter clashes between PNP and JLP supporters. He had built a strong base in his West Kingston slum constituency by the traditional method of distributing government favors, in this case public housing, among his supporters. Fractious rivalries between tenants in different housing projects are partly the result of this bi-partisan pattern of political patronage.

### U.S. Displeasure

Sharpened political hostilities on the island coincide with and are undoubtedly nourished by growing hostility in imperialist circles toward the Manley regime. The U.S. bourgeoisie was obviously displeased by the three-fold increase in bauxite excise taxes in 1974, and the Jamaican government's announcement last year of its intention to assume 51 percent interest (with compensation) in American-owned mining properties. Equally if not more disturbing to Washington is Manley's growing sympathies for Cuba.

Jamaica Daily Gleaner

Jamaican demonstration calls for an end to political gang violence, rising inflation and unemployment.

Ties with Havana began developing shortly after Manley took office in 1972. He soon restored diplomatic relations with Cuba, long severed under U.S. pressure. In 1973 the Jamaican leader accompanied Fidel Castro in the latter's private plane to the Algiers conference of "non-aligned" nations, stopping en route in Guinea to pick up Sékou Touré. Since then Manley has emerged as a "Third World" spokesman of increasing prominence.

Particularly galling to U.S. ruling circles was Manley's support to Cuba's military intervention against the imperialist power play in Angola. Jamaican government sources assert that the American response has been a covert attempt to stir up the violence already latent in party rivalries, provoke strikes, cut back the tourist trade and generally "destabilize" the regime, as was done to the popular-front UP government of Chile before the 1973 coup. Indicative of growing Cuban/Jamaican diplomatic relations is a planned visit by Castro this fall. In addition, eight of Manley's private guards have reportedly received special training in Cuba, with another 20 police scheduled to follow (*Manchester Guardian Weekly*, 25 April).

Castro's overtures to Manley result not from any proletarian internationalism, but from an attempt to break through the U.S.-imposed isolation of Cuba by political blocs with left-talking bourgeois governments like that of Panama's General Omar Torrijos or the "anti-imperialist" Peruvian junta. By preaching political support to and class peace with Jamaica's populist government, Cuba's Stalinist rulers accept responsibility for its anti-working-class policies. Similarly, Castro's dallying with Allende's "Popular Unity" regime (including urging copper miners not to strike and to work harder) was an important part of the web of betrayal which left the Chilean working class defenseless in the face of the right-wing bloodbath.

Despite its inflated rhetoric and partial willingness to risk the displeasure of foreign investors, the PNP is no more "socialist" than the JLP is a labor party. Manley's "anti-imperialist" hype is an attempt to mobilize support from a populace that grows increasingly discontented as it becomes clear that 14 years of independence have not alleviated poverty and unemployment or broken the power of the narrow ruling cabal.

The PNP's "answer" to the economic domination of American capital that has taken the place of three centuries of direct rule by Britain is a utopian scheme of establishing high fixed prices for the primary products exported by economically backward countries. How the imperialist powers can be persuaded to voluntarily abandon their dominant role in the world market—expressed, among other ways, in the adverse terms of trade of "Third World" countries—is a question for which neither Manley nor anyone else has an answer.

In December 1974 this populist demagogue explained to nervous capitalists that: "Under the socialist system there is a perfectly reasonable, honorable, decent, respected and permanent role for businessmen. For all the various types of business people there is a legitimate place in our socialist system." The policy of the Jamaican Develop-

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Bernard Diederich/Time

Prime Minister Michael Manley speaking at rally.

## Black Labor Still Combative

# Mass Arrests in Wake of Soweto Massacre

South African policeman searching black worker in Alexandra.

Sebastio Salgado/Gamma-Liaison

JULY 11 This week's announcement that the white-supremacist South African government has annulled its policy of imposing Afrikaans-language instruction on black secondary school students will bring scant comfort in the African townships on the *veld* outside Johannesburg. To the blacks who are still burying their dead and awaiting the release of hundreds of youths arrested during the savage police suppression of last month's rebellion, the country remains a vast prison camp.

The policy change, reportedly the result of a sharp debate within the ruling Nationalist Party itself, is a half-hearted attempt to salvage the myth propagated by Pretoria's imperialist backers that the government of Balthazar Vorster has embarked upon a *verligte* (enlightened) course to ease the mountainous weight of racial oppression euphemistically known as "separate development." The coincidence of the slaughter of nearly 200 (by official figures) South African blacks and Vorster's West German tête-à-tête with Henry Kissinger restrained even the callous hypocrisy of the U.S. Secretary of State, who was markedly circumspect in his description of the talks.

Kissinger's obvious intention was to strengthen the Washington/Pretoria axis (the meeting itself was a major diplomatic coup for South Africa) while persuading Vorster to tighten the screws on Rhodesia and to take further carefully controlled steps toward the eventual independence of Southwest Africa (Namibia). But Kissinger's hopes of undercutting South Africa's pariah status were dampened as his racist friends heaped up black corpses in Soweto and other townships. The *New York Times* (27 June) noted:

> "The riots in South Africa are viewed as having muddled the distinction that Mr. Kissinger has sought to draw between Rhodesia and South-West Africa, on the one hand, and South Africa on the other. During his African trip last April Mr. Kissinger, while expressing opposition to institutionalized separation of the races, repeatedly pointed out that while Rhodesia and South-West Africa were illegal regimes, South Africa was a recognized nation acknowledged as such by black Africans."

Having been considerably embarrassed by last year's revelation of secret West German aid in providing South Africa with nuclear capacity, West German chancellor Schmidt was careful to distance himself from the Pretoria regime, sharply condemning apartheid for the record and claiming that he had talked with Vorster only at the latter's request!

But even as Kissinger expressed his hopes that the talks might produce "a resolution" in Southern Africa "achieved by negotiation and not by violence," the white supremacist police state was preparing the atmosphere for another wave of racist terror. On June 22 the Minister of "Justice," James Kruger, defended the use of guns against unarmed blacks and charged that common criminals "caused the trouble." With the colossal arrogance of the self-ordained racial *Herrenvolk*, Kruger added that, "The majority of black people are grateful for what the Government is doing to uplift them" (*New York Times*, 23 June). Among other "uplifting" measures is the recently passed Promotion of State Security ("SS") Bill which permits permanent detention, without trial, of government opponents.

Minister for Bantu Affairs Michiel Botha charged that the revolt had been carefully planned. Kruger warmed to the same theme, telling foreign newsmen that "black consciousness and the black movement are somewhere behind this." He pointedly asserted that a non-student had led the June 16 anti-Afrikaans march of Soweto students. When asked to identify the "outside agitator," this reactionary swine could only answer: "Dead men tell no tales" (*New York Times*, 26 June).

### Jangled Nerves in Pretoria

But even while brandishing the *sjambok*, Pretoria is constrained to tread somewhat more cautiously than in the wake of the 1960 Sharpeville massacre. Despite official "reds under the bed" hysteria, the government knows that the rebellions were overwhelmingly spontaneous in their origins and hence that the arrest of more African National Congress (ANC) or South African Students Organization (SASO) militants will provide scapegoats but no guarantee against another outbreak.

Internationally, the Vorster government hopes that such gestures as the reversal of the education language policy and a series of well-publicized meetings with "responsible" leaders from Soweto can offset the major blow to its possibility for a diplomatic breakthrough. With black nationalist governments installed in Angola and Mozambique and the minority regime in Rhodesia already beginning to totter, foreign investment in South Africa is increasingly seen as a high risk (if highly lucrative) venture, a point further driven home by the plunging value of South African shares (especially gold) on the London market in late June.

But most significant in the cold-blooded calculations of the white opposition parties and the *verligte* wing of the Nationalists is the gnawing fear of a repetition of the massive black proletarian upsurge that rolled across South Africa, from a general strike that paralyzed Durban in early 1973 spreading to the Johannesburg industrial complex by year's end and reverberating through the Witwatersrand gold fields, the very heart of the economy, for 18 months. For a brief period, relatively substantial wage increases coupled with selective repression, and the encouragement of joint worker/management "liaison committees" to undercut the organization of blacks into trade unions, appeared to deflate the wave of militancy.

But the rebellions in the black townships (little more than urban labor compounds), coinciding with a rash of recent walkouts in Durban and Germiston, indicates the possibility of a major new strike wave. As last month's unrest spread from the Johannesburg area to townships near Pretoria, a strike by 1,000 black auto workers erupted at a Chrysler assembly plant near Mamelodi when the management did not produce the supplementary breakfasts that began after food supplies were disrupted by police blockades around the townships. On June 24, police in Witbank, 75 miles east of Johannesburg, confiscated hundreds of leaflets calling on the town's 39,000 black coal miners to strike in protest of rent increases.

Fueling the smouldering rage of the plebeian masses is the fact that the wage increases of recent years still leave most black workers (along with many Indian and "coloured" workers) at the most abject, near-starvation level. Furthermore, in absolute money terms, the black/white wage gap has actually widened.

ICCR

White foreman watches over black workers in South African engine plant.

### The Color Bar Moves Up

Nor are the blacks any longer exclusively "hewers of wood and drawers of water." As the result of post-World War II economic expansion and the critical shortage of skilled white workers, the industrial color bar has consistently moved upward, with increasing numbers of Indians and coloured flowing into skilled positions and blacks into semi-skilled categories. The following table indicates the extent of upward labor mobility among the racial groups:

Percent of Workers Classified as "Labourers" in Industries Other than Mining

| | 1936 | 1960 | 1970 |
|---|---|---|---|
| Africans | 89.5 | 84.0 | 68.2 |
| Coloured | 54.6 | 49.4 | 44.2 |
| Indian | 43.6 | 23.0 | 15.3 |
| Whites | 21.8 | 4.2 | 3.3 |

*African Communist*, Second Quarter 1973

As white immigration continues to decline each year, and young white workers move to more skilled occupations and from skilled jobs to supervisory posts, their jobs are, of necessity, filled by non-whites.

But while moving into more skilled job categories, the Africans and other non-whites find their wages still lag far behind those of the privileged white labor aristocracy. While the economic upgrading of blacks is undermining one of the major tenets of Nationalist Party policy (keeping Africans as a totally regimented and interchangeable pool of unskilled, migrant workers), the architects of apartheid have done their utmost to keep the structure of white *Baasskap* (overlordship) intact.

The Transvaal construction industry is an illustrative example. The 1951 Bantu Building Workers' Act permits blacks to be trained in construction trades but to work only in black areas and at a fraction of white workers' wages. During the early 1970's, the Pretoria-based Building Workers Union, affiliated with the all-white Confederation of Labour and headed by right-wing Nationalist Party stalwart Gert Beetge, had to police building sites in the

Transvaal to prevent subcontractors from illegally employing low-paid African bricklayers, plasterers, plumbers and electricians.

In 1974, Beetge denounced a government review of job reservation in the industry as a "sellout of the White artisans" (*Sechaba*, April 1974). Last year, however, the Transvaal construction unions concluded an agreement with the employers allowing blacks to do craft work under the supervision of whites, who were automatically upgraded in status and pay to master craftsmen and also guaranteed permanent job preference in the industry.

Discrimination has also been elevated to a higher plane in the public sector, long a source of sheltered employment at subsidized wages for unskilled whites. The railway and harbor administration, for example, now employs more than 224,000 wage earners, half of them Africans, coloured and Indians. In 1972, Transport Minister Ben Schoeman explained to parliament that while "It is a fundamental principle of the National party that White workers should be protected against cheap non-White labour," the government was allowing "controlled employment" of non-whites in previously reserved categories. "Each skilled White artisan on the railways," Schoeman elaborated, "will in future be assisted by two non-Whites who will be trained as semi-skilled labourers" (*African Communist*, Second Quarter 1973).

UPI

**Bus burns during black revolt in Soweto last month.**

### TUCSA's "Liberal" Opportunism

Under pressure from the upsurge of black workers, the leadership of the Trade Union Council of South Africa (TUCSA), one of the two main union federations, has made several approaches to the growing African unions. With 63 affiliated unions representing 233,555 workers, TUCSA encompasses more than a third of the total membership of officially recognized trade unions (the 60,000 members of 21 African unions are not recognized by the employers or the government). Although its leadership bodies are dominated by whites, fully 72 percent of TUCSA's members are coloured or Indian.

In 1973 TUCSA voted to encourage affiliated unions to form "parallel unions of African workers." The Natal Garment Workers Union, a 25,000-member union of coloured and Indian workers, opened its offices to several Durban-based black unions and appropriated funds and organizers to help them enroll new members. However, when four of these organizers were "banned" by the government in the spring of 1974, the TUCSA leadership refused to support a mass protest rally in Durban. The Garment Workers nearly pulled out of the federation after this cowardly stab in the back.

TUCSA has a long and seamy history of such behavior. On its establishment in 1954 the same year that the Industrial Conciliation Act, excluding blacks from collective bargaining rights, was introduced in parliament—TUCSA refused to admit black members. Eight years later, to undercut the multi-racial (but majority black) South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU), TUCSA voted to accept segregated African affiliates. In 1967, after SACTU had disintegrated under fierce government repression, TUCSA once again excluded Africans, reversing itself the following year and finally in 1969 returning to its original policy of exclusion.

Thus, when TUCSA opened its doors to affiliation by African unions in 1974, the offer was greeted with great skepticism as an attempt to tame black militancy. The one significant black union that joined is the staunchly anti-Communist National Union of Clothing Workers led by Lucy Mvubelo.

The organizational aid lent by the Natal Garment Workers Union to the black unions (although later withdrawn under intense pressure from the government and TUCSA leadership), along with numerous other instances of solidarity between Indian workers in Durban and their African class brothers during the strike wave, points to the key task of forging militant, democratic, multi-racial unions which would struggle against the oppression of all non-whites and break down the labor aristocratic status of white workers.

The wage increases of the 1973-75 period, the spurt of African trade-union organization, the ever growing dominance of black labor in nearly every industry and the movement of Africans into more skilled positions have all reinforced the growing self-confidence and combativity of the black proletariat. At the same time, the black worker daily faces the squalor, indignities and police-state terror intended to teach him "his place" in white South Africa: the prison-like townships, grinding poverty, the pass laws, the Bantustan fraud, rigid segregation in most areas of public life, the wage gap, the industrial color bar, inferior education (including the attempted retribalization of urban blacks through compulsory African "mother tongue" instruction in the primary grades) and the contract labor system in mining and agriculture.

While the Nationalist Party's racist social engineers push ahead with their desperate schemes for so-called "separate development" of "tribal homelands" in which millions of the Africans have never even set foot, the economy's demand for black labor represents the widening chink in the armor of apartheid. Pretoria can continue to poise its overwhelming military might to smash any open insurrectionary actions in black areas. It cannot, however, carry out its program to reduce the entire black proletariat to the status of transient laborers. Black workers, in their struggle for democratic gains, open the road to proletarian power with every blow struck against the apartheid structure. ■

# Protest Peruvian Junta's Deportation of Hugo Blanco!

Well-known Latin American socialist activist and peasant leader Hugo Blanco was arrested by the Peruvian political police in the Andean city of Cuzco on July 3 under a national state of emergency decree. A week later he was deported to Sweden. Although Peru's military government refused to give any explanation for this arbitrary suppression of democratic rights, Blanco in statements to the press linked it to the fact that "the political climate in Peru is hardening, there is oppression, living costs are rising and the workers are protesting."

The day before his arrest, five people were killed in Lima riots touched off by the government's new austerity measures. The anti-working-class economic program was announced three days after the national currency was devalued 30 percent as a result of the refusal of foreign bankers and lending agencies to extend hundreds of millions of dollars of overdue loans to debt-ridden Peru. The measures included sharp price increases (the price of gasoline doubled), a partial wage freeze, cutbacks in social welfare and higher taxes.

Faced with a rash of demonstrations in Lima and Arequipa and wildcat protest strikes by tens of thousands of copper miners, metal workers, university employees and owner-operators of microbuses (the principal means of transportation in the capital), the government ordered a state of emergency in the mining industry (later broadened to a 30-day nationwide state of emergency), closed all businesses, banks and schools and instituted a 10 p.m. to 5 a.m. curfew.

Under the state of emergency, all public gatherings are forbidden and the police have unlimited rights of seizure, arrest and search. The government immediately took advantage of this decree to illegally arrest and deport the popular leader Hugo Blanco.

Blanco, a prominent spokesman for the views of the pseudo-Trotskyist United Secretariat, gained worldwide recognition for his courageous activities organizing militant peasant unions during the early 1960's in the Convención Valley near Cuzco. While the peasant unions struggled in isolation (without a leadership from a communist party rooted in the working class) to wrest land from the grip of the large landholders and redistribute it among the peasantry, the government of Fernando Belaunde Terry mounted a repressive campaign against Blanco. When, on 30 May 1963, he was brought out of the valley by his followers in search of desperately needed medical treatment, he was arrested and subsequently charged with involvement in the death of three members of the armed forces killed during the government's attempts to suppress the peasant movement.

After seven years' imprisonment and a massive international outcry, Blanco was deported from Peru in 1971, subsequently deported from Argentina in 1972, escaped from Chile in 1973 and, denied asylum in any Latin American country, eventually took refuge in Sweden. Following the ouster of General Velasco Alvarado by another leader of the nationalist military junta (General Bermúdez Morales) last August, Blanco and several other Peruvian political exiles were allowed to return home. His welcome by the Peruvian peasants was exuberant. In the face of a news blackout, Blanco was met on his return with enthusiastic cheering, flowers and embraces.

But his welcome by the government was predictably short-lived. Despite its "progressive" pretensions and limited agrarian reform, the military regime must keep a tight lid on the peasantry and workers in order to survive. To facilitate this, it has sought to channel peasant militancy into corporatist institutions such as SINAMOS, which it controls. The return of Blanco and other exiled socialist and labor militants posed a clear threat of mass worker and peasant mobilizations independent of junta control. And so, only nine months after his return from exile, Blanco has been deported once again.

Blanco's treatment at the hands of the "anti-imperialist junta" is in many ways a repeat of the experience of Hernán Cuentas, general secretary of the miners federation of Cuajone in southern Peru and a leader of the ostensibly Trotskyist POMR (linked with the French OCI). Cuentas also returned to Peru after the fall of Velasco, and shortly after an enthusiastic welcome by the miners of Cuajone, he too was arrested (see "Free Hernán Cuentas!" *WV* No. 97, 20 February 1976).

Despite attempts to sabotage the campaign by Stalinists both in Peru and in France, a campaign to free Cuentas gained broad international labor support. After being secretly transferred from prison to prison for more than four months, Cuentas, together with several of those arrested with him—Victor Caudros, Genaro Ledesma Izquieta, José Oña Meoño, Ricardo Diaz Chaves and Arturo Salas Rodriguez—was finally released on April 28.

In keeping with our policies of class-struggle defense, the Spartacist League and Partisan Defense Committee demand the immediate release of all socialist, labor and peasant militants still incarcerated in Peruvian prisons, and an end to the persecution of leftists and the right of all Peruvian political refugees to return to the country. ■


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## From the Great Leap to the Tien An Men Square Riot

# Mao's "Socialism": No Electricity, No Soviets

The recent death of Marshal Chu Teh brings the number of members of the key standing committee of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) political bureau who have died since the last party congress in 1973 to a total of four out of nine, with the health of another two (including Mao Tse-tung) shaky at best. This fact and the absence of any noteworthy political figure to replace Mao underscore the gravity of the developing succession crisis in the Heavenly Palace.

In the past ten years, the Chairman's hapless efforts to find a loyal successor

**Part 1 of 2**

have resulted in the purge of three heirs apparent. First Liu Shao-chi, the head of state, was declared a long-time "capitalist roader" and made the principal victim of the "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution" in 1966. Then Lin Piao, formally named in the 1969 CCP constitution as Mao's successor, was declared a treacherous cliquist whose plotting extended over decades; he lost his life in an alleged coup attempt in 1971. The latest purge victim was Teng Hsiao-ping, Chou En-lai's hand-picked deputy and stand-in during the premier's mortal illness, who was denounced as an inveterate "counterrevolutionary" last April after his supporters took over Tien An Men Square in a militant demonstration.

Mao's repeated "discovery" that his long-time collaborators turn out to be murderous plotters or bourgeois restorationists is certainly an expression of a paranoid vision inherent in a Stalinist bureaucracy, where all open political struggle is suppressed for fear that it could ignite the working class. But the claim that Teng, following Liu, "laid one-sided stress on things big and foreign" and believed in a proscribed "theory of productive forces" adds an economic dimension to the recurrent clique fights and reveals the intimate connection between China's economic backwardness and the extreme instability of its ruling group.

### "Self-Reliance" and the "Great Leap"

Mao's economic policies have always been peasant-oriented and marked by a striving for nationalist autarky ("self-reliance"). For Mao the USSR showed the way for China to modernize and achieve great power status commensurate to its historical traditions. Yet in nearly three decades of Stalinist rule, Mao's China has been unable to transform itself into a modern industrial power. Herein lies the source of the frequent radical changes of line in Peking, of the endemic and often violent reshuffling of the bureaucracy. China's material backwardness frustrates the "superpower" aspirations of its ruling elite.

The leitmotiv of Mao's first venture into economic policy, the Great Leap Forward, was to catch up with the West in 15 years. This was to be done through the creation of mammoth self-sufficient production units (the communes). Intended to tap enormous quantities of under-utilized labor, expand industry by bandicraft methods and transform peasants into wage laborers, the Great Leap Forward was an unprecedented attempt at the militarization of labor.

However, this attempt not only failed abysmally (in late 1958 rural cadre were instructed that commune members had to be allowed at least 12 hours daily for meals, recreation and sleep!), but it led to an economic collapse unprecedented in the history of the deformed workers states. Peking then stopped publishing economic statistics (and has not resumed since), but a reasonable estimate is that the food crop fell by 15-20 percent in 1958-60 while industrial production had dropped 30-40 percent by 1962. The attitude of virtually every worker, peasant and bureaucrat who lived through the Great Leap can be summed up in two words: "Never again!"

One prominent Chinese political figure did continue to defend the Great Leap Forward, blaming excesses on local implementation. He was Mao Tse-tung. Mao's stubborn defense of economic policies that had brought the country to the brink of mass starvation caused leading cadre to nudge him out of the central party government apparatus. He was replaced by Liu (the long-time number two), Chou, Teng and Peng Chen, and his only direct backers in the party leadership were his wife, Chiang Ch'ing, and Mao-sycophant Ch'en Po-ta, who were given harmless posts in the cultural field. His most powerful ally was defense minister Lin Piao.

Under Liu, Chinese economic policy in the early 1960's was one of severe retrenchment, with industrial production regulated by marketed agricultural surplus. In an effort to regain the good will of the peasantry, a free market in agricultural produce was allowed, private plots restored and, most important, the communes were de facto liquidated, the basic economic unit being reduced to the production team (usually a village of about 20 families). During the dog days of the "great limping backwards" in 1962 Mao himself was forced to admit that it would take China at least 50 years to catch up to the industrial West. But two years later he was again talking of "smash[ing] conventions" and a new "great leap forward."

### The Army, the Red Guards and the Workers

A key element in Mao's launching of the "Cultural Revolution" was to lay the political basis for another economic Great Leap Forward. This required a purge of those leaders strong enough to stand up to him as well as their most loyal followers. To achieve such a massive shaking out, Mao turned to two very different forces: the People's Liberation Army (PLA) officer corps and the student youth.

Mao and Lin Piao pass cheering Red Guards during 1967 rally in Peking.

In both cases there was a logic to the alliance. Over and above Mao's ties to Lin Piao, army officers are more removed from the direct pressure of the laboring masses than the Liu-led economic and administrative apparatus, and would consequently be more inclined to demand sacrifices from the workers and peasants or favor grandiose schemes to enhance the strength of the Chinese state. The student youth, on the other hand, had not experienced the original Great Leap Forward, and as the inheritors of the state apparatus, the future administrators would want it to be great and powerful and its subjects hard-working and frugal.

Lin's army was used to capture the central party apparatus for Mao. In a rump central committee plenum in August 1966 held literally at gun point, for PLA units had occupied the offices of the party center in Peking on July 18-19. Mao "won" a majority and set up the Cultural Revolution Group under Chiang Ch'ing. With the universities closed, Red Guards were turned onto the streets to humiliate and frighten conservative civilian apparatchiks. While Mao easily toppled his main opponents, Liu, Teng and Peng Chen, an extensive purge and reconstruction of the party/government apparatus proved far more difficult. In the end, it proved impossible.

The threatened bureaucrats soon began creating their own "revolutionary rebel" organizations, largely consisting of workers, such as the Workers Scarlet Guards in Shanghai. In general, the workers were prone to defend the established order for fear that if the Red Guards took over they would be working 12 hours a day and chanting Mao slogans for another eight. The escalating conflict between the radical Maoist Red Guards and organized workers came to a head in January 1967 with the Shanghai general strike and nationwide rail strike.

Mao then realized that the frenzied Red Guards did not have the popular support or organizational discipline and muscle to replace the entrenched bureaucrats, much less run the government. At that point, he called upon the direct intervention of Lin Piao's army. However, as a condition for backing up the students, army commanders insisted that there be no wholesale purge, that the officialdom he allowed to "reform" itself.

The role of the PLA in preserving the bureaucracy was codified by a change in the program of the Cultural Revolution. When launched in 1966, the "revolution" was supposed to create a political system "like that of the Paris Commune" ("Decision of the Central Committee of the CCP Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution," 8 August 1966). In early 1967 this was changed to the so-called "triple alliance" of "revolutionary rebels" (student-based Red Guards), the PLA and "revolutionary cadre" (incumbent bureaucrats).

The running conflict between Chiang Ch'ing's central Cultural Revolution Group and the military reached an extreme in the Wuhan incident in July 1967 when the local commander mutinied and arrested two radical Maoist emissaries from Peking. After this incident fighting escalated between Red Guards and PLA units. At that point Mao, recognizing that the army was the core of his bureaucratic power, turned against the Cultural Revolution Group and its followers. In September 1967 he asserted in no uncertain terms:

> "The army's prestige must be resolutely safeguarded and there can be no doubt whatsoever about that... The chief danger of the moment is that some people want to beat down the PLA! There must be no chaos in the army."
>
> *Survey of the China Mainland Press*, 5 November 1967

Once the army had been called in to "support" the Red Guards, Mao abandoned any consistent political line and simply maneuvered between PLA officers, Red Guards and remnants of the civilian bureaucracies and the various cliques therein to maintain his personal authority. By the end of the Cultural Revolution, he had to accept that the only organized force in China, the army, had gained a near monopoly of political power.

### The Regional Military Commanders in Command

The main beneficiaries of the Cultural Revolution were the PLA regional commanders who took over the party/government apparatus. In the 1969-71 period, 72 percent of the "revolutionary committees" (the local government unit) and 74 percent of the CCP local committees consisted of PLA officers (*Chinese Law and Government*, Fall/Winter 1972).

The predominance of the PLA intensified the already pronounced

*continued on page 9*

Der Spiegel

Commune peasants building dam.

s during 1967 rally in Peking.

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# Daily Rouge: New Left Pot Pourri

Turning the pages of a recent issue of France's newest "far-left" daily paper, the reader comes upon a cartoon showing an angry-looking man with curly hair, a big nose and glasses. The balloon above his head shows him muttering, "One more time *Rouge* has copped out. I cancel my subscription..." The paper is *Rouge* (No. 69, 8 June 1976). The man is Alain Krivine, superstar of the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR) and *Rouge*'s co-editor.

The cartoon epitomizes the light-minded attitude which is as characteristic of the LCR as its opportunist political line. An LCR internal bulletin of November 1975, discussing the format of the projected daily, criticized another far-left paper, *Libération*, for its "jocular tone which not only often failed to be funny but moreover contributed to the scantiness of the paper's credibility." The document urged that the forthcoming LCR daily "give an impression of seriousness and solidity." But the petty-bourgeois radicals of the LCR are congenitally incapable of treating revolutionary politics like the serious business it is.

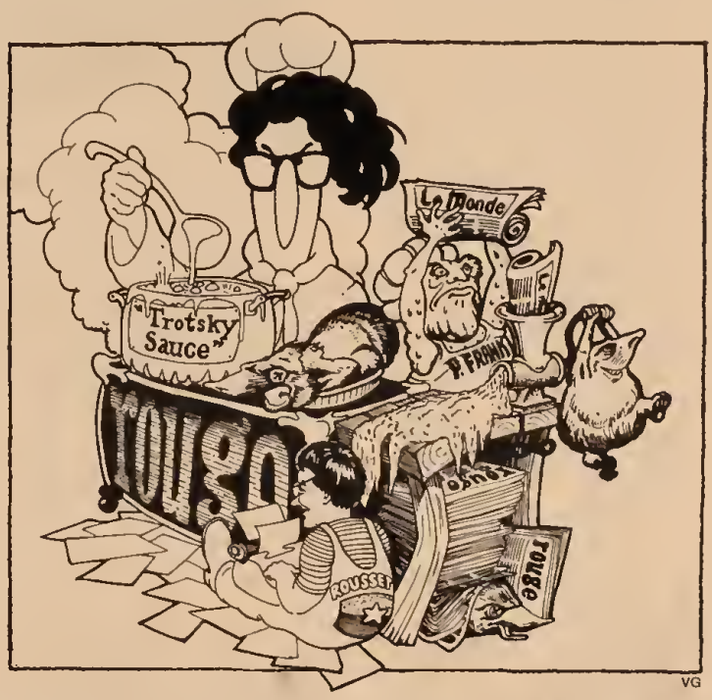
*Rouge* luxuriates in unprofessionalism. The 21 April issue contained a little box "To the Readers": "There are even more mistakes than usual in this paper. This comes from the correction-screen which suddenly decided to amuse itself by adding mistakes instead of correcting them. It was impossible to fix it in time." The next day's edition featured this follow-up item: "Despite yesterday's careful attentions, the state of health of the correction-screen is still unsatisfactory. An attentive reading of this paper should permit you to uncover the still numerous mistakes in the columns of text. Those who find the exact number, don't write, we aren't holding a contest."

The launching of the daily *Rouge* some four months ago is the fulfillment of a perspective projected by the LCR beginning in spring 1974. Prior to its March 15 inauguration, the daily generated a heated controversy within the LCR which inevitably fed into the organization's endemic factional war of nerves. The LCR majority hopes the daily will become the de facto spokesman and informal organizer of the "broad vanguard" the pool of "far-left" militants and other volatile strata to whose every mood the LCR capitulates politically.

The more "orthodox" minority, in an internal discussion bulletin of January 1976, took exception to the liquidationism which is the logical consequence of the LCR's political method, raising the spectre of a parallel organization "alongside the one which already exists." The opposition document insisted, "The daily is not an enlargement of our organization by 'fusion' with the number of readers necessary to make it live," to the detriment of the LCR's "program." It also urged a permissive attitude toward expression of internal differences in the public press.

An interview with *Rouge* sub-editor Pierre Julien in the 25 March *Red Weekly*, organ of the LCR's English co-thinkers, summarized the debate:

> "It was around two positions, one said we need a Trotskyist daily, and the other replied that we need an open daily.
>
> We want to bring out a daily which will be the organisation's paper, which doesn't hide its colours. The articles will defend the line of the Ligue.
>
> "But... we want it to be a paper to which the different components of the broad vanguard can relate.... We want to have a militant daily for the organisation in which, at the same time, a large place is reserved as an open tribune where all those who in some way represent the broad vanguard can express their point of view."




**"What we must avoid like the plague is to turn Rouge into a morning paper made up of last night's supper (Le Monde) dished up with some Trotskyist sauce."**

A postscript to the debate was the removal of the minority spokesman from his position as sub-editor for French affairs for having "snuck in" his line on a disputed question.

The *Red Weekly* interview specified as a goal of the daily *Rouge* "to try as much as possible to suppress the division of labor.... What would be good is if they [the writers] could handle the switch-board, do the cooking in the canteen...." This utopian scheme, burlesquing the division of labor in a classless society in which scarcity has been eliminated, is in the present context merely a formula for anarchic dilettantism. Julien admits, "so far we don't have enough journalists to do anything else than write the newspaper otherwise it won't come out."

It is far from uncommon for *WV* "journalists" to be found sweeping floors in the comp room. But internal party democracy rather than new left participatory chaos is the operative mechanism for keeping the alienation of capitalist society from reflecting itself within the party.

The LCR's utopianism has apparently not succeeded very well in welding its production team into a collective. Evidence can be found on the "culture" page of the 29 May *Rouge* where a reviewer, P-L.T., ended his comments on a recent French film with the sentence, "The necessity of such a movie remains problemmatical." Beneath the review appears the italicized phrase: "The necessity of PLT too... (typist's note)"! The 2 June issue had to apologize for the "vindictive and sarcastic lines" which had found their way into the paper and to remind everyone that "the normal route for debate is the letter from the reader, including for the members of the daily who want a disagreement on an article made public."

*Rouge*'s endemic flippancy is a reflection of the LCR's defining characteristic: anarchic impressionism. The organization has a line when the opportunist appetites of its various components converge. When they do not, the result is chaos. Thus the 30 June *Rouge* featured a discussion among LCR leaders on the recent Portuguese elections. The leader of the minority argues for a vote for the Communist Party candidate, Pato. Alain Krivine calls for support to Carvalho. And there is even a third position—that of Bensaid, who wants to vote for both!

The *Red Weekly* spread hailing the daily *Rouge* illustrates how far from primary is the question of program to the LCR. The interviewer asks, "Don't you feel that the existence of a bourgeois newspaper, *Le Monde*, which provides not only detailed information but also sometimes very competent analysis is a major problem?" One might expect this question to elicit some discussion of the counterposed functions of ruling-class and working-class "analysis." *Le Monde*'s function is to intelligently and informatively present the attitudes and "line" of the liberal bourgeoisie on the preservation of the status quo, a truly revolutionary press takes as its task the organization and political arming of the advanced workers, as an integral part of the construction of the revolutionary vanguard party. The key element in Julien's response, however, is: "Yes, it's a big problem.... Our main advantage is that *Le Monde* is an evening paper while ours will hopefully arrive in the morning"!

The LCR does not have to sell its new daily. Its circulation, estimated at 13,000, receives a boost from France's unique nationalized newsstand distribution apparatus, required by a post-World War II law to distribute any publication which meets certain technical specifications. But money may be the bottleneck: *Rouge*'s structural deficit is currently running at 140,000 francs (about $32,000) a month.

"What we must avoid like the plague," says Julien, "is to turn *Rouge* into a morning paper made up of last night's supper (*Le Monde*) dished up with some Trotskyist sauce." Unfortunately for the militant workers of France, the "sauce" with which *Rouge* dishes up the news is not Trotskyism, but centrist opportunism. It remains to be seen whether the "broad vanguard" will find the LCR's warmed-over Menshevism and home-grown eclecticism to their taste. If not, perhaps chef Krivine would consider transforming the *Rouge* canteen into a pizza parlor?■

# Hospital Strike...

*(continued from page 1)*

step, the 1199 bureaucracy has opposed militant action, relying instead on assuaging fickle bourgeois "public opinion." Moreover, it has abandoned all the union's original contract demands in favor of a roughly six percent cost-of-living increase recommended by a federal mediation team, promising to accept binding arbitration "without reservation" on this and all other issues. But the League of Voluntary Hospitals, which represents most of the private hospitals and nursing homes, refused to consider *any* wage increase, so the union, whose members had voted nine to one to authorize a strike, had no choice but to call the walkout.

The contradictory statements of "progressive" Local 1199 president Leon Davis (who *before* the strike said that no scabs would cross the picket lines) led the ranks at the more militant centers to attempt to enforce the lines. Without centralized leadership or planning, however, this led mainly to wholesale arrests. By today a total of 52 were arrested, including several 1199 union delegates, at eight different hospitals, some of them facing serious charges of inciting to riot and assault. Dozens have been injured, especially at Columbia Presbyterian on Friday, where police, emboldened by the union's weak-kneed policy, removed their name tags and then, according to bystanders, launched a wholly unprovoked attack. The assault was so vicious that one cop was quoted as saying afterwards, "This doesn't reflect all of our attitudes" (*New York Times*, 10 July).

Yet despite cop brutality, the bureaucracy's betrayals and successful scabbing by literally thousands of special "volunteers," traditionally militant 1199ers on at least some of the key picket sites are neither cowed nor resigned to defeat. When a striker was arrested Friday at Maimonides Hospital and the picket line was informed that she was being charged with resisting arrest—a felony—100 of her co-workers won her quick release on lesser charges after they sat down on the steps of the hospital chanting, "We Want Gail Out Of Jail!" and singing, "We Shall Not Be Moved." But demoralization and cynicism are spreading rapidly.

## 1199 Isolated

The rank and file of Local 1199 have been set up by the entire NYC labor bureaucracy for a stinging defeat. In an incredible display of criminal backbiting and shortsighted double-dealing, 1199 has been abandoned by a union movement which is itself under all-out attack by the corporation/banker cabal of the Municipal Assistance Corporation (MAC) and their politico front men in the Emergency Financial Control Board (EFCB). The EFCB has been granted full veto power over all city employee money negotiations during the budgetary crisis by NYC and state Democratic Party administrations.

Particularly despicable have been the maneuvers of AFSCME District Council 37 president Victor Gotbaum, a liberal misleader who stands at the head of 120,000 municipal workers, more than 18,000 of them hospital workers in Local 420. Although Local 420 has been working without a contract since June 30, when 852 of its members were laid off (joining the 5,000 other municipal hospital workers eliminated through attrition or layoffs during the last 11 months!), and although Local 420 faces the likelihood of another 1,700 layoffs postponed to the end of July pending discussion of "alternatives," Gotbaum signed a "memorandum of interim understanding" with the city and EFCB to avoid a strike.

What does this "interim understanding" promise the Local 420 municipal hospital workers and other unions that signed, representing in total 67 bargaining units and 160,000 city employees? It "promises" a partially deferred cost-of-living escalator clause, to be paid for entirely through increased productivity or loss of fringe benefits or, as Gotbaum would have it, through "new revenues." As for "new revenues" being found in bankrupt New York City, EFCB director Stephen Berger frankly declared: "Theoretically that's possible, but as a practical matter that will not happen." Despite Gotbaum's cynical claim to have "won something" for DC 37 workers, the c-o-l clause, partially deferred until "the end of the crisis," and to be paid for in any case by speed-up or by cutting fringe benefits, can only be considered *after* an additional $24 million is eliminated from employee compensation in the budget.

DC 37 workers voted authorization for a strike for a better contract. Gotbaum returned without a strike and without a contract. His "interim agreement" is worse in every way than what the ranks had before he began "negotiating" with the city. However, in the course of his talks across the bargaining table with management, Gotbaum did suggest one possible source of "new revenue": to divert city funds from the Health and Hospital Corporation's affiliation contracts with the private hospitals! In other words, the AFSCME leader is demanding layoffs of 1199 workers. When, after four days of stalling, Leon Davis finally pulled out 1199 workers on July 10 and sent them to picket several municipal hospitals where his members work (primarily as x-ray technicians), Gotbaum instructed Local 420 workers to cross the lines!

## Leon Davis Likes It This Way

From the beginning of the strike, the city's Health and Hospitals Corporation declared a health emergency, ordering municipal hospitals to cease taking elective surgery cases, thus making them available to handle patients transferred from the struck private hospitals. In this situation one would expect any leader of striking hospital workers to encourage a fighting unity between municipal and private hospital workers.

But Leon Davis has not even once publicly protested Gotbaum's scabherding policy, let alone organized massive 1199 worker delegations to appeal directly to Local 420 members to join the strike. Instead he has done everything possible to keep the unions separated and weak, even lauding the advantages for workers of the private hospital system: "Our members don't work for the State or City, and frankly, most of them have no desire to do so" (*1199 News*, June 1976).

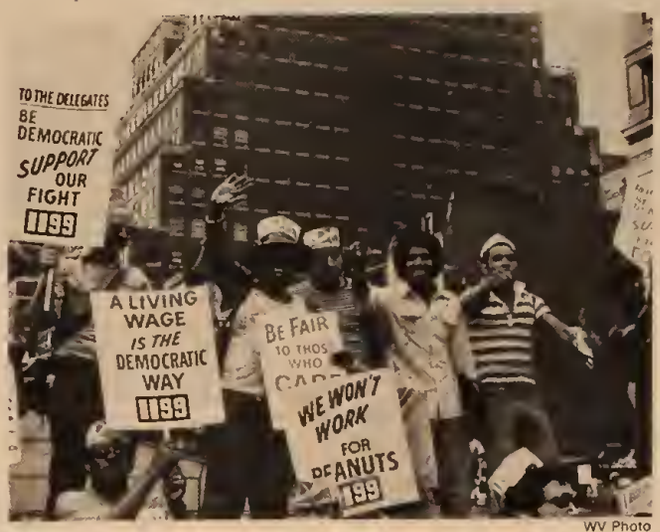
This pandering to and encouragement of private hospital parochialism is especially malicious in light of a recently unveiled NYC "master plan" under consideration which would eventually close all but five of the city's 18 municipal hospitals, as well as encourage the liquidation of numerous smaller private institutions. Not only does this threaten hospitals that primarily serve poor, black and Latin communities such as Gouverneur on the Lower East Side and Sydenham in Harlem, but funding private hospitals at the expense of public ones is fundamentally reactionary. Private institutions are unwilling to provide medical care at prices even remotely affordable by working people who are not covered by medical insurance or Medicaid/Medicare.

A hint of the utterly mercenary character of these "non-profit" hospitals was given by the director of public relations at the Beth Israel Medical Center. In explaining why his hospital had been reluctant to reduce its number of patients in the face of the strike, he asserted: "We're very conscious that every time we have an empty bed we have lost income. We have to practice sound business as well as sound medicine" (*New York Times*, 8 July).

Both Local 1199 leader Davis and private hospital management are currently demanding higher Medicaid/Medicare payments from New York state, with Governor Carey adamantly resisting the proposal. Indeed, funding of medical services for working people is woefully inadequate at all of the private *and public* institutions. However, simply boosting subsidies will only be used by the private hospitals as an excuse to further increase their already skyrocketing rates. It is necessary to demand instead that the private hospitals be expropriated without compensation. Medical care must be made available to all, free of charge, with funding on a national scale!

The "progressive" Davis regime in 1199 has not only turned its back on Local 420 and the SEIU-organized workers in "proprietary" profit-making hospitals, but has also failed to demand that the Committee of Interns and Residents (CIR) respect 1199 picket lines. The CIR, which led a four-day doctors' strike last year demanding a reduction of the maximum intern workweek to 80 hours (!), claims that it is "supporting" the strike by politely reminding its members that they should do no extra "non-professional" work. But, in fact, the CIR (with the Davis bureaucracy's encouragement) is actually *scabbing*—there is no other word for crossing the picket lines. The much greater effectiveness of the strike at St. Barnabas Hospital, where 1199-organized nurses are out as well, demonstrates the potential of a solid strike supported by nurses and doctors.

Far from pursuing class-struggle policies and expanding the strike, the 1199 bureaucracy won't even involve all




WV Photo

**JULY 12—"Welcome to New York...don't sit too near the air conditioner" was the greeting Leon Davis had thousands of Local 1199 strikers deliver to the delegates who paraded into the first session of the Democratic Party's red, white and blue "Jimmy Carter Convention" today. The demonstration was designed to put pressure on Democratic Party politicians to engineer a settlement of the NYC hospital strike.**

**Many of the strikers, who had spent the day picketing under the hot sun, wanted to demonstrate more than concern for the health of the delegates! But Davis, whose main message was that binding arbitration would end the strike "in a minute," labored to co-opt the instinctive if unfocused hostility of the ranks to this bosses' convention by circulating union signs bearing such slogans as "We Won't Work for Peanuts," an apparent reference to the crop raised by Carter in Georgia.**

**However, the 1199 leadership took considerable pains to suppress any criticisms of the Democratic Party. A song specially written for the occasion contained such lyrics as "We'd like to ask you/For your attention/We're fighting harder/Like Jimmy Carter/In a union that fights for you and me." The words were reportedly written by Henry Foner, the pro-Stalinist head of the Fur, Leather and Machine Workers union whose brother is Moe Foner, executive secretary of Local 1199. Union handbills were revised to remove any criticism of Hugh Carey and in fact praised the governor for taking the initiative in urging binding arbitration! This was underscored by the banner draped across the 1199 speakers' podium reading, incredibly, "End the strike— Arbitrate now!"**

**This holiday for capitalist politicians should have been "welcomed" by NYC labor with massive militant demonstrations against the layoffs and cutbacks authored by the Democratic Party city and state administrations and approved by every section of that party. Instead, the protests outside Madison Square Garden, which in no way demanded a break with the capitalist political parties, were a crazy-quilt mixture of 1199 strikers, liberals protesting the S-1 bill, pro-marijuana Yippies and anti-nuclear power environmentalists.**

**When Progressive Labor Party (PL) supporters (at least some of whom were also members of 1199) tried to raise a "NO ARBITRATION" banner within the demonstration, Leon Davis—with his customary disdain for workers democracy—personally ordered his goons into action. After a brief fight the banner, or what was left of it, was right where Davis wanted it—safely tucked under the arm of a NYC cop.**

**Of course the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) was circulating its own reformist "Bill of Rights for Working People" and selling the Militant. Also present was District Council 37 delegate and occasional Militant writer Ray Markey, who is on a first name basis with "Vic" Gotbaum. Markey told a WV reporter at the demonstration that "for tactical reasons" he had not spoken up at the July 1 DC 37 Delegates Assembly meeting where Gotbaum foreclosed on any possibility of a joint municipal/private hospital workers strike. When asked whether he thought Local 420 workers ought to refuse to cross 1199 picket lines at municipal hospital sites, he answered: "That's crazy...you can do that!" Markey proudly pointed out, however, that he had (silently) voted against Gotbaum's sellout.**

of the union's members. It held off pulling out the 5,000 Local 1199 workers at municipal hospitals and nursing homes. Even now, 1199 workers at hospitals whose contracts have not expired remain at work, even though several delegates from NYU Medical Center circulated a petition at the July 7 delegates assembly meeting specifically requesting that they be called out. In addition, despite much-touted "democratic" institutions like the 138-member negotiating committee (which has nothing to negotiate since the union has promised to accept binding arbitration!), the Leon Davis/Moe Foner regime has systematically resorted to the use of goon squads against union militants. During the strike, harassment of union oppositionists distributing leaflets was reported on several picket lines.

Leon Davis' efforts to "explore every avenue possible...anything...anything ...rather than have a strike" has led the union down some pretty crooked avenues lately. While relying on the dead-end of arbitration, Davis is planning to lead thousands of union members in a stroll down Eighth Avenue to the Democratic Convention at Madison Square Garden. In a pathetic imitation of the "Fear City" slogan of the NYC cops' racist campaign last year, Davis has initiated a "Sick City" campaign to "welcome" the Democratic delegates, advising them to "stay healthy" while in town. The demonstration is aimed at embarrassing Governor Carey but in fact will only embarrass the union. A spokesman for the governor, whose election in 1975 was also "welcomed" by Leon Davis, contemptuously dismissed the union's campaign as "utterly ridiculous." Significantly, two officials from Local 1199, along with Victor Gotbaum, are delegates to the convention of this capitalist party. Labor must break with the bosses' parties and form its own party, to fight for a workers government!

### New Leadership Needed

As in Local 1199's eight-day strike in 1973, no alternate leadership has emerged within the union capable of leading the struggle against Davis' sellouts to a successful conclusion, despite initial militancy and subsequent widespread disillusionment of the ranks with the official leadership.

Many of 1199's leading officials have well-known and long-standing ties with the reformist Communist Party (CP), which rewards the bureaucracy for its Martin Luther King-style "progressivism" with uncritical support. The CP has been active in rallying community support for the union's demands at Presbyterian Hospital, the largest struck private institution, but its policy of tailing the class-collaborationist bureaucracy of 1199 backfired on at least one occasion during the strike. A *Daily World* vendor, who regularly drops off hundreds of free papers at each picket site, was threatened and chased away from Mount Sinai by union goons. Evidently having been geared up to "protect" the ranks from "ultra-left" influences, the goons mistakenly meted out their heavy-handed treatment to the *Daily World* as well.

The 16 July *Militant*, organ of the equally reformist Socialist Workers Party (SWP), has made its hobby horse the defense of CIR scabbing. It reports that Dr. Jay Dolkin, head of the interns and residents group, "blasted" the hospital administrations' attempt to maintain business as usual during the strike. The article goes on to applaud 1199 for having "taken relatively good positions on important social issues," while significantly failing to explicitly criticize what it terms the "risky" decision to submit to binding arbitration.

Meanwhile, other left groups have tail-ended the 1199 bureaucracy in capitulating to "public opinion" in the guise of "serving the people." The Medical Committee for Human Rights, which includes supporters of the Maoist Revolutionary Communist Party, issued a leaflet condoning the crossing of picket lines by doctors, nurses and students, merely suggesting that, "Those who feel they must come in to work...should do only their own work and not the work of striking 1199 members." The Maoist grouplet Workers Viewpoint, in an effort to conjure up a strike that would not inconvenience the public at all, went so far as to advocate that "patients be transferred out of striking hospitals." This treacherous suggestion would require the employees of the municipal hospitals to do the work of their striking union brothers and sisters in Local 1199!

It is precisely by its threat to cut off a necessary social service that a hospital strike can be successful. A militant union leadership would call for a joint city-wide hospital strike, bringing out the members of AFSCME Local 420 and the SEIU health workers as well as Local 1199. Such a leadership would build mass picket lines capable of halting the widespread scabbing by doctors, nurses, "volunteers" and administration personnel. Arbitration and impotent appeals to Democratic Party bigwigs must be rejected. Rather than leaving the fate of the strike demands in the hands of (not so impartial) arbitrators and capitalist politicians, the unions must fight for their just demands, including a big pay boost with full cost-of-living protection, an end to all productivity agreements and jobs for all through a shorter workweek at no cut in pay. To guard against the treachery of the union bureaucracy, a democratically elected strike committee must be created to coordinate the strike activities and negotiations.■

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# Mao's "Socialism": No Electricity...

*(continued from page 7)*

regional economic autarky. Central administrative and technical cadre were among the chief victims of the Cultural Revolution and national economic planning was impossible for lack of personnel. In 1971, Chou En-Lai told Edgar Snow that the central government had only 10,000 employees compared to 60,000 before the Cultural Revolution (*New Republic*, 27 March 1971). Another source reported that whereas in 1965 roughly 20 percent of industrial enterprises were administered at the *hsien* (county) level or below, during 1969-71 the proportion increased to about 50 percent (Stuart Schram, ed., *Authority, Participation and Cultural Change in China*).

Local economic self-sufficiency was officially hailed as a desired result of the Cultural Revolution and linked to the Great Leap period:

> "The experience of the Great Leap Forward in 1958 and the facts since the start of the Cultural Revolution prove that the principle of giving play to both the central government and the localities and letting the localities undertake more work is the only correct principle for developing China's industry...."
> *Peking Review*, 25 September 1971

Much of the attraction of Maoism for petty-bourgeois radicals in the West is the myth that China, unlike Brezhnev's Russia, is an egalitarian society. Quite apart from the considerable vertical income differences (the wage system has not fundamentally changed since the 1950's), the principle of local economic self-sufficiency produces the most extreme irrational income differences. Because the existence and expansion of small and medium-sized plants depends on local agricultural surplus and local demand, industrial production is concentrated in the richest regions. Even in the absence of economic statistics, one can safely assert that there is greater regional economic inequality in China than in any of the other bureaucratically deformed workers states, except perhaps Yugoslavia.

The similarity in economic policy between the Lin Piao period and the Great Leap Forward did not stop at emphasis on local self-sufficiency. Military commanders tried to extract a greater surplus from the peasantry in 1969-71, through a guarded attempt to reverse de facto liquidation of the commune system. Direct pressure (as distinct from economic inducements) were used to curtail the private plots. Production teams, responsible for basic agriculture, were forced to supply uncompensated labor for local industry, social services and conservation projects.

While these policies did not lead to the disaster of 1959-62, the mini-leap forward did lead to serious imbalances between agricultural and industrial production. Industry recovered from the Cultural Revolution with extraordinary rapidity: during 1968-71 manufacturing output grew over 50 percent. But agriculture increased by only about 15 percent, and in 1972 food grain output fell (*Far Eastern Economic Review Yearbook*, 1975).

The relative weakness of agriculture in the Lin Piao period had three main causes. The local industry servicing agriculture was too primitive to allow for major technological breakthroughs. Too much labor was deflected from basic farming to glamor industrial projects which were often bureaucratic boondoggles, the equivalent of the backyard blast furnaces of the Great Leap. And not least important, the peasants responded to the elements of renewed forced collectivization in 1969-71 by voting with their productivity.

Post-Cultural Revolution China under PLA dominance has had considerable regional autonomy, containing the seeds of warlordism. Mao, who is committed above all to the unity and strength of China, was naturally disturbed at this situation. The PLA commanders' tendency toward parochial "mountain-topism" was an important source of friction between Mao and Lin.

Apart from the dangers of regional disintegration there were other important reasons that Mao was unhappy about the predominance of the PLA and the untrammeled power of Lin's circle. The utopian strain in his pronouncements is not primarily a primitivist or even simply nationalist ideology; it is above all an expression of extreme bureaucratic fiat. (This is the sense of his frequent references to past Chinese rulers, when an all-powerful emperor made China great.) To play the prescribed bonapartist role, he requires a broad-based party/government apparatus to serve as a transmission belt to the unorganized masses. As early as 1969, Mao pushed for and Lin resisted the reconstruction of the civilian bureaucratic apparatus.

An astute emperor/bonaparte will also keep a sharp eye out for palace intrigues, preventing any one potential usurper from gaining too much power, while insisting on rigid hierarchy. Appropriately, the specific focus of the Mao-Lin conflict was the state chairmanship, a post left vacant by the purge of Liu Shao-chi. Lin Piao, who had been named Mao's heir as party chairman, wanted to become formal head of state, figuring that he would naturally inherit the position when the Chairman went to his final reward. Mao insisted on keeping the position vacant, leaving open the possibility of appointing someone as a counterweight to Lin.

The conflict between Mao and Lin was essentially one of personal power, which accounted for its unusually violent outcome. There were no significant policy differences between the two other than those inherent in the locus of governmental power, such as the degree of regional autonomy. Neither Mao nor Lin's alleged factional statements go beyond questions of personal power, with Lin denouncing Mao as a cruel tyrant and Mao accusing Lin of inflated ambitions and PLA encroaching on legitimate party functions.

With Lin outmaneuvered in conventional clique fighting in the Heavenly Palace, there are allegations that he plotted a military coup which was aborted at the eleventh hour. If he did indeed have contact with the Kremlin, it would not represent a more pro-Soviet stance against China's emerging alliance with Nixon's America. Lin was simply a desparate man groping for allies.

In any case, whatever ill Lin may have wished Mao in his last year as officially designated "close comrade-in-arms," his fiery death in a plane crash in Mongolia more than made up for it. He was the perfect scapegoat for the Mao/Chou regime. The humiliation of veteran cadre during the Cultural Revolution, the assaults on foreign legations during 1967, the abuses against the peasants in 1969-71 could all be laid to Lin's unprotesting corpse.

The fall of Marshal Lin was followed by a massive, if bloodless, purge of the PLA. Of the PLA officers elected to the CCP central committee at the ninth party congress (1969), 86 percent were not reelected at the tenth party congress in 1973. The political bureau was composed of 55 percent PLA officers at the ninth congress and only 29 percent army men at the tenth congress (*China Quarterly*, April-June 1974). In 1974, the commanders of eight of China's eleven main military regions were relocated

[TO BE CONTINUED]

# Political Gang Warfare Escalates in Jamaica

*(continued from page 3)*

ment Bank, is "to broaden the base of business ownership" (*New Yorker*, 19 January 1976).

The Bank of Jamaica's *Bulletin* (September 1975) discusses in some detail the government's program for dealing with the current economic crisis. This phony "socialist" regime proposes that "incentives to the private sector include credit at subsidized rates of interest." It notes a rash of strikes "as workers' demands intensify in general anticipation of the government imposed incomes policy." These strikes crippled the bauxite industry, owned by the giant North American corporations, Alcoa, Alcan, Reynolds and Kaiser. Public service workers and university employees also struck, and troops were used against workers at Kingston airport. Manley's Labour Relations and Industrial Disputes Act clamps a lid on wage increases and virtually outlaws strikes. The leadership of the island's main trade-union body, the pro-PNP National Workers' Union, is attempting to maintain labor discipline in the face of the workers' desire to fight the bourgeoisie's austerity program.

The Jamaican left has also capitulated to the PNP's phony leftism and dire warnings of an imminent right-wing coup attempt. Trevor Munroe, leader of the Workers Liberation League, touted by the "independent radical" *Guardian* (16 June) explains that his group has abandoned its former opposition to the government and now calls for "a united front against imperialism which would include the Manley government." Munroe disingenuously maintains that "Manley does not stand with the imperialists and has distanced himself from bourgeois reformers." But friendship with Castro and socialist rhetoric do not an anti-imperialist make.

Neither, at the present time, does the violence of the pro-American JLP against the "Third Worldist" Manley pose a direct threat to bourgeois democracy and the organized workers movement as was the case with the military coup against the Chilean popular front in 1972-73. The current wave of political gang warfare in Kingston does not require class-conscious workers to make a military bloc with the ruling PNP. Manley's state of siege does, however, make incumbent on revolutionaries in Jamaica a militant struggle for democratic rights and defense of working-class organizations, while equally refusing to be sucked into the JLP's rightist intrigues or provocations. ■

# Entebbe...

*(continued from page 1)*

not be drawn into this hypocritical chorus! Unlike the right of nations to self-determination, "national sovereignty" is not a bourgeois-democratic demand that Marxists support. Moreover, Uganda's "national sovereignty" was subordinated by Idi Amin's complicity with the hijackers. Israel's real crimes are precisely those crimes committed to forge and defend its "national sovereignty" -from the forced expulsion and dispersal of the Palestinian people to the shooting down of a Libyan commercial airliner over occupied Sinai in 1972, which resulted in the death of over 100 passengers.

According to the London *Observer*, a 75-year-old hostage was dragged

Israeli premier Yitzak Rabin

screaming from her hospital bed and burned in gasoline. This atrocity—to reactionary nationalists an "appropriate" retaliation for Zionist humiliation of Ugandan national pride—has provoked a frantic hue and cry in the imperialist press, which has remained silent about Amin's other acts of frenzied revenge. These included shooting the three Entebbe air controllers, the director of civil aviation as well as 200 Kenyans resident in Uganda because Kenya allowed Nairobi airport to be used for the Israeli commando operation. There is an implicit racism in the bourgeois press coverage of Amin's atrocities: the murdered hostage held both Israeli and British citizenship, while Amin's other revenge killings were "merely" Africans killing Africans.

After Amin ousted Uganda's former ruler, Milton Obote, in 1971, he proceeded to massacre perhaps as many as 90,000 members of Obote's Longi tribe and the closely related Acholi. This was Idi Amin exercising his "national sovereignty." Likewise Amin's expulsion from Uganda of 55,000 Asians with British passports.

The hijacking of the Air France airbus is no more supportable than the shooting down of the Libyan commercial airliner even though the former is done in the name of national justice for the Palestinians while the latter is done to defend a state which rests on the racialist and violent subjugation of the Palestinians. Terror which does not discriminate between the enemy of the oppressed and the innocent which instead chooses its target according to the type of passport an airline passenger possesses is nothing but genocide hiding behind the slogans of national justice.

When PFLP hijackings threatened to precipitate a global confrontation in 1970, PFLP leader Dr. George Habash was quoted as saying:

> "The whole world would stand to lose something in such a war, except for us. If that should be the only way to destroy Israel, Zionism and Arab reaction, we would in fact welcome the third world war."
>
> quoted in *Workers Press*, 18 September 1970

As an ideology the nationalism of the PFLP is just as chauvinist, racist and reactionary as Zionism. The material difference is that Zionism has state power, an organized and centralized monopoly of the means of violence based on advanced technology, while the PFLP are dispersed guerrillas with grenades and small arms. Further, as a movement the PFLP attracts to its ranks some idealist youth motivated by the desperate plight of the Palestinians. But if the PFLP had state power it would behave in the same chauvinist manner toward non-Arab minorities as have its mentors in Baghdad toward the Kurds and its foes in Tel Aviv toward the Palestinians.

Nationalism in power, even the nationalism of a formerly oppressed people, strives to compact a racially homogeneous state through the brutal methods of bourgeois nation-state building: forced assimilation, expulsion or genocide of racial and national minorities. Idi Amin is a consistent bourgeois nationalist when he wears with pride his Israeli paratroop wings while praising Hitler for the massacre of

Sebastio Salgado/Gamma-Liason

# No Tears for Mercenaries in Angola!

After last minute intercession to save the life of an American mercenary condemned to death in Angola, U.S. president Ford is now shedding copious crocodile tears, expressing "shock" and sympathy for the bereaved widow, who has to go on welfare. But Kissinger and Ford's "humanitarianism" is reserved solely for white, bloodthirsty mass murderers. At home they mount a racist electoral campaign and unleash the death penalty upon hundreds of prisoners, overwhelmingly black. Where are the pleas for mercy for *these* men? Where are the special lawyers rushed to *their* side for defense? Where are the American Congressmen so ready to intercede on *their* behalf? Where, indeed, is the "sympathy" for the hundreds of thousands forced on welfare by decaying capitalism?

By all accounts Daniel Gearhart, the American mercenary executed in Angola July 10, was a rather sleazy, incompetent, confused thrill-seeker, who was picked up a mere three days after arriving in Angola. His cohorts included a mafioso goon and errand boy, and the notorious "Colonel Callan," sadistic kill-crazy mass murderer of his own men as well as Angolans. We shed no tears for these "dregs of humanity" (as the defense itself characterized them) who have become the latest heroes of the equally sordid and corrupt capitalist states which encouraged their ill-fated mission to loot, rape and murder. We sympathize with the anger of the victims of the CIA-abetted South African invasion and understand the Angolan people's massive outcry of "death to the mercenaries." Our sympathies are also with the thousands of victims of racist capitalism rotting in America's prisons.

The Col. Callans and Lt. Calleys ("martyred hero" for American reactionaries) of this world are indeed fitting symbols of the racist, brutal bourgeois state—such depraved elements are the potential SS-men of fascism. Yet the Angolan mercenaries are just a few amateurs who happened to get caught. Meanwhile among the greatest mass murderers in history are those who sit comfortably in their State Department offices, oozing humanitarian platitudes about "international law." Only the victorious international socialist revolution can wipe their ilk off the face of the earth, along with the rotting society which breeds both imperialist death merchants and two-bit desperado mercenaries.


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We defend those acts of an oppressed people which are aimed against the actual agents and manifestations of their oppression, but not acts of indiscriminate terror which fail to draw a class line within the oppressor nation. Thus we call for freeing all the Palestinian and pro-Palestinian prisoners whose actions, no matter how ill-advised, actually strike against real manifestations of national oppression, including those still imprisoned in Israel for the West Bank-Galilee demonstrations and

Ugandan president Idi Amin

strikes. But the Lod airport massacre, the killing of Israeli athletes at Munich, the kidnapping of more than 250 people whose "crime" was to board an aircraft in Tel Aviv—these atrocities are indefensible and criminal.

At bottom responsibility for these crimes is borne not simply by the guerrillas who perpetrate them, but by the racist Zionist state which turned the Palestinians into stateless and desperate people. Thus we give no support to the provocative (and audacious) Israeli commando raid, for the same commandos who free innocent hostages today will be used to shell and bomb Palestinian refugee camps tomorrow. The answer to Entebbe is self-determination for the Palestinian and Hebrew peoples in a socialist federation of the Near East. ■


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# Italian Crisis...

*(continued from page 12)*

top honors for unprincipled political maneuverism.

Avanguardia Operaia took the prize for blind optimism, declaring that "the electoral results strikingly confirm our political analysis and the proposals we have advanced" (*Quotidiano dei Lavoratori*, 23 June, quoted in *Inprecor*, 8 July). Even AO was forced to admit that the electoral success was not "commensurate," however. This was explained away with the remark that a "positive" transformation of the DP's social base is taking place, losing left reformists to the PCI and the "radicalizing petty bourgeois" to the new Radical Party (PR), while gaining workers; the latter, however, are "yet being consolidated."

At the other extreme is Lotta Continua, whose leader Adriano Sofri declared that the unexpectedly low vote was the "most gigantic" political error "of our political history" (*Lotta Continua*, 1 July). The GCR pointed to clear

Inprecor

Shazzamo, it's the Gruppi!

signs that former PDUP supporters voted for the PCI, and others for the PR. Not only was the majority of the DP electorate petty-bourgeois, said the GCR resolution, but "only a very modest if not insignificant part of the working class opted for the united list of the far left" (quoted in *Inprecor*, 8 July).

But why the unexpectedly low vote? There is one point on which all agree: the incredible parliamentary cretinist squabbling and reciprocal knifing by the various components of the amalgam. This permitted the PCI to attack it as an unprincipled combination, and apparently win some support with this legitimate observation.

### A Government of the Lefts?

Equally fundamental was the utter failure of Democrazia Proletaria to present a hard opposition to popular frontism, the only way it could give revolutionary political direction to those militants who wish to break from the treacherous "historical compromise." Instead the DP offered the slogan of a "government of the lefts" that was clearly intended to include minor bourgeois parties:

> "Democrazia Proletaria is the only electoral formation that clearly poses the objective of providing a positive way out of the crisis of the regime through a government of the left in which the historic parties of the working class, the PCI and the PSI, will have decisive weight, a government open to Catholic forces that free themselves of the political Catholicism of the Christian Democracy, open above all to the movements of struggle within society, whose strength can impose a program based on the popular interest and devoted to its realities."
>
> "Joint Appeal" elaborated by PDUP and AO, *Inprecor*, 24 June

"Open to Catholic forces" means of course open to bourgeois forces. What is

Sergio Gaudenti/Politique Hebdo

Fiat workers on strike at Mirafiore plant in Torino.

being talked about here is an Italian equivalent to the Chilean MAPU or Christian Left, bourgeois mini-parties that were part of the UP coalition. The Democrazia Proletaria formula is actually nothing new: merely a bourgeois reform government which claims to lead ("open the road") to socialism. In reality, as in Chile, such bourgeois coalitionism opens the way to counterrevolution.

The DP joint statement (subsequently agreed to by Lotta Continua) proposes a low-level reformist program while calling for Italy out of NATO in favor of a vague alliance with "third world countries" against the "superpowers." The "left government" will also expand the "productive apparatus" through "utilization of private industrial development," while elaborating taxation schemes that will strike "drastically at the big tax evaders and block the flight of capital." This will be done, of course, "within the sphere of the present constitutional order."

Despite the liberal use of magic phrases such as "development of workers and people's control," it is hard to imagine a more frank program for a bourgeois government committed to reforming capitalism!

Lotta Continua eagerly subordinated itself to the PDUP lash in order to get in on the action which electoral success by the Democrazia Proletaria was expected to bring. It had a few criticisms, of course, notably that PDUP and AO were content to call for a "government of the lefts" without further qualification; for LC it was also necessary to struggle to "win hegemony" within the government of the left. But on the fundamental points it agreed:

> "Even a very advanced government like the one we are struggling for will never be able to change the nature of this state, will never be able to completely satisfy the interests of the proletarians."

The strategy of Lotta Continua is clear: first a government of the left that doesn't "completely" serve the proletariat, then revolutionaries within that government "win hegemony" and, presto, "Socialism!" Meanwhile the Leninist understanding that the state serves the ruling class, and must be *smashed* rather than taken over, is conveniently forgotten.

### Yes Equals No, Plus Equals Minus

The most completely opportunist of all, however, was the GCR, which prior to the election campaign had opposed a "government of the lefts, conceived in the parliamentary framework and without a precise class discrimination" as being no alternative to the "historic compromise" (*Bandiera Rossa*, 18 February). But the GCR joined Democrazia Proletaria which called for a "government of the lefts" that *invited* bourgeois elements to join, and explicitly stated that it would be within the parliamentary framework!

This called for some fast footwork from that master obfuscator, GCR sage Livio Maitan. While at the beginning of the campaign the Italian USec group was calling for a PCI/PSI government, during the electioneering Maitan reportedly rose at Lotta Continua's closing rally in Rome to announce that the DP's "government of the lefts" corresponded to the GCR's slogan. And in *Lotta Continua* (24 June), a communiqué from the GCR proclaims the "left government" to be the "only current way out of the crisis." Maitan is seldom without a fig leaf, however, and in an election declaration the GCR piously warns of the "negative" impact of actual bourgeois participation in a "government that defends the interests of the working class and the other exploited layers":

> "But no bourgeois group or party—even potential new groups created by splits from the traditional formation—should be admitted. The experiences of Spain and Chile, in spite of their many differences, highlight the negative role that can be played by such Trojan Horses, regardless of their precise composition."
>
> *Inprecor*, 24 June

Nowhere in this declaration did these cynics attack the popular-front policies of the DP, just as the USec majority alibis the Allende regime in Chile, denying that the small bourgeois parties of the UP had any importance.

The Gruppi position is basically the same as that of all the other parties in the Democrazia Proletaria coalition: that an Allende-style popular front would open opportunities for the working class. They have it exactly backwards. It is because the bourgeoisie can no longer rule solely through the classical capitalist party that they rely upon the reformists (and possibly a few centrist hangers-on) to form governmental blocs that subordinate the working class to capitalist rule.

Certainly a popular front in Italy, like Allende's, would cause "movement" and stir up a "dynamic." But it will not aid the struggle for workers power—on the contrary, it is a barrier. In one sense, the classic popular front espoused by the DP is more treacherous than the PCI's "historic compromise," because it would create greater illusions. The PCI, at least, makes no promises about a "dynamic" leading to socialism—it only wants to give Italy an explicitly capitalist "stable government." So does the Democrazia Proletaria. ■


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WORKERS VANGUARD

## Democrazia Proletaria in the Camp of the Popular Front

# Italian Parliamentary Crisis Drags On

L'Express

**PCI leader Enrico Berlinguer campaigning for "historic compromise" with Christian Democracy.**

JULY 13 The June 20 parliamentary elections in Italy, despite anguished bourgeois predictions of a red tidal wave engulfing the country, ended in an uneasy stalemate, with both major parties, the Christian Democrats (DC) and the Communists (PCI), claiming "victory." The PCI did increase its total vote percentage by over 6 percent since the previous "political" elections in 1972 (and by 2 percent above its score in last year's "administrative" local and regional elections). It also greatly reduced regional disparity in its vote to only 2 percent, gaining heavily in the traditionally reactionary South. But the PCI was far from overtaking the Christian Democrats as the leading party.

Speaking on election night to a less than overjoyed crowd outside party headquarters on Via delle Botteghe Oscure, Communist Party leader Enrico Berlinguer took comfort in the "shift to the left in parliament." In a post-election interview (*Corriere della Sera*, 23 June), Berlinguer went out of his way to reaffirm the campaign theme of PCI moderation: "Many people have interpreted our proposition of a coalition of broad democratic unity as anxiousness to join the government," he said. "But we aren't anxious, the PCI isn't in any hurry!" In return for this modesty, the new chamber of deputies elected a Communist speaker, Pietro Ingrao, giving the PCI its most important parliamentary position since the post-war government in 1946-47.

The deeply corrupt and internally divided Christian Democrats actually maintained their 1972 percentage, marking a 3 percent advance over last year's vote and a 4.3 percent plurality over the PCI. This immediately set off a debate over whether the election results represented a victory for the "reform" line of party secretary Zaccagnini or for the "old guard" headed by party president Amintore Fanfani. More important was the fact that the DC was able to hold its own only by deeply cutting into the electorate of "center" parties such as the Social Democrats (PSDI) and the Liberals (PLI), whose votes were roughly halved. Since a political upheaval resulted from the DC's last attempt to hook up with the fascist MSI (Italian Social Movement-National Right) in 1960, a center-right coalition is now ruled out.

Another big loser was the Socialist Party (PSI), down almost 700,000 votes since 1975, tarnished by the stench of corruption and stagnation of DC-led "center-left" governments it has propped up for the last decade. Already on June 21, the Christian Democrats had begun their usual horsetrading with the PSI, but the latter, trapped in the middle of an overwhelming polarization between the PCI and DC, refused any coalition without some guarantee of Communist support, whether formal or otherwise. The stage is thus set for a "summer" minority caretaker government, allowing several months for negotiating an emergency economic program with the PCI, and an eventual center-left coalition supported by the Communists in parliament.

### The "Historic Compromise"

But beyond the prospect of continued parliamentary crisis, the real losers in the scramble for ministerial portfolios

Inprecor

**"Vampire government, get out!"**

are the Italian workers, buffeted by the deep social and economic crisis wracking the country and faced with a choice between the bloodsucking DC regime and a "Communist" party whose overwhelming aim is to join the Christian Democrats in administering a capitalist austerity program.

In both Italy and France the absence of an entrenched social democracy has passed to the Communists the task of disciplining the working class for the bourgeoisie. With the Christian Democrats clearly incapable of dealing with massive inflation and unemployment, there is an opening for the PCI to act even more directly as the watchdog of big capital. So while Henry Kissinger warns gloomily of the dangers of Communist participation in the government, the PCI has bent over backwards to prove it can be just as reliable as any social-democratic party. In a pre-election interview Berlinguer, while rejecting a direct "social pact" between government and the unions to hold down wages (as in Britain), guaranteed that "the unions will know how to behave themselves."

On the question of NATO, Berlinguer waxed positively lyrical. Going beyond the PCI's repeated pledges to remain within the anti-communist imperialist military alliance, he added: "since Italy doesn't belong to the Warsaw Pact [the Soviet bloc military alliance], from this point of view there is absolute certainty that we can proceed along the Italian road to socialism without any conditions." He favored staying within the Atlantic Pact not only because leaving would upset the international equilibrium, but "also" because "I feel safer here" (*Corriere della Sera*, 15 June).

Since the fall of Allende's Popular Unity (UP) government in 1973, the Italian Communist Party has harped on the need for a "*compromesso storico*" (historic compromise) with the other two main political currents in the country, Socialist and Christian Democrat. The only lesson the PCI drew from the bloody demise of the Chilean popular front was that it wasn't "popular" *enough*, that is, it didn't contain the major historic party of the capitalists. So the PCI's "historic" contribution to Stalinist class collaboration has been to call for a "broad coalition" with the Christian Democrats.

But the fundamental lesson of Chile is that the working class must intransigently maintain its class independence from all sections of the bourgeoisie. The popular front, as Leon Trotsky noted, is the central issue of the epoch, it is also the central issue immediately facing Italian workers today. Revolutionaries presenting candidates in the June 20 elections would have campaigned uncompromisingly against the popular frontism of the PCI. But no parties fielding candidates ran on such a program of class independence; the so-called "far left" simply capitulated to Berlinguer & Co., trying to pressure them by advocating a slightly more "left" popular front of the Allende brand.

### Democrazia Proletaria

For the heralded "election of the century," the "extra-parliamentary" radicals of yesteryear fielded a conglomerate slate under the rubric of Democrazia Proletaria (DP). Their hope was to capture the "significant audience" that rejected the PCI's grand coalition with the Christian Democrats, but all the DP could come up with was their own much less grand but equally class-collaborationist amalgam.

The DP was originally created as an electoral cartel by Avanguardia Operaia (AO Workers Vanguard) and the Partito di Unità Proletaria per il Comunismo (PDUP Party of Proletarian Unity for Communism) for the "administrative" elections of 15 June 1975. This year, after considerable opposition from the PDUP leadership, a third major group, Lotta Continua (LC Continuing Struggle) was permitted to include its own candidates for lower slots on the DP tickets. Bringing up the rear were the Gruppi Comunisti Rivoluzionari (GCR Revolutionary Communist Groups), Italian section of Mandel's United Secretariat (USec), who were granted a few token candidates at the bottom of the lists.

Prior to the voting, all three major components of Democrazia Proletaria had expected the slate to garner roughly 3 percent of the ballots. In actuality, the figure was only 1.5 percent, a full half million votes less than expected, although they managed to elect six deputies. This setback produced a series of election postmortems that run the gamut from pollyannaism to electoralist catastrophism, with the GCR winning

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WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

No. 119 23 July 1976

## At Democratic Convention

# Liberals, Black Democrats Rally 'Round Racism

### Labor Fakers Ride Second Class on Carter Bandwagon

JULY 16—In the throes of a worldwide capitalist depression, liberalism in the United States has given up on its usual pork-barrel panaceas and taken to faith-healing. It was not surprising, therefore, that when the Democratic Party held its convention in Madison Square Garden this week it looked for all the world like a religious revival meeting. Rev. Martin Luther King, Sr., thundered from the platform, "if you don't have a forgiving heart, get down on your knees" (the delegates, one and all, stayed on their feet), and candidate "smiling Jimmy" Carter sermonized about how "it's a time for healing. We want to have faith again...."

Down on the floor, hordes of the faithful embraced each other in a sickening display of greedy "reconciliation" and cynical personal ambition. Old civil rights activists hugged notorious racists. Labor bureaucrats gladhanded right-to-work politicians. Erstwhile pacifist lambs lay down with militarist lions, community controllers with big-government bureaucrats, feminists with right-to-lifers, liberal reformers with entrenched machine bosses.

On the surface it was simple enough to understand. After eight years in the wilderness, the Democratic wolf pack smells victory in November and just wants to win. But there was another side to the revivalist love-in at the Garden. After a series of convention walkouts and expulsions of civil rights delegations (1964), Southern "regulars" (1968) and machine blocs (1972), this year even quantitative differences between the various wings and "constituencies" were hard to discern. In contrast to the 11 hours of tumultuous platform debate in 1972, this time a liberal move to allow the most minimal discussion on the platform was overwhelmingly voted down in a matter of minutes.

At the 1968 convention, Chicago Mayor Daley launched a vicious police assault on youth protesting the Democrats' Vietnam war policies outside the convention hall. This week the venerable machine politician presented the report of "progressive" big city mayors on national urban policy. While arch-racist Alabama governor George Wallace introduced the platform plank on "government reform," Hubert Humphrey touted the Carter/Mondale ticket as "the final reunification of North and South."

WV Photo

Gladhanding, backslapping and porkbarreling at Madison Square Garden as Democrats nominate peanut boss.

The Democratic Party has faithfully carried out its role as the party of liberal reformism, from William Jennings Bryan's populism to Jimmy Carter's popularism. But today even pallid liberalism seems like pie-in-the-sky. For blacks—"benign" neglect plus a few token jobs as decorative faces in the Carter administration. For labor—the "work ethic" and wage controls. So there was little talk of program and a lot of baloney about god and faith.

After all, if a "New South" peanut boss can become imperial chief with the sole program of "my name is Jimmy Carter and I'm running for president," the Democrats ought to be able to make it with the line, "for America's third century, why not our best?" It was a non-idea whose time had come, the delegates opined. Besides, faith is cheap—even the poor can afford it. In the ghettos and on the unemployment lines, faith could be distributed by a president who, in Carter's words, "feels your pain and shares your dreams and takes his strength and courage from you."

### The Great White Hope of the Bourgeoisie

As Dixiecrats and civil rights advocates swayed to the strains of "We shall overcome," the scent of power wafted over the Garden. In return, the bourgeoisie whom they serve hopes for a reimposition of social stability and the politics of consensus. Two successive Republican administrations have failed to achieve this goal.

Following the dispersal of the civil rights movement of the 1960's, Richard Nixon, the seamy spokesman of "Middle America" reaction, tried to crush radical disorder with a combination of tough-guy "law and order" and deals with the Stalinist bureaucracies in Hanoi, Peking and Moscow. But the strike wave of 1969-70 threw a wrench in the works, the Paris "peace accords" could not shore up the rotten Saigon puppet regime and the economic undermining of U.S. imperialist hegemony proceeded apace.

Watergate and the continuing cycle of government scandals brought down the second Nixon administration and destroyed the credibility of the "executive committee" of the U.S. ruling class. A bland non-entity, Gerald Ford, staggered into the political vacuum with nothing but clean hands and an empty head, only to confront the deepest economic crisis in four decades, the historic victory of the Indochinese masses and a stinging setback in Angola.

After Ford's numerous fumbles, political pundits as diverse as the *New York Times*' James Reston and the editors of *Business Week* are fatuously hailing a resurrection of the New Deal coalition of labor, blacks, liberals and the "solid South," praying that stability can return if only the Republicans take the rap and the wobbly economic upturn holds. Hoping to demonstrate that they are the "viable alternative" for '76, the various currents all chimed in to show that the Democrats are still the most resilient forces of social containment.

The point was graphically driven home as one self-appointed "representative" of the oppressed after another

*continued on page 3*

**Pilots, Controllers Strike for Safety**

## Dispute Over Bilingual Air Traffic Control Rocks Canada.....7

# Argentine Junta Tightens Bloody Grip

JULY 20 –As *WV* goes to press, newspapers report that the wave of hunger strikes by Chilean refugees demanding asylum elsewhere is escalating in Argentina. Even as the Chileans were thus dramatically protesting their persecution, the United Nations Nations High Commission for Refugees reported the kidnapping of 30 Uruguayan exiles from their homes and off the street. Among the kidnap victims was Margarita Michelini, daughter of Uruguayan senator Zelmar Michelini, whose body was found several weeks ago along with that of Hector Gutiérrez Ruiz, former president of the Uruguayan Chamber of Deputies.

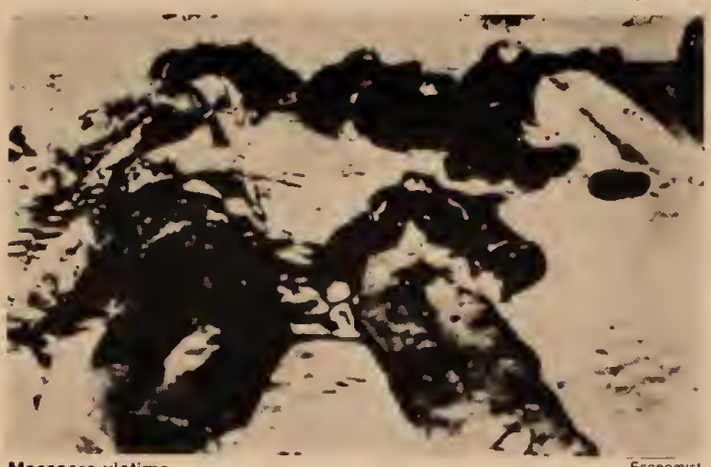
The gigantic crack in the Argentine military junta's public relations façade of civic law and order has widened to the point that important sectors of the bourgeoisie around the world are beginning to get alarmed. Even the Chilean generals, pressured by Kissinger's hypocritical linking of economic assistance to the issue of political prisoners, are now whining about being picked on when their Argentine counterparts are currently killing ten times as many, if not more. The International Federation of Human Rights in Geneva recently stated that the Argentine situation is as bad as Chile "and worsening almost daily." Yet this image is precisely what the Videla junta wanted to avoid with its "democratic" posturing and rhetoric of "moderation."

Actions do speak louder than words, however. On June 10 the Argentine government assured the United Nations High Commission on Refugees that there was no "specific danger" to Latin American political exiles in Argentina. On June 11, 24 Chilean and Uruguayan refugees were kidnapped from two UN hotels in Buenos Aires, beaten up, tortured with electric shocks and released with warnings to leave the country within 48 hours.

The fact that the refugees were released at all is due to the international cry of outrage that met the action. The majority of the political refugees in Argentina are literally trapped there, as the most basic rights of asylum are trampled on by the military. Most refugees would gladly abandon their hellish existence in Argentina to leave the country within 48 hours if they had a place to go.

Refugee hunger strikes began in the first week of July. On July 13 three refugees sent to pick up medicine at a UN office were kidnapped on their way back to the hotel where hundreds of refugees were reportedly striking under medical surveillance. On Monday 19 Chilean exiles were expelled from the Frontero Hotel on orders from Rev. Lino Dubcek, president of the Argentine Coordinating Committee, who condemned their strike as "politically inspired."

The junta clearly wants political exiles, whom it regards as "foreign extremists" menacing national security, out of the country or dead. In Argentina at present, the life of every refugee from anti-communist South American military dictatorships is in danger. Symbolic of these victims of junta repression is Mario Muñoz, the Chilean miners leader who has been sought by Argentine authorities since the night of the coup (March 23), when his house was broken into by federal police in battle gear announcing they had orders to shoot him on sight.



Massacre victims. Economist

On July 2 Muñoz was arrested by police in the interior city of Mendoza, along with 12 other residents of a UN refuge. At the Fifth Precinct, where the prisoners were first taken, the interrogating officer announced Muñoz was to be deported to Chile, where he would be subjected to imprisonment, torture and death at the hands of the Pinochet junta. Subsequently, at the prefecture of the Bureau of Investigation, the regional police commander intervened to countermand this decision. The eventual release of Muñoz and his comrades was undoubtedly the result of protest by the prisoners' *compañeras*, who remained outside the station, and above all the international protest against the persecution of Muñoz. But the danger of re-arrest or kidnapping and execution by the AAA is ever-present.

### Social Democrats and Capitalists Protest

The junta was chagrined by an "Open Appeal to the Argentine Military Junta," prominently published in the 20-21 June *Le Monde*. Signed by social-democratic luminaries François Mitterand (France), Olof Palme (Sweden), Anker Joergensen (Denmark), Bruno Kreisky (Austria), Mário Soares (Portugal), Ron Hayward (Britain) and Francesco de Martino (Italy), the appeal called on the junta to institute bourgeois democratic norms in Argentina. It condemned the suspension of elections and political parties and the dissolution of congress; the imposition of martial law and the death penalty; intervention of the trade unions and outlawing the right to strike; the military occupation of factories and arbitrary arrest of workers; abuse of political refugees, and the free rein given para-police terrorists.

The junta refused official comment on the appeal, but unofficial sources disingenuously claimed to be astounded at how "ill-informed" such statesmen could be. But it is no longer sufficient for Videla to shrug his shoulders, deny responsibility for the atrocities and blame everything on "a campaign, planned abroad, to damage the government's reputation." Already some of the junta's most influential imperialist mentors are expressing annoyance that Videla has let "extra-official" repression get out of hand. A high-priced business insiders' newsletter in Britain reports:

> "The United States embassy is so disillusioned with Videla's performance that its diplomats are predicting a takeover by the hardliners within two or three months. While these internal squabbles continue, the initiative is undoubtedly in the hands of the hardliners, and it will be virtually impossible to present any other face to the world."
>
> —*Latin America*, 4 June

While the U.S. embassy and Argentine "moderates" might prefer a somewhat less obtrusive death toll, their overriding concern is to implement a "controlled" bloodletting, in which the state exercises a monopoly of violence and sees to it that the targets for arrest, torture and assassination will be trade unionists or leftists, rather than priests, liberal lawyers, artists, journalists and even bourgeois politicians (such as former Uruguayan parliamentary leader Zelmar Michelini, a friend of Edward Kennedy).

But the "hardliners" in the Argentine repressive apparatus are interested in other matters, namely revenge against the guerrillas whose occasionally spectacular actions in recent years had been a source of humiliation, and a massive witchhunt to ferret out "soft-headed liberals," freemasons and other "agents of international communism." In May, six high-ranking army officers and 24 police officers were reportedly arrested as guerrilla infiltrators.

This did not stop the guerrillas, however. Only scant days after federal police chief Cesareo Cardozo was blown up in bed when a bomb exploded under his mattress (making him the second holder of that post to be killed by the guerrillas in two years), a bomb placed in the dining room of the intelligence department of the federal police killed 18, mostly police officials. The *New York Times* (3 July) reported that following the explosion, "the former chief of police intelligence, Washington Ovides, fell from the fifth floor of the police hospital to his death after navy intelligence discovered that he had been providing information to the revolutionaries."

In the next few days at least 20 bullet-riddled bodies were found in Buenos Aires, including three Irish Roman Catholic priests and two seminarians killed in a parish residence, apparently in reprisal. Cardozo's successor, General Arturo Corbetta, was considered a "liberal" as he attempted to carry out Videla's line that murder and repression should be "official, public and centralized." His ouster after only

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**At UNHCR Headquarters in Geneva**

## Muñoz Delegation Meets with UN Refugees Commissioner

GENEVA, July 16 —An international delegation organized by the Committee to Save Mario Muñoz met today with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan of Pakistan. The delegation demanded UN action on behalf of Muñoz, a Chilean miners' leader forced to flee Pinochet's terror in Chile only to now find himself again in desperate peril from the Argentine military junta.

The audience with the High Commissioner was obtained as the result of the international attention focused on the campaign to save Muñoz, which has received the support of hundreds of prominent individuals, legislators, left and labor leaders in a dozen countries.

Comprising the delegation were Albrecht Konecny, chairman of the Young Generation of the Socialist Party of Austria, also conveying the support of the Austrian Railroad Workers Union and the International Federation of Transport Workers; Guy Aurenche, representing the International Association of Catholic Jurists; Jacques Vittori, representative of the Brussels-based World Confederation of Labor; Christian Grobet, a member of the Swiss parliament and representative of the Swiss Progressive Jurists' Association; Joe Heflin of the Society of Friends (Quakers) in France; and Bill Logan, Australian spokesman for the Committee to Save Mario Muñoz. Also present were representatives of the Muñoz Committee from Austria, France, Germany and the U.S. and two of Muñoz' Chilean comrades. Other trade unions and civil liberties organizations unable to directly participate in the delegation sent telegrams and messages of solidarity urging UN action on Muñoz' behalf.

The High Commissioner and other UN officials (including Georges Koulischer, head of the UN's Latin American Section) heard Bill Logan demand that "the United Nations must take responsibility for the life of this Chilean working-class leader who today symbolizes the working masses persecuted by the juntas of South America." Albrecht Konecny stressed the need for prompt action: "Time is what Mario Muñoz has the least of."

Citing the July 2 arrest of Muñoz in Mendoza and last month's mass kidnapping of Chileans from UN refugee sites, following the theft by police or para-police terrorists of lists showing the names and addresses of more than 8,000 refugees, the delegation sought concrete commitments from the High Commissioner concerning Muñoz' safe departure from Argentina and the securing of visas. The murderous activities of the rightist death squads and the inability of the UN to protect refugees under its mandate heightens the urgency of bringing international pressure to bear on behalf of Muñoz.

The UN officials promised to undertake efforts on Muñoz' behalf. But each day that Muñoz remains in Argentina, his life is placed in increased peril as the blows of rightist repression rain down on proletarian militants and even liberal bourgeois opponents of the reactionary Videla junta. Only continued international protest and pressure in solidarity with Muñoz and all the victims of rightist terror will save the lives of this Chilean workers' leader and his family.

# Democratic Convention...

*(continued from page 1)*

mounted the podium. Of the 19 speakers sharing the limelight during the platform presentation, seven were women, two black, one a Chicano, one a Puerto Rican and one a union president. Black Congresswoman Barbara Jordan from Texas was the most brazen in equating the self-aggrandizement of a handful of bourgeois politicians with the needs and aspirations of the masses. Her presence as keynoter, she intoned, proved that "the American Dream need not forever be deferred."

The Caucus of Black Democrats distinguished itself principally by the single-minded pursuit of commitments to appointments in a Carter administration. After a meeting on Monday between 30 black Democrats and Carter, Michigan Congressman Charles Diggs told the press:

> "He wants to be known as the President who made substantial steps toward a colorless society. Under that concept, blacks could end up in any position in his administration."

But even at the level of patronage, the black caucus was clearly doing little more than fighting a holding action during a period of sharp rightward motion in bourgeois politics. The proportion of black delegates was down to 11 percent from the 15 percent quota established by the McGovernites in 1972. The caucus presented as a great victory the fact that Carter pulled back on his plan to replace New York lawyer Basil Paterson with black Georgia state legislator Ben Brown as vice chairman of the Democratic National Committee.

Carter's forces publicly punctured various trial balloons for a black vice-presidential candidacy with the most transparent excuses—Los Angeles mayor Thomas Bradley because the running mate had to have Washington experience; Barbara Jordan because the second slot could not be filled by another Southerner and, most incredibly, because she suffers from gout. By Thursday, the caucus was reduced to rubberstamping Carter's choice of Minnesota senator Walter Mondale "with enthusiasm" and making a pro forma nomination of phony "radical" Congressman Ron Dellums "for the purpose of his articulation of his views before the convention."

In exchange for clamping down on dissent, the black Democrats got exactly nothing on the platform, which is committed to purging the welfare rolls and encouraging alternatives to school busing programs, thus openly capitulating to right-wing mobilizations against blacks.

The National Women's Political Caucus (NWPC) also marched in step. The highly publicized "Carter compromise" on convention rules mandating the party to "promote" rather than "require" 50 percent female delegate representation was introduced without opposition. In a platform compromise, the NWPC won a tepid statement that "it is undesirable to attempt to amend the U.S. Constitution to overturn the Supreme Court decision" on abortion. So lukewarm was Carter's support for even these minimal commitments that by Thursday the women's caucus felt it necessary to pass a motion "to seek to monitor and implement the items negotiated with the presidential candidate."

### Labor Fakers Chime In

Delegates associated with the nine-union Labor Coalition Caucus fell over themselves at every turn to demonstrate their loyalty to Carter, former governor of a notorious open-shop state. William Lucy, secretary-treasurer of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) and head of the fake-militant Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, described the platform to a *WV* reporter as "a balanced platform in terms of the issues that the country is faced with." Asked how he could support a man who employs non-union labor at subsistence wages in his own family business, Lucy answered:

> "Let me suggest to you that most of the employers throughout this country employ non-union labor.... There are numbers of states that have great labor relations acts wherein the conditions under which those workers work and live are certainly worse in many cases than those states where 'right-to-work' exists."

United Auto Workers president Leonard Woodcock hailed the Carter/Mondale slate as "an excellent ticket." Dorothy Haener of the UAW Women's Commission, a member of the Democratic Platform Committee, was asked by *WV* if she believed that Carter and the big business Democratic Party would carry out even the minimal reforms promised in the platform. She responded in the spirit of the convention: "I think what this country needs desperately is faith in someone."

The Labor Coalition Caucus, composed of the CWA, UMW, UAW and certain other unconditional pro-Democratic union misleaders, is attempting to circumvent the aging Meany crew at the top of the AFL-CIO and ingratiate itself with the Democratic Party bigwigs. Both the Coalition strategy of backing multiple candidates and Woodcock's early support to Carter were based on the overweaning desire to ride a winning horse to the convention and get in on the ground floor with a new party alignment. But the "success" of this ploy will win nothing for the union rank and file, and next to nothing even for the venal bureaucrats.

On the platform, the Carter forces gave a tepid endorsement to the Humphrey-Hawkins "full employment" bill (with the all-important proviso of *wage controls*), and announced the objective of 3 percent *adult* unemployment...after four years!

### "New Deal"?—Raw Deal

Inevitably, a host of ambitious and cynical fake-"radical" and self-appointed "community" spokesmen were on hand for the old shell game of trying to provide the Democrats with a "progressive" façade. The left-liberal, minority-group and female elements that dominated the 1972 convention are accommodating themselves (to the extent their dwindling bases of support within the party permit) to the general shift to the right and hoping to ride the crest of a Democratic victory in November.

California Congressman Ron Dellums complemented the various flavors of Democratic hucksterism with his brand of radical chic about "redirecting the priorities of America." Earlier, Dellums told a *WV* reporter that, while he would of course vote for Carter over Ford, "The question for me is how enthusiastic can one be in support of his candidacy." New Left retread Tom Hayden was pretty enthusiastic as he opined in the *New York Times* (12 July) that today's Democrats are "more likely to be concerned with human values and the quality of life than the accumulation of power, possession and profit."

Only slightly less ludicrous is the attempt to revamp the Carter program of union-busting and respectable racism as "similar to Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal" in the words of *Business Week* (12 July). What characterized the New Deal of FDR was not, as liberal mythologists would have it, that it "got us back on our feet"—indeed, not FDR's phony schemes but the second imperialist World War provided the (temporary) basis for lifting the U.S. out of the depression. It was the proven ability of the labor bureaucracy to bind the ranks of labor hand and foot to the administration which produced the great "consensus" which today's liberals so fondly recall.

It is in the Democratic Party that the labor bureaucrats, Stalinists, social democrats and reformers of all stripes have constructed a house of betrayal on the foundation of support for the liberal bourgeoisie. During World War II the Communist Party painted the Democrats in the colors of anti-fascism. When Truman launched the "cold war" the "progressives" held on in the obscure corners of reform Democratic clubs, while the CIO tops lined up with the Pentagon. Now the dregs of the civil rights and antiwar movement have trudged back to the same party of liberal imperialism.

But unlike the Rooseveltian CIO leaders of the 1930's, who had powerful levers of control over millions of unionists, the dismal failure of the AFL-CIO leadership to mobilize their ranks behind Jackson or Humphrey demonstrates that today's ossified union bureaucracy stands at a great distance from the disaffected membership. It can no longer be relied upon to deliver the working masses up to the tender mercies of the capitalist party of its choice. The blacks are a seething mass of discontent, while the post-Vietnam generation of students is largely apathetic but by no means reconciled to the "American dream."

Nevertheless, the workers will not be won from their traditional misleaders and the Carterized Democratic Party by reformist electoralist schemes such as the Socialist Workers Party's "Bill of Rights for Working People" or the Communist Party's '76 "campaign with clout." It will take the fire of the class struggle to break labor from the smoke-filled back rooms of Democratic Party politics. A revolutionary workers party will not only utilize the medium of bourgeois elections but endeavor to unite the exploited and oppressed in militant battles for the destruction of capitalism and opening the road to a socialist society. ■

WV Photos

**Above right: Carter accepts nomination. Right: AFSCME bureaucrat Gotbaum. Below: Rev. Martin Luther King, Sr.**

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# Defend the ÖBL!

# Austrian Trotskyists Convicted Under Press Censorship Law

On July 8, an article in the February issue of the *Bulletin* of the Österreichische Bolschewiki-Leninisten (ÖBL—Austrian Bolshevik-Leninists) was declared offensive to the bourgeoisie's "common sense of justice" by an Austrian court. For this "crime," the unsold copies of the *Bulletin* were ordered seized and ÖBL editor Barbara Dorner was convicted under an all-purpose press censorship law. The conviction is being appealed.

The article which so offended the Socialist Party (SPÖ) government of Chancellor Bruno Kreisky concerned a terrorist attack on a meeting of the Oil Producing and Exporting Countries (OPEC) by a group called the Arm of the Arab Revolution. Concerned to protect Vienna's image as a *gemütlich* backwater of social peace and genteel center for international trade and diplomacy, Austrian rulers were horrified when the pro-Palestinian commandos kidnapped a number of prominent OPEC oil ministers.

Countering the hysterical uproar in the bourgeois press, the *Bulletin der Bolschewiki-Leninisten* called on the left and labor movement to defend the Arab nationalist commandos against persecution by the capitalist state, while criticizing the impotent strategy of the terrorists:

> "Trotskyists consider the concept of petty-bourgeois individual terrorism to be completely misguided.... [However,] the defense of persecuted proletarian and anti-imperialist fighters is an essential component of the traditions of the workers movement and absolutely necessary in creating a united battle line against the bourgeoisie."

For defending militants whose "crime" was "making hostages of a handful of monopolists whose hands are dripping with the blood of countless workers and peasants" the ÖBL was declared guilty of violating Paragraph 282 of the Penal Code. This section outlaws not only "inciting to actions punishable by law" but also "approving of an act punishable by imprisonment of over one year in a fashion such as to offend the common sense of justice or to incite to committing such an act."

The ÖBL trial is the first time a new (1975) statute aimed at expanding government powers of harassing the press has been implemented, but it will certainly not be the last. Cases are pending against other left groups, including the Maoist MLS. The ÖBL waged a vigorous political defense against the reactionary press censorship regulations and denounced the ominous implications of the catch-all category of an undefined (and non-existent) "common sense of justice." Recognizing the threat to the entire left represented by this thought-control legislation, supporters of the GRM (Revolutionary Marxist Group) and the IKL (International Communist League) attended the trial as a demonstration of solidarity with the ÖBL. The Maoists failed to appear.

Throughout the trial, both judge and prosecutor sought to deny that political censorship was involved. Arriving in court on the original trial date, the ÖBL comrades were informed that the entire time allotted for the simple "administrative" procedure was 15 minutes! Even after protests by the lawyer and defendants, the July 8 trial was rammed through in under an hour. The judge refused to let Comrade Dorner defend the *Bulletin* article politically, restricting testimony to the "technical" question of the legal responsibility of the editor under Paragraph 30 of the Penal Code. Only in their concluding statements were the ÖBL comrades permitted to denounce the political repression of the left represented by these censorship laws.

The presentations by Comrades Dorner and Weissenböck and by their lawyer did, however, force the judge to

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## Statement to Court by ÖBL Bulletin Editor Barbara Dorner

# "There Is No 'Common Sense of Justice' in Class Society"

First I want to protest against the fact that I was not permitted to defend myself as I had planned. I believe that in such a trial it is necessary to deal with the article politically and to relate my defense to its content.

As I already stated in a deposition, I completely and fully support the article under prosecution. Moreover, I maintain that it is not illegal; therefore I deny any responsibility under Paragraph 282, and consequently also under Paragraph 30. I would now like to explain why we hold that the content of the article is not illegal.

This trial is no normal criminal proceeding but a political trial. The object of prosecution is a political statement of opinion. Therefore it is necessary to respond to the prosecution politically and place the article in context with our general position toward individual terror and the defense of comrades....

For Trotskyists, the society in which we live is characterized by irreconcilable contradictions between two classes. It is based on violent oppression and exploitation of the working class by the bourgeoisie, which maintains this oppression through the bourgeois state apparatus, its army and police. This is the root of all poverty and all forms of oppression, such as national and race oppression. Our side in this struggle is that of the working class and all the oppressed and exploited against the rule of the exploiters and oppressors. We fight for the elimination of a privileged minority's control over the majority and for the liberation of all mankind.

However, we have always viewed the armed struggle of small isolated groups or individuals as senseless and completely mistaken means of achieving this goal. Terrorism is not capable of leading the masses on the path to revolution and making them conscious of their historical interests and goals. We fight for the overthrow of bourgeous rule and for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, i.e., all-sided workers democracy, the rule of the immense majority defending itself against the attacks of reactionary minorities.... Through untiring explanation, agitation and propaganda we must bring revolutionary consciousness to the masses; we must root ourselves in the working class. Only in this manner can we prepare and bring nearer the elimination of the rule of the exploiters, which will also mean the end of individual terror since the basis for it will disappear. This cannot be the job of a few who take up arms, but only that of the oppressed masses themselves under the leadership of a revolutionary party.

Senseless acts of desperation, isolated from the working masses, will never be able to win the masses to this path. Individual terror is petty-bourgeois desperation which has lost confidence in the working class. Therefore, we must criticize the mistaken suicidal strategy of terrorism in the sharpest manner, and win to the revolutionary party comrades who in this way struggle against imperialism....

Allow me to clarify this with a famous example from Austrian history: the case of Friedrich Adler, who in October 1916 shot the hated prime minister Stürgkh. His act was a demonstration against the war. It grew out of the desperation of an honest social democrat in the face of war machinations, [a man] who had lost all trust in his party because of its treacherous support of the war policy. He consciously placed his life in danger in a last attempt to fight for peace. At the time he was condemned to death for murder.

Who today still dares to claim that Friedrich Adler—whom the entire social democracy followed after the war, and whom the monarchy was forced to amnesty—was a murderer? Who would dare to bring the social democracy, today the governing party, to trial because it defended him?

But what Adler did was no different than the Arm of the Arab Revolution, for whose defense we have been brought to trial here. The kidnapping of the OPEC monopolists was also a desperate reaction to the tyranny of imperialism, to poverty, terror and oppression. They are no more "blackmailing kidnappers" than Adler was a murderer....

Although it is necessary to combat their false strategy, nevertheless it is our duty to defend and protect these comrades against all attacks by the common enemy, against persecution by the bourgeois state and its courts....Only our revolutionary solidarity truly gives us the right to a sharp political criticism. We must build a common front against the common enemy.

But not all actions carried out in the name of the anti-imperialist movement are defensible. Neither the shootout at Lod Airport, where ordinary airline passengers were indiscriminately murdered without purpose, nor the kidnapping of the Olympic athletes in Munich can be defended from a class viewpoint. They were indiscriminately directed against people who were not representatives of bourgeois rule. In contrast, those actions which are clearly directed against imperialism must be unconditionally defended. The kidnapping of representatives of the brutal oppressor regimes of the OPEC countries, such as Iran or Saudi Arabia, is precisely such an act.

Unconditionally: that means with all measures that we consider correct and that are at our disposal. Our method of struggle is not individual terror but the mobilization of the working class.... For example, our article is part of such a defense.

This article expressed both our criticism of the OPEC attack and our solidarity with the authors as anti-imperialist fighters. Whose "sense of justice" is offended because we defend these fighters against the common enemy? There is no "common sense of justice" in a society of class oppression. Only the bourgeoisie can be offended by the fact that we defend our fellow combatants against its attacks. The sense of justice of the working class is offended far more by the crimes of the OPEC monopolists, by the bloody Shah regime in Iran which is celebrated in the bourgeois newspapers as a friend of Austria.

I would like to add a further example, the case of Grynszpan. Herschel Grynszpan, a young Jew, who in protest against the persecution of Jews in Hitler Germany, shot the Secretary of the [German] legation in Paris. Is it shocking to defend him? Or isn't it far more shocking that he was jailed as a murderer and handed over to the Nazis?

What happens to freedom fighters in Iran, probably the most prominent OPEC state, is probably widely known. But Grynszpan's imprisonment was in so-called "democratic" France, and the latest example was provided by the Federal Republic of Germany: Holger Meins and Ulrike Meinhof were driven to their deaths by the conditions of imprisonment.

Permit me to make a closing remark in this trial. The object of prosecution is a political opinion which we hold. The state's attorney, in his indictment, treats the utterance of a revolutionary position as a crime. What is placed in question here are the most elementary bourgeois-democratic liberties: freedom of the press and freedom of opinion. We lay claim to these rights which are supposed to be guaranteed by the bourgeois constitution. If we are found guilty here because of this, it only shows that bourgeois democracy once again is forced to break the rules of the game which it has itself established. This proves once again that bourgeois democracy represents not the interests of the working class and the majority of the population, but those of a minority, the bourgeoisie.

## International Furor Over Anti-Red Law

# West Germany Purges Teachers, Government Workers

In early July a 15,000-strong demonstration was held in Bonn against the sharpening restrictions on civil liberties in West Germany, in particular the "anti-radical decree" which has imposed political restrictions for government employment even more stringent than the loyalty investigations at the height of the McCarthy period in the U.S. Only a few days earlier, on June 25, the Bundestag (lower house of parliament) passed a so-called "anti-terrorist law" which permits the government to inspect correspondence between lawyers and defendants, excludes lawyers convicted of "conspiracy" from representing defendants and provides for the disbarment of lawyers found guilty of "serious violations of duty."

Although the new law is still before the upper house (where it is being stiffened, possibly to include surveillance of *all* communication between lawyers and defendants), on July 16 Klaus Croissant, defense lawyer for the Red Army Fraction (RAF, referred to in the bourgeois press as the "Baader-Meinhof Gang") was arrested on charges of making propaganda for the RAF. Taken together these moves spell an escalating witchhunt atmosphere in the federal republic and a growing threat of state repression against all left and working-class organizations.

The "anti-radical decree" (*Radikalenerlass*), also known as the *Berufsverbot* ("professional prohibition"), was initially the product of an agreement among interior ministers of the ten *Länder* (federal states) of West Germany in 1972. Since then it has been used primarily to screen out members of the legal pro-Moscow German Communist Party (DKP). The law covers 3.5 million workers in government jobs, including garbage men, railway workers, gravediggers and teachers as well as government officials and judges. Since its inception some 500,000 West German citizens have been investigated by the "Office for the Protection of the Constitution," with 428 "exposed" radicals according to *Der Spiegel* (28 June 1976).

Jeune Afrique

**Demonstration in West Berlin last May protesting prison death of Ulrike Meinhof.**

### "Gross Deviations and Grotesque Abuses"

During recent months the case of Silvia Gingold, a teacher and member of the DKP, has stirred a storm of domestic and international protest, promising to become a West German Angela Davis affair. Gingold was dismissed from her job in Hesse last year after three years of teaching. She and her parents had earlier been denied West German citizenship for eight years for being Communist Party members. Her case has been popularized in the bourgeois press party because Gingold is Jewish as well, thus focusing attention on the presence of many former Nazis in high government positions.

French protests were also generated since Gingold's father escaped to France in 1933 where he was active in resistance activities and later received official honors for "devotion to the democratic order." François Mitterrand, leader of the French Socialist Party, cited her case in forming a "Committee Against Civic and Professional Repression in West Germany." The Social Democratic education minister for Hesse in defending the dismissal of Gingold admitted in a TV interview that she had not violated the constitution by any act or been negligent as a teacher. Nevertheless, he stated,

> "We reproach Silvia Gingold, if I can put it like this, for lacking a condition for appointment as a civil servant, namely readiness at all times—and not only in school but in every imaginable situation—to actively defend the constitution."

The Social Democratic Party (SPD), which has ruled West Germany in coalition with the small bourgeois liberal Free Democratic Party (FDP) since 1969, approved the *Berufsverbot* when first issued four years ago. The federal chancellor at the time, SPD leader Willy Brandt, reacted to objections from the party's youth group saying,

> "Young Socialists or whoever, nobody is going to corner my party into being the vehicle by which Communists may become officials and judges in this country."
>
> —*New York Times*, 22 August 1973

Today, in the face of growing public protest and himself no longer burdened with the responsibilities of office, Brandt can play the role of conciliator, moaning that "I erred at the time.... There have been gross deviations and grotesque abuses" (*Time*, 5 July 1976). But while "soft cop" Willy commiserates with the civil libertarians, the SPD-FDP coalition continues to pass repressive legislation. With national elections due October 3, Chancellor Helmut Schmidt is determined to steal the thunder from the Christian Democrats (CDU) who are campaigning on the slogan, "Freedom or Socialism."

### Omnibus "Anti-Terrorism" Laws

The recent "anti-red" laws are the outgrowth of a mounting scare campaign unleashed against the left in connection with the RAF trials, after Berlin's chief justice Günter von Denkmann was killed last year by unknown assailants. At that time an ultra-McCarthyite law, Paragraph 88A, was passed making it illegal to call for forcible overthrow of the state. In fact, the terms of the law were so broad as to include any call for the dictatorship of the proletariat or even the overthrow of capitalism. The law also severely restricted the right of confidentiality between lawyers and defendants, rights which were further assaulted in the June 25 law.

The new laws provide for imprisonment of terrorists for up to ten years, arrest of those merely suspected of terrorism and holding them in preventive detention indefinitely, even if no conspiracy or intent to flee can be proven. The founding of a terrorist organization is illegal, and henceforth failure to provide information about the founding of a terrorist organization is punishable by five years in jail!

Although the pro-Moscow DKP is protesting the "anti-radical decree," of which it has been the main target, it is noticeably reticent toward the "terrorist laws." Indeed, the DKP and its cothinkers in East Berlin condemn the terrorists as "objectively pro-capitalist" in order to prove their own respectability.

As Helmut Schmidt put it at the special SPD party congress on June 19-20, the kick-off rally for the election campaign, West German industrialists know that political stability is key during the current economic downturn, and they "can't change horses in mid-stream." Certainly, the social-democratic horse has faithfully carried its capitalist rider thus far. The SPD not only has poured millions of marks into the coffers of Mario Soares' Portuguese Socialists (acting, in this case, as conduit for CIA funds), bitterly denounced strikes, promoted class collaboration through its much touted *Mitbestimmung* ("co-determination") schemes (whereby the unions get token seats on company boards of directors while the management still makes all the decisions) and promotes itself as the main bulwark against Communism in West Europe today.

Brandt was bounced out of government in 1974, ostensibly over the scandal that one of his top aids was discovered to be an East German spy but in reality to permit hardline finance minister Schmidt to don a more right-wing face for the party. Now cast in the role of elder statesman, at the convention Brandt attacked the CDU's "Freedom or Socialism" slogan by noting that lessons in liberty sound rather incongruous coming from people "who ran after an altogether different flag than that of freedom" while the Social Democrats were in concentration camps. Chancellor Schmidt would have had a hard time with that speech, since he himself was one of those "running after a different flag." During the Nazi period he was a member of the Hitler Youth and only joined the SPD after the Allies occupied Germany.

But not only the German Social Democrats are responsible for the increasingly repressive anti-communist legislation in the federal republic (BRD). All of these laws are nothing but logical extensions of the basic reactionary legislation setting up the West German state as an intended bastion of conservatism and capitalist strength against the USSR. Thus the American-led Western occupation powers imposed an artificial federal structure on the BRD—contrary to economic realities and either German or European traditions—in order to isolate working-class strength.

The BRD *Grundgesetz* (constitution), written under American supervision and approved by U.S. occupation authorities, is an explicit statement of how far the American bourgeoisie would go in restricting democratic

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WV Photo

# Unionists Demand Accounting from CP, PL Over S.F. Strike

SAN FRANCISCO—The S.F. city craft workers strike ended just under two months ago in grim defeat. After a 39-day strike, the municipal skilled tradesmen returned to work in late May without settling a single major issue in their favor. The face-saving "fact-finding" committee predictably came to naught, and after receiving 3,000 pages of documentation the union-busting Board of Supervisors went ahead to reaffirm massive ($2,000 to $4,000) pay cuts. Meanwhile, the unions and their leaders were found guilty of contempt of court, and a series of anti-labor city charter amendments were approved by the voters.

For the bosses, the demise of the strike has been the occasion for jubilant celebration. "The strike settlement," crowed one capitalist politico, "did not cost us even a single dime." Across the country, the bourgeois press hailed the crushing defeat of the city craftsmen. The *Washington Post*, which itself successfully smashed the pressmen's union, spread the word about "How San Francisco Beat Labor." For the ruling class, the S.F. city workers strike was a trial run, a test of how far it could go.

The treacherous and incompetent labor bureaucracy is not blind to the defeat, nor to the fact that this has whetted the capitalists' appetites to "get tough" with the unions. But for these cowardly pro-capitalist misleaders, the lessons of the San Francisco strike are retreat and surrender. New York municipal union leaders Gotbaum and Shanker, who accepted a rigid wage freeze and sizable cuts in benefits without a whimper, are their models.

Certainly the self-defeating manner in which the strike was led is devastating testimony to the inability of the labor fakers even to defend existing union conditions. Clearly they are incapable of defeating the bosses' attempts to push the costs of the capitalist depression onto the backs of working people. But the strike served also as a test of the capacity of self-proclaimed revolutionary organizations which claim to represent an answer to the sellouts of the current labor lieutenants of the capitalist class. And since, with the exception of the Spartacist League (SL), all of these groups capitulated in one fashion or another to the union bureaucracy, it is not surprising to find trade-union supporters of various fake-revolutionary tendencies now raising questions and expressing dissatisfaction with those organizations' behavior during the strike.

### "Lessons from the Frisco City Strike"

A lengthy 1,500-word letter published in the 19 June *People's World*, West Coast weekly paper of the reformist Communist Party (CP), is entitled "Lessons from the Frisco City Strike" and signed by "Concerned Frisco City Workers." Describing the supervisors' success in isolating the craft workers, the writers state:

> "After Proposition B passed last November, the city workers' unions agreed to set up a city workers' council, which would coordinate collective bargaining with the city. This council never was organized. The leadership of those unions who refused to cooperate in organizing a council of city workers must bear responsibility for destroying the unity of all city workers."

Noting that instead of carrying through its pledge to call a general strike, the bureaucrats actually de-escalated the action, the letter draws the conclusion which was obvious to everyone: "It appears to us that the leadership of the labor movement did not attempt to organize the workers for a general strike." This is, in fact, precisely why so many strikers were demoralized. As the writers document, there was not effective organization even of the striking craft unions. Although periodically anguishing over the massive scabbing, the overriding concern of the bureaucrats was to prevent an outburst of militancy that could get out of hand. That is why they did everything possible to keep the membership in the dark and sabotaged every effort to expand the strike and bring victory.

The "concerned workers" letter is accompanied by an introduction from the editors:

> "The San Francisco city strike is now over. Many progressive Bay Area trade unionists refrained from public criticism of the conduct of the strike while it was going on in the interest of unity. The following commentary is a contribution from a group of such trade unionists. It does not necessarily reflect the views of *The People's World*, but we hope it will start a fruitful discussion of the critical points involved."

No one will dispute the fact that *People's World* refrained from public criticism of the conduct of the strike. In the interest of unity? Yes—unity with the Crowleys, Mazzolas, Glens and Evankoviches, the union leaders who fear the militancy of their own ranks more than a sellout to the bosses.

Although ostensibly inviting a "fruitful discussion," the introduction also serves as a disclaimer. It seeks to distance *PW* from even the mild criticisms of the Central Labor Council (CLC) leaders raised by the "concerned workers," and it seeks to ward off criticism of the CP's uncritical support for the CLC tops with the ikon of "unity."

However, the Communist Party, which has real roots in the Bay Area labor bureaucracy not only "refrained from criticizing"; at every opportunity it blocked with the union misleaders to derail expressions of class solidarity with the city strikers. Thus it voted with the right wing of International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) Local 6 to defeat a motion submitted by warehouse militant Bob Mandel calling for support of the city workers strike, including strike action by Local 6. Similarly, in ILWU Local 10, CP supporters actively aided the bureaucracy in diverting and suppressing a motion calling for the longshore local to support city workers picket lines, for organizing a mass demonstration of San Francisco labor and for taking Local 10 out in support of the strikers.

### Passivity and Class Collaboration

There is more to the CP's passivity than simple lethargy or even fear of alienating the CLC leaders. At bottom, the Stalinists, like the union tops, capitulated to the strong anti-labor propaganda barrage in the bourgeois media. The proof: the 10 July *PW* ran a letter by another city worker, one Eugene Spake, castigating S.F. municipal craft workers as a bunch of greedy overpaid labor aristocrats. The writer dismissed the "concerned workers" as those who "support any strike of any workers at any time."

Spake considers Proposition B (an

# S.F. Longshoremen Vote to Strike Against Deregistrations

SAN FRANCISCO, July 18—In response to an escalating drive by West Coast maritime employers to slash the longshore workforce, Thursday night the membership of ILWU Local 10 voted overwhelmingly to strike against any layoffs. The vote was provoked by the initiation of deregistration procedures against two longshoremen by the Pacific Maritime Association (PMA) under Section 8.35 of the contract. This clause provides that any longshoreman holding a second job outside the industry may be "deregistered" (in plain English, fired).

As work on the docks has declined drastically under the impact of automation, many longshoremen with families have been forced to look for second jobs. A deregistration move is nothing but a blatant attempt to penalize the *workers* for the lack of jobs at a time when employer profits are at near-record levels due to the enormous rise in productivity brought on by containerization.

Bay Area longshoremen were particularly outraged because the deregistration procedures were begun almost simultaneously with the announcement by management spokesmen that back payments owed to thousands of ILWU dockers under the so-called Pay Guarantee Plan (PGP) would be cut drastically. The PGP was supposed to make up for the loss of work due to automation by ensuring all "A" men wages for 36 hours per week. "B" men were "guaranteed" a miserly 18 hours weekly.

However, for much of the last year, the PGP has been cut, sometimes by as much as 40 percent in a given week. Now, despite promises from S.F. port commissioner and ILWU president Harry Bridges that the "shortfall" in the weekly PGP would be "made whole," the PMA has announced that it intends to reimburse longshoremen roughly at the rate of 15 cents on the dollar. For some dock workers this will mean a loss of up to $900, nearly a full month's pay.

Moreover, the PGP shortfall will hit hardest at precisely those longshoremen whose jobs have been most eroded by containerization. This perpetuates the situation whereby underemployed workers will seek second jobs, in effect setting them up for firing. The danger to the union is heightened still more by the fact that the token back payments being doled out are coming from funds intended to be used for next year's PGP.

The vote to strike against all deregistrations under Section 8.35, on a motion put forward by supporters of "Longshore Militant" (a class-struggle opposition newsletter in the Local), represents a sharp slap at the present leadership of Local 10. While a substantial part of the Local leadership consists of "anti-Bridges" forces, they pursue the same policies of compromising conciliation with the employers for which Bridges is notorious.

Throughout the recent strike by ILWU and Teamster warehousemen in northern California, the Local 10 leaders never took a single concrete step to stop scab cargo being shipped under police escort. The latest issue of "Longshore Militant" (15 July) points out that the Local officers have resisted any attempt to launch a fight for jobs by the union.

In fact, in response to the latest PMA attacks, the Local 10 tops launched a drive...against their own members! They offered to police enforcement of the PGP for the employers and to approve all cuts in boards, gangs, job categories and jobs, if the employers will in turn discipline "chiselers" who supposedly are taking more than their fair share of the work. In the words of the "Longshore Militant,"

> "spreading the illusion that it is 'chiselers' rather than automation that is costing us jobs plays directly into PMA's strategy of setting us fighting each other over a decreasing number of jobs and over the phony PGP."

Thursday's strike vote is an important act of working-class solidarity, but the only way out for longshoremen is to move onto the offensive. A strike against layoffs must be extended into a strike for jobs for all longshoremen through a shorter workshift at no loss in pay. The phony PGP, pushed by pro- and anti-Bridges forces alike as well as by the reformists of the Communist Party, has been exposed for the fraud that it is. Longshoremen must cast aside their present class-collaborationist misleadership and, preparing now to implement the resolution to strike against layoffs by electing strike committees, militantly take up the battle for jobs. ■

amendment to the city charter which ended the pegging of municipal craft workers pay scales to prevailing rates in private industry, thus opening the way for the drastic wage cuts decreed last spring) as "an equalizing progressive move"! This letter is an unashamed apology for the widespread scabbing by city workers, yet while *PW* felt compelled to publish a disclaimer on mildly voiced criticisms by the "concerned workers" it publishes this anti-labor garbage without comment.

Although the authors of "Lessons of the Frisco City Strike" do raise many accurate criticisms of the labor fakers' sabotage of the strike, including pointing to the necessity of strike committees, the criticisms are blunted and the conclusions go awry because they fail to transcend the class-collaborationist framework of Stalinism. Thus the letter labels CLC head Jack Crowley's general strike call a "highly irresponsible act" instead of demanding real preparations to mobilize S.F. labor.

The writers advocate alleviating the fiscal crunch in the cities by paring the military budget. But the billions of dollars poured into the capitalist war machine are based on hard-headed calculations of what U.S. imperialism feels is necessary to police its global interests. The CP's appeal to the liberals to reform American capitalism is a utopian pipedream.

Hand-in-hand with illusions about the reformability of U.S. imperialism go illusions about the labor bureaucracy. "Lessons of the Frisco City Strike" ends with a call to:

> "develop a rank-and-file movement in each union local to restore democracy and membership control to our unions. We need to elect leaders who are responsible to the needs of its members."

It is certainly true that the leaders of American unions in the main are inept, corrupt, autocratic and isolated from their members. But this is a consequence of the *program* of the bureaucracy—a program it shares with the CP—of subordinating labor to the "lesser evil," "friends of labor" capitalist politicians of the Democratic Party. The bureaucrats and Stalinists don't pursue the class struggle because they are committed to class collaboration.

Episodically, as in 1976, the CPUSA finds itself compelled to put up a flimsy front of opposition to the bourgeoisie. Racist, anti-Soviet, open-shop peanut boss Jimmy Carter is not much more of a "lesser evil" than Ronald Reagan or Gerald Ford. But while the CP is currently churning up some hullabaloo about Gus Hall's "independent" presidential campaign, in the trade unions where it counts will CP supporters fight to get their unions and fellow workers to support Hall over Carter? We think not!

### The Bankruptcy of "Militancy"

The role of the Progressive Labor Party (PL) in the San Francisco city workers strike was not identical to that of the CP, which acted as out-and-out running dogs of the S.F. labor bureaucracy. PL supporters in the municipal unions were often militant and courageous, playing a key role in organizing some mass pickets, such as the one at city hall. But "militancy" is not a program, and it was soon evident that PL and its trade-union supporters hadn't the faintest idea of what to do strategically. This led to organizational paralysis.

In a letter printed in *Challenge* (3 June), a PL supporter makes the point that even in terms of its own standards of frantic reformism, Progressive Labor was ineffectual:

> "Finally, all the Communists and militants in San Francisco could have been mobilized to support the strike. They could have organized the neighborhoods to pick up the trash and dump it at the supervisors' houses. Money could have been collected for MUNI [city transport] drivers who were supporting the lines. They could have gone to the picket lines and struggled with the strikers around racism and the need for rank-and-file leadership. It seems the Party is not mobilized for concentrated actions of this sort."

The S.F. city workers strike failed because it was restricted to a narrow layer of craft workers rather than being broadened into a general strike with demands addressed to the needs of all city workers, including reopening all city worker contracts and abolishing the anti-labor city charter amendments. Rather than concentrating on soup-kitchen social workerism or dissipating themselves in impotent schemes like dumping trash at the houses of supervisors, militants in the labor movement would have struggled politically against the bureaucracy to win the union membership to a perspective of powerful, united class struggle.

For example, members of the Militant Action Caucus (MAC) of Communications Workers Local 9415 brought a city worker to their union meeting to discuss the strike. Yet unlike MAC, the PLP Phone Club in the local did absolutely nothing. Throughout the strike it issued no leaflets explaining the issues to phone workers, nor did it attempt to speak at this critical union meeting urging support to the strike. PL's passivity and confusion during the strike was so incredible that at one strike support rally initiated by the Spartacus Youth League (SYL), the PL speaker confined himself to attacking "racist textbooks" and failed to address the issues of the strike at all!

Uncomfortable with PL's inability to sharply differentiate itself from the bureaucracy, but unable to find a programmatic basis for such a differentiation, the letter to *Challenge* states: "Union leaders are the enemy, just as much as the boss." And, "Communists in PLP cannot lead if we don't split with

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WV Photo

**Cops were used to protect scabbing office workers at S.F. city hall during city workers strike.**

## Pilots, Controllers Strike for Safety

# Dispute Over Bilingual Air Traffic Control Rocks Canada

TORONTO, 15 July—The unlikely issue of air traffic control recently touched off a major political crisis in Canada, highlighting the deep cleavage of the country along national lines. The pilots' walkout in defiance of a government injunction was opposed by the bulk of the French-speaking pilots of Quebec, who continued to work during the work stoppage. Moreover, the Quebec section of the governing Liberal Party sharply denounced the June 28 settlement, accusing Prime Minister Pierre-Elliott Trudeau and Transport Minister Otto Lang of caving in to English-language chauvinism. In its eagerness to demonstrate sympathy for the oppressed French-speaking minority, virtually the entire Canadian left has refused to recognize the very real safety issue posed by the dispute over bilingual air traffic control.

For two years the introduction of bilingual air traffic control in Quebec has been a point of contention between the Trudeau government and the predominantly English-Canadian air controllers and pilots unions, the Canadian Air Traffic Controllers Association (CATCA) and the Canadian Airline Pilots Association (CALPA). In 1974 bilingual air traffic control was introduced under "visual flight rules" at seven small Quebec airports. It was heralded by the Ministry of Transport as the application of the 1969 Official Languages Act—which committed the government to bilingualism—to the field of aviation. However, the proposed extension of bilingual air traffic control to Quebec's international airports has been strenuously opposed by the aviation unions.

The last contract between CATCA and the federal ministry of transport appointed former CALPA lawyer John Keenan as a one-man commission of inquiry into the effects of bilingual air control on air safety under "instrument flight rule" conditions. Following Keenan's resignation—precipitated by charges that he was partial to the position of the aviation unions—the ministry of transport broke its agreement with CATCA for an independent commission, stating it would undertake its own inquiry.

Faced with the ministry's evident intent to push through bilingual air traffic control, CATCA threatened to strike. The Trudeau regime replied with a court injunction. On June 20 the controllers struck but were ordered back to work. The pilots then refused to fly, charging that in a high-stress occupation where instant and accurate communication is a matter of life and death, agitated air controllers made for unsafe conditions. A number of international airlines—notably KLM (Netherlands), British Airways and SAS (Scandinavia)—boycotted Canadian air space in solidarity.

The June 28 settlement contains three main elements. The aviation unions must approve one member of the new three-man commission set up to assess the safety issue; any recommendation by this commission must be unanimous; and the parliamentary vote on the question will be "free" (i.e., Liberal Party MPs will be able to vote against the Trudeau policy of favoring bilingual air traffic control). The settlement was a qualified victory for the aviation unions.

Gamma

**French air controller**

### "The Language of the Air"

The Quebec nationalists clamoring for bilingual air traffic control have charged that air safety is a bogus issue concealing a covert attack by English-Canadian diehards against the government's policy of bilingualism. This position was summed up by Roger Demers, spokesman for Gens de l'Air, a breakaway group of Quebec air controllers and pilots:

> "The government has been blackmailed by English-speaking pilots and control-

*continued on page 10*

## PL Backs "Progressive" Sellouts

# Chicago Unemployment Office Workers Strike, 281 Fired

CHICAGO, July 17—A strike by employees of the Illinois Bureau of Employment Security (IBES) here, begun ten days ago in response to the layoff of 123 workers, has been subjected to repression and remains dangerously isolated. On the first day of the strike, Chicago's "finest" strikebreaking cops arrested five union members and have since continued to escort hordes of scabs past enraged picketers. Yesterday the IBES made good on previous threats to victimize strikers by firing an additional 281 employees.

Concentrated in the lowest clerical and paraprofessional pay grades, 62 percent of those hit by the June 30 layoffs were black and 73 percent women workers. Seniority status was blatantly violated. The IBES pleaded insufficient federal funding in justifying the cutback, which came on the heels of a concerted campaign of speed-up and forced overtime. One Bureau official flippantly remarked that the layoff victims were selected by "intuition." The state's racially and sexually discriminatory "intuition" passed over more than 200 probationary employees, among whom (according to union militants) there are many political appointees protected by Mayor Daley's patronage machine.

The demand for a shorter workweek with no loss in pay is particularly crucial in this strike, not only to fight the layoffs and speed-up but also to pose the need for unity between employed workers and the jobless in a struggle for jobs for all. While the union (AFSCME Local 1006) is demanding a seven-hour day—in addition to no layoffs, a $200-per-month across-the-board wage increase (many of the workers have gone two years without a raise), an end to discriminatory hiring and promotion practices, and recognition of Local 1006 as collective bargaining agent for all Department of Labor employees—union officials hinted early on that they were most concerned with rejuggling the blatantly discriminatory layoffs. Not surprisingly, the AFSCME bureaucrats have done nothing to mobilize a strike which could win these demands.

The layoffs and firings represent a serious union-busting attack which must be smashed by solidly shutting down the struck Chicago-area IBES offices, along with concerted efforts to spread the strike statewide and prepare strike action by all Illinois state workers unions. But the Local leadership—despite generous doses of militant rhetoric, including a pre-strike statement by AFSCME field representative Houston Stevens that the strike would have to be spread to other city workers in order to be successful—has yet to lift a finger to mobilize other unions, let alone its own ranks. The bureaucrats' promise that picketing would continue "until a settlement is reached that is acceptable to the membership" (Local 1006 "Strike Facts #2," 12 July) is contradicted by reports that the lines would be pulled down if the state agreed to "meaningful" bargaining (*Chicago Tribune*, 14 July).

Particularly since only 1,500 of the 3,900 IBES workers statewide are in the union, a representative strike committee, directly elected by all the workers, would clearly have been decisive in effectively closing down Bureau operations as well as laying the basis for winning the unorganized workers and establishing a union shop. But according to one steward, Local 1006 president Tom Byrnes has instead done what he can to strangle the existing, highly inadequate 28-man strike committee, which is based primarily on the stewards. The passivity engendered by this bureaucratic misleadership was evidenced by a union meeting last Tuesday which, although voting overwhelmingly to continue the strike, turned out only 153 of the more than 1,000 Chicago-area Local 1006 members.

This is the second time in as many years that the unemployment office workers have had their expectations shattered by militant-talking sellouts. In both cases, the "revolutionary communist" Progressive Labor Party (PL) served up the betrayals on a silver platter to the union ranks. The Rank-and-File Caucus (RFC) slate that preceded Byrnes in office was presented as a "leadership committed to continuing the fight against management on many fronts" (*Challenge*, 9 January 1975), only to be denounced several months later for quashing a strike against threatened layoffs.

With its erstwhile "committed leadership" down the tubes, PL hailed the election of the present misleaders as "the culmination of a fight to rid the Local of a leadership that has, since last April, sabotaged every defensive action proposed and taken by the membership." *Challenge* (4 December 1975) boasted proudly that the union was now "back in the HANDS OF ITS MEMBERS, with militant rank-and-filers and communists [two PL supporters sit on the seven-man executive board, one of them being chief steward of the Local] in the lead." PL's rapturous satisfaction with the present bureaucrats may explain its own failure to call for an elected strike committee—or even a strike!—in a 24 June *Challenge* article dealing with the impending layoffs. One can only wonder what this "communist" carousel of betrayal will offer Local 1006 members when the current saboteurs come up for re-election.

Despite perennial careening from WAM-style business unionism to its alter-ego of sectarian "red" unionism and back, PL's trade-union work has remained consistently opportunist, paving the road to office for aspiring ("militant rank-and-file") bureaucrats. The cynical game played by PL and other "radicals" in Local 1006 has already led many IBES workers into apathy and demoralization, posing a serious defeat for the union. To turn this strike around and crush the state's union-busting drive, militant workers must break with RFC/PL reformism and forge a class-struggle leadership based on an anti-capitalist program. ■

WV Photo

**AFSCME pickets outside Chicago unemployment office last week.**


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# West Germany Purges Teachers...

*(continued from page 5)*

liberties in the imperialist epoch. It is unique in West Europe in containing an equivalent of the U.S. Bill of Rights. However, the German version declares that individuals have certain inalienable rights...which can only be revoked if laws are enacted against them! Further, anyone who uses his "freedom of speech" to campaign against the "free democratic order" will find it revoked. Teachers are specifically prohibited from teaching anything that "justifies disloyalty to the constitution."

### International Protest

In the storm of international protest now raging around the "anti-radical decree" and the terrorist scare in West Germany, probably the unkindest cut of all was delivered by Mitterrand. The French Socialists (PS), smarting with indigation over Chancellor Schmidt's assertions that only the SPD knows how to deal with the Communists and prevent chaos, have gleefully seized on the issue to embarrass Schmidt, pose as true defenders of freedom and democracy and make a gesture of sympathy toward the French Communist Party (PCF).

In reality, it is national chauvinism rather than concern for democratic rights that motivates Mitterrand (who, incidentally, only joined the Socialists in 1970 and was minister of justice during the Algerian independence struggle in the 1950's). Even before the latest protests brought the issue of Germany's repressive laws to the fore, French and German government officials had been trading insults, followed close behind by the PCF and PS.

It is certainly no accident that the PCF newspaper *L'Humanité* launched a front-page attack on Schmidt as a "disdainful sovereign," "insolently trying to be the gendarme of Europe," only two days after French prime minister Jacques Chirac (head of the Gaullist UDR) complained that "Schmidt has for some while displayed a tendency to pass judgement on the internal affairs of a certain number of countries. I don't think this is proper" (*New York Times*, 8 May). But while the PCF wraps itself in the tricolor and the SPD champions the Atlantic Alliance, French and West German reformist workers parties are united in their main goal: to subordinate the interests of the international working class to their respective national bourgeoisies.

Militant agitation against the new laws of capitalist reaction is a crucial task for a revolutionary vanguard in West Germany. The Trotzkistische Liga Deutschlands (TLD—Trotskyist League of Germany), section of the international Spartacist tendency, has actively protested both "anti-radical" and "anti-terrorist" witchhunt laws, stressing that the task it not to reform the capitalist state (as Maoists maintain), but to "fight for a common defense front of all components of the workers movement against the attacks of the bourgeoisie" (*Kommunistische Korrespondenz*, April 1976).

The TLD calls for the abolition of all the reactionary, anti-communist laws (KPD ban, emergency laws, "anti-radical decree," "anti-terrorist law," etc.). In addition it demands that paramilitary repressive police ("border" police, mobile tactical squads) be disbanded and calls for the formation of united workers militias. Only by fighting for proletarian revolution can the workers defend and extend their democratic rights—Forward to a workers government and a socialist united states of Europe! ■

# Racist Mob Attacks Anti-Nazi Marchers in Chicago

CHICAGO, July 18—A bloodthirsty horde of over 1,000 racists assaulted a racially mixed open-housing march as it entered the Nazi Party's Marquette Park "turf" Saturday afternoon. The racists had apparently prepared well for the brutal assault, with stockpiles of missiles accumulated in alleyways. From the moment marchers crossed the railroad tracks which separate the black area from the white, they were pelted with bricks and bottles by the racist punks, who cheered each time they struck their target.

Proceeding along the several blocks to the park, the marchers were subjected to a hail of jagged glass and concrete accompanied by screams of "white power!" and "nigger, go home!" And as they approached the rally site itself, they were met by a mob of 10,000 racists. The ensuing mob terror resulted in the hospitalization of 32 marchers and cops.

The march was the culmination of a month-long effort by the liberal religious/pacifist Martin Luther King, Jr. Movement to obtain a police permit for a march through the racist stronghold. Apparently relying on the Chicago cops for protection, the 100 or so protesters—among them supporters of the Revolutionary Socialist League, International Socialists, National Student Coalition Against Racism (NSCAR), Youth Against War and Fascism, and New American Movement—found themselves confronted by a lynch mob which vastly outnumbered protesters and cops combined.

The confidence which some of Saturday's marchers place in the cops was illustrated by the naive and foolhardy attempt of four or five NSCAR supporters to organize a peaceful picket line directly in front of the rock throwers. They were immediately forced back into the mainstream of the march by a hail of missiles.

Although 63 arrests were made, the hundreds of cops (police officials claim 400 cops were on the scene as soon as the violence started, though marchers estimated half that many), at no point provided adequate protection for the marchers. In fact, two blacks who defended themselves from the assailants were also arrested. The labor movement must demand that all charges against the marchers be dropped immediately!

In the last three months as racial violence has been escalating in Chicago, Daley's racists-in-blue have shown time and again that their target is not the white hoodlums, but the black protesters. While the Communist Party (CP), Communist Labor Party, Socialist Workers Party and other reformists have called on Mayor Daley to protect black people, the Spartacist League has ceaselessly warned that such illusory "protection" was a dangerous set-up.

Only the formation of labor/black defense guards based on the large and well-integrated trade-union movement here can adequately protect the black masses from racist terror and enforce open housing in the southwest Marquette Park area, as elsewhere. The attempted substitution of a handful of blacks and leftists for the necessary organized, massive, labor-centered response, while demonstrating personal courage, is less than futile—it is self-defeating. In overpowering the small demonstration, "police protection" and all, the racist hoods have scored a victory in their reactionary campaign of mob terror against black people in Chicago.

Last month, the Labor Struggle Caucus of UAW Local 6 (International Harvester) in Melrose Park introduced a motion calling for a labor-sponsored mass mobilization against the race terror. This motion was defeated by a CP-inspired plea for Mayor Daley to protect the black community. Yesterday's brutal assault is a good illustration of the dangerous consequences of relying on the guardians of bourgeois "law and order" for protection. The Chicago labor movement must be mobilized to enforce open housing rights for minorities and teach the racist punks a lesson about democratic rights! ■


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### Statement to Court by ÖBL Spokesman Kurt Weissenböck

## "I Demand Comrade Dorner Be Declared Innocent!"

We are accused of offending "the common sense of justice" by defending anti-imperialist fighters.

"The common sense of justice" is such a broad, indeterminate, malleable conception that it is necessary to clarify it with two small quotations.

> "Arrests, torture and murder are on the agenda in Iran. Even the international human-rights organization Amnesty International in the 1975 annual report of its central office lists the number of political prisoners in Iran, one of the most criminal regimes in the world, at 50,000 to 100,000."
> —*Iran Report* Extra, February 1976

As the court is no doubt aware, Iranian interior minister Amouzegar was one of the most prominent kidnapped OPEC ministers.

> "Reports on tortures of various types were published. The methods described concerned lashes with a metal whip heated white-hot with electrical current, burning with cigarettes and the insertion of broken bottles into anal passages of the victims. Physical injury of close relatives was also reported (rape of a wife in the presence of her husband and whipping a child in the presence of the mother)."
> —*Iran Report*, December 1975

Amouzegar...bears direct or indirect responsibility for all these deeds....

A barricade has only two sides, and those who do not stand on the side of the oppressed masses stand on the side of the oppressors.

The side of the oppressors is the side of Amouzegar, and of the Indonesian terror regime [another OPEC nation]. According to Amnesty International, Indonesia is the country with the most political prisoners, a country where for the last decade tens of thousands have languished in concentration camps. It is also the side of Saudi Arabia, a country where chopping off heads and hands is part of the normal judicial methods. This is also the side of the Austrian bourgeoisie!

There is no "common sense of justice": there is a sense of justice of the ruling class and a sense of justice of the working class. The broken windows of Iberia Airlines offended the sense of justice of the bourgeoisie. In contrast, the terror of the Franco regime in Spain injured the sense of justice of the working class. That the war criminal Nixon has not been put on trial offends the sense of justice of the working class. The list is endless.

These men should be put on trial, but before the court of a workers government. Bourgeois courts are not offended by their kind of terror. Quite the contrary!..

Attacks such as were carried out by the Arm of the Arab Revolution group are the reply of a handful of desperate people to massive White terror. Such acts of desperation of misled people will continue to occur as long as bourgeois terror is not smashed by the seizure of power by the working class.

Therefore I demand that Comrade Dorner be declared innocent!

## OBL...

*(continued from page 4)*

clearly state that she held the ÖBL guilty of Paragraph 282, even though she refused to allow testimony on this question. "Freedom of expression," the judge declared airily, "means that one can express his opinion freely." She went on: "But there are limits." These limits, she said, are where an insult is made or the common sense of justice is offended. The accused and co-defendant are wrong, said the judge: there is no such thing as a sense of justice divided into that of the bourgeoisie and that of the working class, but rather a single sense of justice, the sense of justice of mankind—ethics.

It is not surprising that the Austrian authorities systematically sought to obscure the political basis of the trial, for Paragraph 282 (the censorship law) is derived from an earlier law of the first Austrian republic which was extensively used under the clerical-fascist regime of Schussnig during the 1930's. In 1936 an Austrian Trotskyist, Friedrich Neischer, was convicted under this law for articles appearing in the clandestine newspaper *Der Bolschewik*.

The state's main interest in the 1936 trial was to convict Neischer of high treason, for which the punishment was life imprisonment. The original judges disagreed, but did take objection to every conceivable type of revolutionary propaganda. Their verdict cites with wide-eyed incredulity such "offensive" and "shocking" statements in *Der Bolschewik* as:

> "the brown[Nazi]-infested judiciary and police are lusting to pounce upon the proletarian revolutionaries; all capitalist countries are robbers and mortal enemies of the workers, and therefore the universal slogan: the enemy is at home; the Communists and Social Democrats had better recognize that all their deferential petitions to the government, their bowing and scraping and begging for democratic rights, only demonstrate to the class enemy the impotence of the workers; the bourgeoisie won't be assuaged, it is necessary to go for the jugular; democratic rights can only be won back through revolutionary struggle."

Reviling such "crass" expressions as "going for the jugular," "life-and-death class struggle" and slogans such as, "Down with Austria! We shall organize the defeat of our country! Dictatorship of the proletariat!" the court held that the press law was violated because "revolution is affirmed as a positive goal." Later, the appeals court also found Neischer guilty of high treason.

With this unsavory legal precedent the present authorities prefer to mask their censorship in a purely "technical" garb, refusing to allow the defendants to justify and explain their views which are under prosecution. That Kreisky Socialists must rely on precedents derived from the clerical-fascist regime is a telling indictment of the reactionary anti-working-class character of social democracy's smug "welfare state" capitalism. We call on all socialists and defenders of democratic liberties to denounce the conviction of Comrade Dorner and demand that the charges against her and the ÖBL be immediately dropped! ■


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# Hospital Strike...

*continued on page 12*

be an attack on the public. By refusing to build mass, effective picket lines that would shut down the hospitals and quickly bring the employers to their knees, Davis and his sidekick Moe Foner consciously sabotaged the strike, exposing weakened picket lines to repeated police attacks.

One of the disputed issues that held up the agreement to arbitrate was the question of amnesty. The union initially called for a guarantee that none of the strikers would be victimized by the hospitals. This demand was simply thrown away. Under the settlement, the hospitals reserved the right to discipline any arrested strikers "convicted of crimes." By refusing to defend the victims of police assaults, Davis is not only abandoning individual militants,

WV Photo

**Local 1199 president Leon Davis addressing rally outside Madison Square Garden last week.**

but is clearly establishing a precedent that will no doubt inhibit picket line militancy in the future.

Ironically, the union's key "demand" of binding arbitration is precisely what hospital workers fought for years to avoid. Until 1974, when the National Labor Relations Act was revised to legalize strikes by hospital workers, arbitration was compulsory. Thus, the eight-day 1199 strike in 1973 was illegal. In 1974 the new federal law ending compulsory arbitration was hailed by Davis & Co. as a great victory. This year, however, Davis voluntarily embraces the arbitration procedure!

The most disgusting capitulation on the left to this sellout came from the ex-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP), the new cheerleaders for the "progressive" wing of the trade-union bureaucracy. Last week they merely termed arbitration "risky." This week, in the 23 July *Militant*, the SWP embraced the bureaucracy's line lock, stock and barrel, asserting that by agreeing to binding arbitration, the employers will be "giving in on these key demands" of the union!

But the 1199 strike was not a victory—*it was a defeat*. In the last analysis, this defeat is attributable to the union leadership. The Davis bureaucracy—like its counterparts in NYC's municipal labor unions—is fundamentally unwilling to challenge the city/state fiscal austerity program, which is designed for the benefit of the bankers and capitalists.

The 1199 strike did not directly confront such wage-freezing bodies as the Emergency Financial Control Board. This fact helps explain part of the reason why Davis can appear more "militant" than leaders of the transit workers, teachers, municipal hospital workers, etc. However, the NYC fiscal crisis did have a direct impact on the 1199 strike. The stubbornness of the so-called "private" voluntary hospitals arose precisely from the fact that state Medicaid subsidies have been frozen. (And by state law, this means that Blue Cross rates cannot go up either.)

A victory for 1199 would have entailed linking up with the city labor movement to smash the capitalist austerity program. The voluntary hospitals should be taken over by the city and free medical care provided to all. A joint strike of 1199 and AFSCME, representing municipal hospital workers, should have been waged to secure more jobs, through a shorter workweek at no loss in pay, and a substantial wage increase for union members. Rather than closing down facilities, as city rulers project, new hospitals and clinics must be constructed to provide quality health services.

But even when Davis called out 5,000 District 1199 workers who are employed at municipal hospitals, he made no attempt to appeal for solidarity from AFSCME-represented city hospital workers. Like Gotbaum, Shanker and Guinan, Davis/Foner fundamentally accept the confines of the fiscal straitjacket imposed on NYC by the financial czars and corporate bosses. 1199 members will take no real steps forward until these pro-capitalist "progressive" labor fakers are replaced by a genuine class-struggle leadership. ■

# Air Traffic Control...

*(continued from page 7)*

> lers guided by pure racism. Since they have traditional weight in numbers it was easy for them to sow confusion about our demands by conjuring up the fake problem of air safety. All over the world, except in Quebec, the language of the country is the prime language in air communications. What we want is nothing more than this fundamental right."
>
> *Globe and Mail* [Toronto], 30 June

Nationalist parochialism to the contrary, throughout the world the "language of air communications"—which is not a language at all, but rather a technical lexicon of a few hundred words—is based on English. The use of a uniform terminology is imposed by the requirements of the internationally integrated, technically sophisticated aviation industry. That the lingua franca of commercial aviation is English is due to the historic dominance of the U.S. in international commercial aviation.

The Montreal-based International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO), the internationally recognized body for setting civil aviation standards, has established a uniform vocabulary based on English for air traffic control. This specialized jargon is the standard medium for all official communications between pilot and airport of all signatory countries. Thus the predominance of English in Quebec air space has nothing to do with English-Canadian chauvinism.

The strongest proof that CATCA/CALPA struck over a real safety issue is the support that their stand against bilingualism in the air has received from the international pilots' union. At its convention last April, the International Federation of Airline Pilots' Associations passed a resolution, introduced by the *Swiss* pilots' group, which expressed "shock and dismay" at the Canadian government for "creating a non-standard, bilingual air traffic control system...that represents an ominous step backward in air safety" (*Globe and Mail*, 8 July). The pilots of Switzerland (a country whose three native languages do not include English) can hardly be charged with English-Canadian chauvinism.

Some countries, such as France and Spain, do allow for air traffic control in the native language—as well as in the international language of aviation, English. But other major non-English-speaking nations—the Scandinavian countries, West Germany, Austria, Holland, Switzerland, Israel have established English as the sole language of air traffic control. The Canadian air traffic controllers' position was summed up by CALPA president Kenneth Maley: "Why go for a second class air safety situation when we already have a first class safety situation using the language of the air—English?" (*Toronto Sun*, 27 June).

A widely reported incident highlighting the importance of language in air safety was a collision between an Iberia jet and a Spantax charter flight near Nantes, France, on 5 March 1973, during a strike by French air controllers. The French government attempted to break the strike by the use of army air controllers. According to the findings of a subsequent investigating commission, a contributing factor was that one of the scabs "used a term of international phraseology wrongly" (*Aviation Week*, 31 March 1975).

Thus the safety question and the need for a single, standard lexicon of air traffic control are not bogus issues. The CALPA and CATCA strikes for air safety are supportable by class-struggle unionists.

The philistine nationalism of Gens de l'Air led Quebec pilots to scab on the CATCA/CALPA strike. There are three major issues to be defended in that strike: safety and the importance of international communications; the right to bargain over safety conditions; and the defense of trade unionism over provincial/national parochialism. On all these issues the Quebec nationalists sided with the strikebreaking Trudeau government and objectively strengthened the capitalists against the union movement.

## For Language Rights for the Québecois!

The air traffic control dispute takes place in the context of the inflamed national antagonisms between English-speaking Canadians and the nationally oppressed Québecois. The Trudeau government's policy is liberal reform. Some of its measures are simply tokenism, similar to the required labeling of all food products in both English and French. But others have provoked bitter opposition.

The 1969 "Official Languages Act" specifies that education and government services must be provided in both English and French where required. This supportable democratic reform is the target of opposition from many quarters. The measure is viewed as a nuisance by many—for example, civil servants who now find themselves obliged to go back to school and learn French as a precondition for promotion. Arrogant English-Canadian chauvinists have vowed to reverse the government's commitment to bilingualism. Extreme Quebec nationalists have been equally vociferous in opposing language rights for minorities within the province, counterposing the exclusive use of French in Quebec (see "Language Controversy in Quebec," *WV* No. 50, 2 August 1974).

There can be no doubt that the air traffic control dispute has intersected rampant insensitivity to the oppression of the Québecois and outright English-Canadian chauvinism. The bureaucracies of the aviation unions have been far from guiltless in this regard. For example, CATCA president Jim Livingston refused to sign the last contract with the Quebec Association because it was in French, an act of insufferable national arrogance.

Revolutionists must uncompromisingly combat any manifestation of anti-Québecois chauvinism associated with the stand of the aviation unions, counterposing cross-Canada workers' unity on the basis of a resolute struggle for the rights of the most oppressed. The unity of the Canadian workers movement requires support for the principle of bilingualism. Concretely this means that the Québecois must be able to work, receive an education and deal with government bodies in their native language.

But the argument that unilingual air traffic control discriminates against the Québecois in the aviation industry is phony. A Québecois pilot landing in Brazil, just as an Iranian pilot landing in France or a German pilot landing in Sweden, must be able to communicate in standard terminology with the airport, as well as comprehend the instructions being issued to other aircraft in the vicinity.

Consequently, Marxists support a single international lexicon of air traffic control. The addition of a second language is an element of confusion with potentially fatal consequences. Requiring air controllers to use the standard English air communication terminology is no more inherently discriminatory than requiring programmers working on a Fortran computer system to master the Fortran "language." Insofar as the use of English gives English-Canadians a natural edge for aviation jobs, Leninists must demand that the government provide special assistance for French Canadians to enable them to become pilots and controllers.

## Leninism vs. Nationalism on the Language Question

Lenin insisted that Marxists recognize "no privileges for any one nation or any one language." He advocated equality of languages in multi-national states, recognizing that only on the basis of the struggle for equality of nations could proletarian unity be forged. The issue of language rights is particularly important in the case of Quebec, since it is the French language more than any other single factor which distinguishes the Québecois as a nation.

Lenin insisted that support to the national rights of a people is meaningless without the recognition in principle of the right to self-determination—i.e., the right to secede and form an independent nation-state. The Quebec nationalists' demand for French unilingualism in Quebec demonstrates their willingness to sacrifice the fight against oppression of French-speakers throughout Canada in exchange for the "right" to impose French in one province. This position has profoundly reactionary consequences, in effect linguistically ghettoizing Quebec and depriving French speakers in the province of any access to English, the dominant language of the North American political economy.

Lenin recognized that the development of the means of production drives toward the assimilation of nationalities:

> "Developing capitalism knows two historical tendencies in the national question. The first is the awakening of national life and national movements, the struggle against all national oppression, and the creation of national states. The second is the development and growing frequency of international intercourse in every form, the breakdown of national barriers, the creation of the international unity of capital, of economic life in general, of politics, of science, etc.... The latter characterises a mature capitalism that is moving towards its transformation into socialist society."
>
> V. I. Lenin, *Critical Remarks on the National Question*, 1913

The tendency toward internationalization is most pronounced in industries, such as air travel, which embody the most advanced development of technology under capitalism. International conventions and the standardization of equipment and procedures are a fact of life for the aviation industry. The bilingual policy which is suitable for the labeling of pickle jars is inapplicable to international air travel. The use of English as the lingua franca of air traffic control prefigures the development of a common world language under socialism. It foreshadows the immense leap in international technological development which will take place when the productive forces are freed from the shackles of private ownership and the nation-state by world proletarian revolution. ■

# S.F. Strike Accounting...

*(continued from page 7)*

these traitors." Picking up on the theme a bit later in the letter, he adds: "No unity of action with the union hacks!"

This sectarian adventurism is the flip side of PL's economist reformism. While the labor bureaucracy is a transmission belt for bourgeois ideology and acts as the agent of the class enemy, it cannot be simply equated to the bourgeoisie. A political break from the labor fakers is indeed necessary, but deserting the unions ("no unity of action") in order to circumvent the rotten leadership is a dead-end policy.

That is just what PL did during the S.F. city workers strike. At the crucial Transport Workers Union (TWU) drivers meeting which gave city unions a 72-hour deadline to organize a general strike, PL supporters in MUNI leafleted the meeting *and then disappeared*! The TWU Local 250A bureaucracy can't be defeated by kowtowing to it, but neither will it be ousted by ignoring the labor fakers.

### Not Phony "Self-Criticism," But a Revolutionary Program

While the letter writer is unable to escape from the vicious circle of reformism and sectarianism, the editors of *Challenge* can do little to enlighten him. Their comment glibly concedes that PL's work in the strike had weaknesses, "such as the failure to recognize the sell-out union leaders as obstacles that have to be destroyed [!!!] and to prepare to organize the strike independent of them." The editors also "agree with the criticism of our failure to mobilize mass strike support."

PL's trade-union work has constantly oscillated between a policy of "left-center coalitions," in which the "left" (PL) capitulates to the "center" (would-be labor fakers on the make), and a policy of out-and-out sectarian adventurism. This time the main thrust of the author's criticism is directed against right opportunism. But such phony "criticism/self-criticism" episodes have occurred countless times in the past without making a dent in PL's fundamental politics.

That PL is evidently incapable of learning anything is proven by the editors' assessment of the strike. *Challenge* disagrees with the writer's estimate that the strike ended in defeat, sermonizing that while the "reform demands, essentially, were lost," the workers got stronger politically! This is hogwash. Inability to recognize the very fact of the rout indicates a bottomless capacity for wishful thinking and self-delusion, rivaled only by the CP, which declared the strike settlement a victory. Revolutionaries must not shrink from saying what is, even if the truth is unpleasant.

A careful examination of the events of the San Francisco strike reveals near-total incapacity of the CP and PL to either understand or act upon basic facts in the class struggle. In contrast, the Spartacist League and its supporters in the trade unions conducted systematic, energetic and all-sided propaganda and agitation during the strike—explaining the issues, calling for broadening and deepening the mobilization into a general strike, warning of the union bureaucrats' treachery and calling for democratically elected strike committees to lead the struggle.

Class-struggle militants in several unions attempted to bring delegations of city workers to meetings of their unions to explain the issues of the strike and bring their unions out in solidarity with the striking city workers. Several public forums were sponsored by the SL, while its youth section, the SYL, was active on campuses building support for the strike among students. This was a crucial activity, since in the event of a general strike the campuses would be (and historically have been) a natural reservoir of scab labor. SLers and SYLers also marched on the picket lines.

We do not, of course, expect either PL or the CP to draw revolutionary conclusions from the events of the April-May San Francisco city craft workers strike. We do, however, hope that after careful study some of their disillusioned supporters will see the validity of our conclusions, turn their backs on Stalinist reformism and join with us in fighting to build a Trotskyist party that can truly show the way to break from class collaboration and clear the road to workers revolution. ■

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# Argentina...

*(continued from page 2)*

two weeks in office by "old guard" police officials indicated another defeat for "civilized" reactionary Videla in his battle against the "hardliners."

### Austerity and Denationalizations

Aside from the more direct austerity measures that are impoverishing the Argentine masses in order to restore the profitability of the economy, the junta is moving rapidly to resolve long-standing disputes with U.S. and European corporations whose subsidiaries were nationalized by the Peronist regime.

Meanwhile, intersecting the program of the *gorilas* and the activities of the paramilitary terror squads is a thriving fascist movement that is inundating the country with pro-Nazi propaganda. Thus the reactionary offensive extends to all domains simultaneously. As the present regime abandons the anti-imperialist pretenses and nationalist half measures of its predecessor, it attempts to systematize the repression. The death penalty has not only been reinstated, but it must now be carried out within 48 hours, with no appeal. And, taking Brazilian laws as a model, the junta is now considering a special court with jurisdiction over actions during the Peronist interlude which although not actually illegal are considered "irregular" by the military.

Unfortunately for Stalinist class collaborators who are perpetually on the prowl for an "anti-imperialist" bourgeoisie or "constitutionalist" officers—in this case most prominently the Argentine Communist Party which actually greeted the coup by saluting the junta's "respect for representative democracy"—within the political spectrum of Argentina's armed forces the most "progressive" officers happen to be none other than Videla & Co. And the inimitable "hardliner" General Benjamin Menendez, commander of the third army corps in Córdoba and believed to head the Comando Libertadores de América (a paramilitary death squad modeled on the AAA), stated the power relationship between "moderates" and "hawks" quite succintly: "While Videla governs, I kill" (*Latin America*, 18 June).

As the shamefaced Stalinists try to hide their treachery, Trotskyists must take the lead in mounting an international campaign of working-class protest against the savage butchery of the Argentine junta. Stop the rightist terror—Free all class-war prisoners in Argentina! Break with Peronism, guerrillaism and Stalinism—For a Trotskyist party in Argentina! Smash the bloody junta through workers revolution! ■

# Washington Post

*(continued from page 12)*

number of union jobs in the trade, combined with the *Post*-instigated blacklist, has made the plight of the strikers increasingly desperate. Union sources indicate that one *Post* pressman has committed suicide and two others made attempts on their lives.

From the beginning, management has used the damage to the presses as the basis for a massive anti-union propaganda campaign. The *Post* systematically exaggerated the extent of the damage. Originally it claimed $2 million, then lowered it to $269,225. However, as Local 6 has pointed out, the bill for replacement of press parts amounted to only $13,000!

On Thursday, a newly formed Local 6 Legal Defense Committee held a press conference to denounce the grand jury investigation, which subpoenaed more than 80 pressmen as part of a fishing expedition to victimize strike militants and a conspiracy to destroy printing trades unionism at the *Post*. In a press statement, Defense Committee chairman John Hanrahan, a *Post* editor who is honoring the pressmen's picket lines, was quoted as saying:

> "Earl Silbert didn't find that conspiracy because it didn't exist ... The millions of dollars of pressroom damage which the *Post* trumpeted in the crucial early weeks of the strike was a propaganda straw man designed to hide its anti-union tactics and win public sympathy by painting pressmen as a pack of violent thugs."

An indication that Graham's anti-union crusade extends to militants of *all* the unions representing her employees was the 16 July *Washington Post* account of the defense committee press conference. The article referred to Hanrahan, who was defeated by scab leader Don Baker, in this year's election for chairman of the Newspaper Guild unit at the *Post*, as "*formerly* a Post state editor" (our emphasis).

All union militants must come to the defense of the embattled pressmen. Marxists do not, of course, advocate individual sabotage as a class-struggle strategy. Rather than temporarily damaging a few presses, class-struggle unionists would call for militant mass picket lines and occupying the plant in order to shut down production. (In this context, as in the famous Flint UAW action in 1936, the threat of extensive damage to capital equipment has been

Susan T. McElhinney/Newsweek

**Damaged presses at Washington Post last October.**

an effective weapon in defending a sit-down strike against police assault.) At the *Post* it was the failure of the union leaderships, including that of Local 6, to implement such militant policies that was responsible for the defeat of the strike.

But the federal indictments are a vicious persecution of desperate workers with their backs to the wall who attempted to wage a militant defense of their threatened jobs. All unionists must vigorously defend the victimized militants who are being prosecuted in the bosses' courts for attacking capital! There must be no quarter given in this battle; those who remain silent are guilty of aiding and abetting *Post* scabherding. *Any* prosecution of the pressmen, including on "lesser" or "more reasonable" charges, must be sharply opposed!

The Local 6 Legal Defense Committee has begun a national campaign to raise funds for the victimized militants. However, in the past the pressmen's union has received little more than backstabbing from the rest of organized labor. Local 6 workers told *WV* that even the IGPCU International has given the Local very little support and that it is not backing the Local's legal suits against the blacklisting, as well as hinting that the picket lines must come down. This despicable sabotage of labor solidarity by the sellout union bureaucracy must be halted and a broad mobilization of labor initiated to defend the pressmen.

Drop all charges against the *Post* pressmen! Smash the lockout—Full reinstatement of Local 6 pressmen and all other victimized militants! ■

# Drop the Charges!
# For A Class-Struggle Labor Defense of Endangered Post Strikers!

On July 19 the Partisan Defense Committee (PDC) sent the following telegram protesting the grand jury indictment of seven *Washington Post* pressmen on frame-up charges stemming from alleged sabotage of *Post* presses at the beginning of the bitter, nine-month-old strike:

**Local 6 Legal Defense Committee**
**1300 Massachusetts Avenue N.W., Room 101**
**Washington, D.C. 20006**

**The Partisan Defense Committee stands in full solidarity with IGPCU Local 6 against the vicious union-busting conspiracy of the Washington Post and U.S. Attorney Earl Silbert. The felony indictments of pressmen not only threaten the continued existence of Local 6 but also constitute a provocation directed at the entire labor movement. We demand that all charges against the pressmen be dropped immediately! We further demand an end to the Post lockout of Local 6 and call for the full reinstatement with back pay of the striking pressmen and their supporters.**

**Partisan Defense Committee**

The PDC urges readers of *WV* to send donations and messages of support to the Local 6 Legal Defense Committee at the above address.

WORKERS VANGUARD

## Binding Arbitration Equals Defeat

# 1199 Tops Call Off Militant NYC Hospital Strike

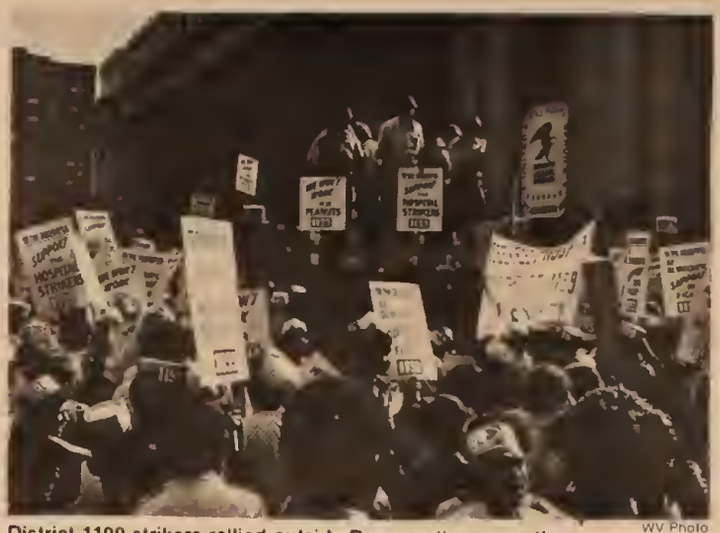
JULY 17—The strike of 40,000 hospital workers ended today when management accepted the demand of District 1199 of the National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees for binding arbitration. The agreement came about through the intermediary of Democratic governor Hugh Carey, who had threatened to cut off state subsidies unless the hospitals accepted the arbitration procedure.

While the 1199 leadership claims a victory, the settlement guarantees that hospital workers will receive at most a minimal wage increase, and probably nothing else. A federal mediation team had earlier recommended a 6 percent cost-of-living pay hike. Since union and management agreed that the arbitrator would consider the recommendations not only of this federal fact-finding panel, but also the "financial plight" of the hospitals, even the paltry 6 percent figure will undoubtedly be slashed.

Moreover, the hospitals are still claiming that they have absolutely no money for a wage increase. William Abelow, chief negotiator for the League of Voluntary Hospitals, the employers' organization, threatened that any arbitration award which created new costs would "raise the prospect of layoffs and cutbacks in services" (*New York Post*, 17 July). Since the new contract does nothing to increase job security for hospital workers, this is a distinct possibility.

The 11-day hospital strike was the most bitterly fought strike in NYC in quite a while. Over 130 picketers were arrested in the course of the strike. Numbers of hospital workers were beaten by cops and charges of police brutality, protesting assaults on arrested picketers inside police stations, have been filed.

There was considerable bitterness within the 1199 ranks over how the strike was conducted. Formally, the union appealed to nurses and doctors not to cross picket lines. In practice nothing was done to prevent them from scabbing. Even more galling, specially recruited scabs, the so-called "volunteers," were frequently let through the lines by the union bureaucracy. At one major hospital, Mount Sinai, the chairman of the strike committee resigned in the midst of the strike, citing refusal of the union leaders to back up an earlier membership decision to keep out the "volunteers" and protesting the bureaucrats' arrogant ripping up of petitions demanding that this policy be implemented.



District 1199 strikers rallied outside Democratic convention. WV Photo

Throughout the strike the union was subjected to the usual capitalist propaganda accusing it of callous disregard for the health of patients. The liberal mouthpiece of U.S. finance capital, the *New York Times* (8 July), haughtily denounced the 1199 action as a "strike against the sick." (It is, of course, Wall Street and their flunkies such as New York mayor Beame who have been dictating cutbacks in medical service and closings of city hospitals over the recent period!) But 1199 president Leon Davis in fact accepted the bosses' proposition that a militant strike would

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## Vindictive Federal Prosecution Threatens Printing Trades

# Seven Washington Post Pressmen Face 160 Years in Prison

Daily World

Striking pressmen picketing last October.

JULY 19—A vicious witchhunting attack has been initiated against striking *Washington Post* pressmen belonging to Local 6 of the International Printing and Graphic Communications Union (IPGCU). After a nine-month investigation by the office of U.S. attorney Earl Silbert into the widely publicized "destruction" of *Post* presses when the strike began October 1, on Wednesday a federal grand jury handed down felony indictments charging seven pressmen with offenses ranging from rioting, inciting to riot and destruction of property to grand larceny. Four of the seven were also charged with assaulting a foreman. Several of the charges carry a maximum sentence of ten years and between the seven victims of this union-busting frame-up they face a total of at least 160 years in prison! According to Silbert, additional indictments are expected this week.

The criminal prosecution is the latest of several vicious blows suffered by the *Post* pressmen. The Washington daily's liberal publisher Kathryn Graham made it very clear early in the strike that management was out to break the pressmen's union. In a July 15 press statement, IPGCU Local 6 president Everett Forseman said that the *Post* had "planned for several years to replace us." They first "brought in a union-busting management team and then proceeded to violate our contract time and time again, trained scabs to take over our jobs and mounted a campaign to strip us of our dignity and take away our livelihood."

Graham never even pretended to bargain seriously with Local 6. the *Post*'s "final offer" would have, among other things, reduced a quarter of the pressmen to part-time status and simply eliminated strong union safeguards against arbitrary changing of shop-floor practices by management. When the union rejected this offer in December, *Post* spokesmen announced that the strikers were being permanently replaced by scabs. In February the other *Post* draft unions, which had heretofore respected the picket lines, returned to work, crossing the pressmen's lines and abandoning their fellow workers in the face of the company lockout.

In the press release, Forseman stated, "The *Post* hired a fancy public relations firm, ordered 60 scabs from a newspaper scab school in Oklahoma, engineered a nationwide blacklist against Local 6 members and began using the legal system and media to finish the job it started." The blacklist has been highly effective, depriving the *Post* pressmen of virtually all job opportunities.

Over the past ten years, the newspaper barons have waged a relentless struggle against union pressmen. In fact, a third of the striking *Post* pressmen had been ousted from previous jobs by publishers who brought in non-union labor. The rapidly shrinking

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WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

No. 120 30 July 1976

## Shut Down Auto to Back Rubber Strikers!

# No-Strike Woodcock Offers Bargain to Auto Bosses

### UAW Chief Angles for Carter Cabinet Post

DETROIT—Fresh from a week of convention hobnobbing with Democratic politicos, United Auto Workers (UAW) president Leonard Woodcock returned to Detroit last week filled with the spirit of "Love thine enemy" reconciliation. At General Motors headquarters July 19, Woodcock kicked off the 1976 round of auto negotiations by extending a warm handclasp to GM's top negotiator George Morris. In succeeding days the ceremony was repeated at Ford, Chrysler and American Motors. With the universal exultation of the bourgeois media over the best prospect of a "strike-free settlement" in over a decade, Woodcock is charting the UAW on a course toward its biggest sellout in recent memory. His reward, hopes the UAW chief, could be a cabinet seat for himself in the administration of Georgia peanut boss Jimmy Carter.

While UAW piecards and GM honchos exchanged pleasantries, evidence of Woodcock's treachery was nearby. Hundreds of UAW members, mostly pensioners, demonstrated outside for a shorter workweek and a cost-of-living (c-o-l) escalator for retirees, demands that Woodcock has already said he has no intention of raising. And only a few miles away, rubber workers at Detroit's huge Uniroyal plant entered their fourth month of picketing in a nationwide strike that has been cruelly prolonged by the UAW's continued handling of struck, stockpiled and imported tires.

Tony Spina/Detroit Free Press

**Woodcock (center) hobnobs with candidate Carter (left) and auto boss Henry Ford in Detroit last month.**

In the months prior to the formal opening of negotiations, the UAW hierarchy has already made starkly clear that it offers no gains from its gentlemanly game of collective bargaining. Emerging from a series of pre-negotiation conferences capped by the special bargaining convention in March was a "bargaining program" which asks for *zero* from the bosses. Unlike past negotiations which have focused on particular gains such as a c-o-l escalator, "30 and out," health benefits, etc., this time UAW tops are telling the ranks that they will get *nothing* in the way of protection from speed-up, layoffs and inflation—and they had better lump it.

### Woodcock's Cabinet Post vs. Auto Workers' Needs

Woodcock's toadying to Jimmy Carter has added an additional personalist rationale for betrayal of the UAW ranks. Woodcock shares with the rest of labor officialdom a fervent desire to avoid at all costs any labor strife that could jeopardize the Democratic contender's election possibilities or force Carter into the awkward position of wooing workers votes while denouncing a major strike. But Woodcock's early rallying to Carter, which included covering up for the candidate's nauseating racist defense of neighborhood "ethnic purity," and his leadership of the "Labor Coalition Clearinghouse" that swung several crucial primaries to Carter, puts him near the front of the line to collect a cabinet-level I.O.U. Woodcock has already been mentioned in the Carter inner circle for the secretaryship of Labor or Health, Education and Welfare.

To step into direct government service for the bourgeoisie rather than retiring to draft lackluster memoirs (per the UAW constitution he must retire by 1977) is a morsel Woodcock yearns for and will swallow a lot to get. And he has already. Despite campaign cosmetics and a kept-liberal vice presidential candidate, Carter is no Humphrey, and also much less likely to throw crumbs to the unions than the usual treacherous Democratic "friend of labor."

While Carter espoused his personal opposition to busing and abortion and claimed that state "right-to-work" (open-shop) laws "suit me fine," Woodcock-directed UAW delegates at the Democratic convention played instrumental roles in beating down the few dissident feminists, blacks and McGovernite liberals who mildly balked at such reactionary views. From

*continued on page 8*

# Diplomatic Games at the Olympics

With their usual bad taste, the television commentators work to turn the dramatic performances at the Olympics into fuel for the flames of national chauvinism. They deluge the telecasts with maudlin "human interest" stories about American and West European athletes and discuss with patronizing paternalism or barely concealed hostility the feats of athletes from the economically backward capitalist countries or the "Soviet bloc." They gloat over U.S. medals with the arrogance of Vietnam war "hawks" measuring the "kill ratio." Between seemingly endless commercials for fast food and fast cars, some of the finest athletes in the world compete for recognition of their talents and their years of back-breaking work, while governments seek to exploit their achievements for cheap patriotic propaganda and petty diplomatic maneuvers.

"Politics are destroying the Olympics," was the cry of many as Taiwan walked out because the Canadian host government refused to allow it to compete under the banner of the "Republic of China," and 23 black African states (plus Guyana and Iraq) withdrew to protest the New Zealand rugby team's current tour of South Africa. But the world of sports—like the vastly more important fields of science and the arts—cannot avoid being commercialized and twisted to mirror the national chauvinism of the political world dominated by the degenerate bourgeois order in the epoch of capitalist decay.

The state of Taiwan was created through the flight of Chiang Kai-shek and his hangers-on from Mao's victorious peasant army in 1949. Now ruled by the Generalissimo's son, the island contains an oppressed native minority population which is not ethnically Chinese. In any case, the "Republic of China" exists solely by virtue of the U.S. Seventh Fleet.

The International Olympic Committee's recognition of the "Republic of China" is a carryover from the U.S.-engineered diplomatic isolation of Mao's regime during the 1950's. This situation certainly does not conform to present-day diplomatic protocols or current American foreign policy. Once Maoist China replaced Taiwan in the UN Security Council in 1971, it was a matter of time before the People's Republic gained similar status in all international bodies. It is only the incredible backwardness of the Olympic Committee, particularly the Victorian mentality of Avery Brundage and his successor Lord Killinan, which accounts for the continued presence of the "Republic of China."

If the row over Taiwan was a diplomatic tempest in a teapot, the protest against South Africa, through New Zealand, was more significant. Unlike Taiwan, South Africa is an important ally of American imperialism, which is committed to countering the diplomatic isolation of Pretoria's racist butchers. Accordingly, the American delegation threatened to walk out if the Olympic Committee caved in to the demand for sanctions against New Zealand.

For the New Zealand rugby team (which is partly government-subsidized) to tour South Africa immediately after the Soweto massacre, especially in the face of protests demanding cancellation of the trip, was in effect an act of solidarity with the Vorster regime, even if motivated merely by a philistine commitment to business as usual. But barring the New Zealand Olympic delegation (which has no relation to the rugby team) is an arbitrary and unconvincing way to condemn the foreign supporters of the executioners of Soweto.

In the past weeks, two dozen South African tennis players competed at Wimbledon in England, and Russian and West German athletes shared the winners' platform with a South African at the world trampoline championships

*continued on page 11*

# All Labor Must Defend Indicted Washington Post Pressmen!

The Local 6 Legal Defense Committee of the International Printing and Graphic Communications Union (IPGCU) held a meeting on July 21 in Washington, D.C. to lay plans for a national defense campaign for recently indicted *Washington Post* pressmen, who face many years in jail on charges stemming from alleged sabotage of presses at the beginning of the bitter strike against the paper last October. The 50 people at the meeting—striking pressmen, their families and supporters—discussed methods of publicizing the cases and gaining support and financial contributions for defense of the victimized militants.

The committee lawyer announced at the meeting that eight new indictments had been handed down by a federal grand jury, bringing the total number of defendants to 15. These savage legal reprisals are the culmination of a union-busting campaign in which 204 union pressmen were replaced by scabs and subjected to a nationwide blacklist. The felony charges include inciting to riot, participating in a riot, grand larceny, receiving stolen goods (missing press parts), assault and assault with a deadly weapon. One Local 6 member, Eugene O'Sullivan, faces a 40-year prison term if convicted on all counts of his indictment.

Since other striking craft unions returned to work in February, leaving the beleaguered pressmen on their own, the newspaper management has openly gloated about the success of its anti-union offensive and the millions of dollars it will save annually by reducing the work force, cutting manning scales on presses, lowering overtime pay and eliminating all union control from the press room. The gravity of the felony charges lodged against the 15 pressmen, highly unusual in a case arising from a labor dispute, suggests the extreme vindictiveness of the *Post* bosses who have waited years for an opportunity to eliminate the troublesome printing trades unions, especially the pressmen. Local 6 members earned a reputation as combative unionists when they successfully occupied the press room in 1973 to force the rehiring of a printer fired for taking part in a slowdown.

At the start of the grand jury inquisition last fall, the publisher, Kathryn Graham, admitted that the *Post* was "cooperating" with the federal prosecutor. Local 6 lawyer Carl Rein was more explicit in locating the origin of the felony indictments: "My inference would be that they [the prosecutors] did this because Kay Graham asked them to" (*New York Times*, 16 July).

As newspaper after newspaper changes over from hot-lead linotype machines to computerized photo-composition "cold type," they have sought to oust the traditional craft unions and to force layoffs, wage cuts and reassertion of "management prerogatives" in production down the unions' throats. This is what the *Washington Post* strike was about and the crushing defeat of the *Post* pressmen is a threat to printing unions throughout the country. It is urgent that all printing unionists vigorously defend the 15 indicted pressmen.

When the mailers' union accepted major contract regressions and returned to work, the *Post* general manager Mark Meagher boasted: "...in that brute strength kind of perspective—looking at the casualties—I think you have to see that you have one union dead on the battlefield and others that have been chastened by the combat" (*New York Times*, 29 February). More recently, ten craft unions at the *Washington Star* caved in to a management demand for 200 layoffs and an eight-month wage freeze.

The *Post*'s assault on IPGCU Local 6 and the indictments of 15 strikers are one particularly atrocious instance of the generalized offensive against the trade unions as the capitalists attempt to boost their profit levels at the direct expense of working-class incomes. Although some Local 6 members at the July 21 defense meeting argued that it is necessary to appeal primarily to liberals on the "human aspects" of the case since "unionism is not popular in Washington," others noted correctly that the only real support for the strike has come from the left and elements of the local labor movement.

Clearly the axis of a successful defense campaign must be a direct appeal to working-class solidarity, expressed not only through financial donations but through a powerful mobilization of trade unionists in the streets against this legal attack, which is a provocation to the entire labor movement. The Partisan Defense Committee, a class-struggle defense organization, has contributed to the defense of these victimized militants and has demanded that all charges be dropped, that the *Post* lockout of Local 6 be ended and that the striking pressmen and their supporters from other unions be reinstated immediately with full back pay.

Contributions and messages of support can be sent to: Local 6 Legal Defense Committee; 1300 Massachusetts Avenue N.W., Room 101; Washington, D.C. 20006. ■


**WORKERS VANGUARD**

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# Gus Hall's Great New Deal in the Sky, By and By

"Turned off...by old party politicians who serve big business—and double-cross the people? Then here's what you've been waiting for!" declares one of this year's presidential campaign flyers above a "76" symbol and the hyperbolic slogan, "the vote with clout!" But don't hold your breath—it's only the Communist Party (CP), dripping with Red, White and Blue (and Communist too!) campaign promotions and promises.

This year the CP is putting more effort than normal into its campaign. Its usual practice has been to put up a token candidacy while simultaneously saying "fight the right" and throwing votes to liberal Democrats. Of course, wherever it can the CP has continued this practice, recently supporting Democrat Tom Hayden in the California U.S. Senate primary, and various New York Democratic politicians through its front group, the Committee on Independent Political Action (CIPA). But with "ethnic purity" Carter as the Democratic presidential candidate, open support would be too embarrassing for even the reformist CP. So the 19 February *Daily World* announced the CP candidacy with unaccustomed vehemence, a banner headline in red proclaiming "Hall-Tyner Ticket Takes on Bosses Parties." This year the Democrats are written off as a "pussycat opposition" and "no buffer" against the Republicans. But if anything qualifies as a tame opposition—without the least clout either electorally or politically—then certainly it is the CPUSA. At a July 9 Hollywood meeting to kick off the CP's California campaign, veteran presidential candidate Gus Hall offered an audience of 400 mostly old-time CP supporters his "program" for the American working class—a stale rehash of liberal New Deal pablum seasoned with Stalinist "anti-monopoly" rhetoric.

To end the unemployment inherent in capitalism, Hall admitted that the Humphrey-Hawkins "Full Employment" bill was not *quite* adequate. He called instead for legislating a six-hour day with no loss in pay ("30 for 40"). The demand for a sliding scale of wages and hours, first codified by Leon Trotsky in the Transitional Program, is not a cheap electoral gimmick, but rather a means to bridge the gap between the immediate economic needs of the working class and the fight for socialism, and can only be won by the mass intervention of a militant working class. But in the hands of the CP, Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and Progressive Labor (PL), "30 for 40" is reduced to a parliamentary trick, a nice-sounding "reform" completely divorced from its purpose as a call to militant independent political and industrial action by the workers.

The biggest con game the CP has going, however, is its bombastic utopian scheme to rebuild American cities. How? "Slash the Military Budget by 80 percent!" they demand. By simple arithmetic this means the CP is now calling for a *$24 billion* military budget ...to bomb Vietnam, train Latin American torturers, aid the racist apartheid regime in South Africa, and threaten the USSR and other deformed workers states! The CP's generous offer of $24 billion to the Pentagon stands in glaring contrast to the Bolshevik program of "Not a penny, not a man for the capitalist army!"

At the Hollywood meeting, although of course no discussion was allowed, supporters of the erstwhile Maoist Communist Labor Party (CLP) jumped to their feet to fervently applaud "Chairman" Hall. The CLP, which had once branded Brezhnev and Nixon "representatives of international finance capital," and the CP "lapdogs of counterrevolution," now seeks to return to the fold, eagerly pursuing these ex-"running dogs of imperialism." Nelson Peery and other CLP leaders split from the CP in the 1950's, on the basis that Mao, not Khrushchev, was the "real Stalinist." Never did they break with the essentials of the CP's reformist program. Thus their shift over the past year toward alliance with the Brezhnev regime, praising détente and offering "united fronts" to the American CP merely represents a zigzag from one competing bureaucracy to the other, as each pursues class betrayal in its own way.

In an "Open Letter to the C.P.U.S.A." distributed to the CP ranks the CLP offered the CP an electoral "united front" seeking a trade-off of support: the Communist Party should

Dale Wittner/Weekly People

**Gus Hall and Angela Davis**

support the CLP's General Baker for Michigan state legislature, and the Communist Labor Party would support the CP elsewhere, although the CLP generously noted that even without this, it would of course "Vote Communist." As could be expected, this hare-brained scheme has been dismissed out of hand by the CP, since its appetites are certainly not toward this small band of ex-CP "renegades."

Although Peery chides the CP for not showing up at "united fronts" against the Nazis and Klan, relying instead on the cops, after a large Spartacist League contingent demonstrated with the CLP in Chicago against fascist terror in a black community last spring, the CLP excluded SL supporters from later meetings. Moreover, the CLP's occasional militant rhetoric and sometimes adventuristic posturing is only a threadbare cover for its *real* strategy, identical to the CP's, of excluding militant leftists while petitioning city councils and state legislators to get rid of fascism.

The gimmicky utopianism and star-spangled Stalinist rhetoric of the CP cannot hide its fundamental reliance on the liberal Democrats. Working-class militants cannot vote for parties whose back-handed support for capitalist politicians only binds the working class more tightly to illusions in the corrupt, imperialist bourgeois state. No support to the CP! For a workers party to fight for a workers government!

# Sectarianism Damages Gary Tyler Defense

BOSTON, July 25—"Free Gary Tyler!" "Stop the Racist Frame-Up!" "Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!" These were the slogans of the Spartacist League (SL) and Partisan Defense Committee (PDC) as they marched together with 80 other militants through predominantly black sections of Dorchester yesterday demanding freedom for Gary Tyler, the 17-year-old black framed up by Louisiana police in 1974.

Tyler was arrested on 7 October 1974 in Destrehan, Louisiana. He

WV Photo

**Demonstrators in Boston demanded freedom for Gary Tyler Saturday.**

was one of a busload of black students who were being transported through a hostile white neighborhood following attacks on them at a newly integrated high school. A shot rang out, and a white youth fell dead, obviously the unintended victim of a racist's bullet. Tyler was arbitrarily singled out to be prosecuted for the killing from among the black students who were on the bus.

Arrested for "interfering with the law" and subsequently charged with first-degree murder, Tyler was convicted by an all-white jury and sentenced to death in the electric chair. He was removed from death row July 14 after the Supreme Court overturned Louisiana's mandatory death penalty statute (while upholding other capital punishment laws).

While Tyler languishes in jail, a sitting duck for any racist prison guard eager to carry out the thwarted legal lynching, even as the authorities search for a basis to re-indict him, the urgently necessary efforts in his defense continue to be undermined by the grossest organizational sectarianism on the part of several groups involved in the defense campaign.

The Boston march had initially been called by a "United Gary Tyler Committee" supported by the October League (OL) and International Socialists (I.S.). But by the day of the march the OL had unilaterally claimed the demonstration as its own following a dispute with the I.S. over a national demonstration taking place the same day in New Orleans. The name on the Boston march posters had been crossed out and replaced by that of an OL front group,

*continued on page 10*

## SWP Unveils the New Wohlforth (Yawn)

# Portrait of the Young Crisis Monger as an Old Kautskyite

JULY 24—Last night the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) quietly trotted out the new Tim Wohlforth for his public debut. Only a handful of SWPers and a number of Spartacist League supporters turned out for the occasion—a lecture by Wohlforth on "Marx's Theory of Crisis," part of a series of classes the SWP is running in conjunction with the Caterino Garza congressional campaign on New York's Lower East Side.

Wohlforth had gained no small measure of notoriety as the leading political bandit of the Workers League (WL), the self-styled "anti-revisionist Trotskyist" group he headed for ten years. As his British mentor, Gerry Healy of the "International Committee" (IC), looked on approvingly, Wohlforth schooled his WL in the "method": shameless opportunism combined with

WV Photo

**Tim Wohlforth**

Stalin-style violence and slander against opponents within the workers movement. The SWP leadership took full advantage of Wohlforth's caricature of left opposition to SWP reformism. When Healy unceremoniously dumped Wohlforth in 1974, the SWP turned around and accepted the homeless cynic back into the fold.

Now Wohlforth finds himself stumping for the Garza campaign, knee-deep in the mire of the ethnic politics he once despised—and to which he reacted with

**1965—**

"We are not Cannonites... We want the destruction of Cannonism."

"Conversations with Wohlforth," *Marxist Bulletin* No. 3

**1971—**

"The SWP today is involved in a wholesale revision of every fundamental of Marxism."

*Bulletin*, 12 April 1971

**1976—**

"'While we can now see how we really didn't grasp much of it, we had always taken the history of the SWP very seriously and tried to train people in it,' Tim indicated. This general attitude toward James P. Cannon, the founding leader of the SWP, now became very important."

*International Socialist Review*, May 1976

his own crude and racially insensitive brand of economism. Now down in District One—scene of some of the most bitter episodes of the 1968 teachers strike—Tim consolidates the contacts Garza makes through the SWP's support to local demagogue Luis Fuentes, the race-baiting and rabidly anti-union former school superintendent.

Wohlforth's class itself was a mockery of Marxist education whose only political content was this posturing opportunist's discovery that "the crisis" (which he proclaimed yearly for 13 years) really came in 1974, where it can conveniently serve as the objective basis for the SWP's "turn" to economist orientation to the working class. The implication is that prior to 1974 (which

**1968—**

"History has proven the SWP's evaluation of Cuba to be completely erroneous on all accounts."

*Bulletin*, 5 August 1968

**1976—**

"'It didn't take us more than a few weeks to see that Healy was all wrong on Cuba,' Tim said."

*International Socialist Review*, May 1976

is also the year Wohlforth had his own "crisis" and was purged from the WL), the SWP had been correct in its orientation to petty-bourgeois arenas.

To protect Tim from embarrassing questions, the chairman ruled early in the evening that all political discussion was out of order in the "economics" class. Not merely a crude maneuver, this false dichotomy between economic theory and program is profoundly anti-Marxist. Thus Michael Harrington's bastardized "Marxist economics" lead him into the Democratic Party and the "crisis" theories have been a central political justification for Healyite economism.

Despite the ban on politics, the chair's intelligence network was inadequate and several SLers got the floor. SL speakers quoted some of Wohlforth's economic predictions over the years, pointing out how his phony "dialectics" have been used to rationalize every rotten twist and turn. This so enraged the chairman that he began muttering about excluding the SL from the rest of the weekend's sessions, and for the rest of the evening would accept only questions about economics. To this an SL spokesman replied:

> "It is impossible to ask serious economic questions of a man who for ten years could not get it through his thick skull that Cuba was not a capitalist state, and then within a few weeks decided he was all wrong. What makes a man switch his positions so suddenly? Could it be that he simply felt that supporting strikes of New York cops [the WL position]—which means more arms to the Attica guards—was just the same as supporting free speech to fascists or sending federal troops to Boston [the SWP position]? It's one thing to ask economic questions of a serious revolutionist. It's another to ask a doctor about medical history when every one of his patients has died!"

The SWP has taken Tim back hoping his links with present and former IC groupings will be useful in the current scramble for new international bloc partners. But even the cynical Barnes leadership of the SWP must be somewhat chagrined at having to link up with a man who is so universally and justifiably despised. Hence the convoluted attempts to disappear Wohlforth's

**1965—**

"...the U.S. has been in crisis since 1958-59."

"Conversations with Wohlforth"

**1968—**

"He [Robertson] saw only little ups and downs presenting no serious problems for the capitalists nor providing any objective basis of the kind of intense deepening of the class struggle we have seen everywhere in the period since 1966."

*Bulletin*, 2 December 1968

**1972—**

"The deepening of the capitalist crisis particularly since Nixon's August 15, 1971 decisions...."

"In Defense of Trotskyism"

political history and drop him onto the scene like he was born yesterday. Or, as one SWPer, posing as a voice from the "independents," put it, "So the man changed his mind on some subjects—that's dialectics."

For years the WL's notorious practices of exclusionism and physical violence against radical opponents shielded from criticism the man who, with Healy, engineered the expulsion of the Revolutionary Tendency (later Spartacist tendency) from the SWP—a crime whose magnitude in setting back the development of authentic Trotskyism is enormous. Now the SWP continues the protection racket.

For a man of Wohlforth's ambitions, the present role as "teacher" of basic economics and book reviewer for the *Militant* must be quite a come-down. Certainly the SWP has no intention of parading Wohlforth around as a major party spokesman. There is, in fact, a neat little dialectical unity between the one-man rule of the Healyite IC and the chaos of the fake "international" of the SWP and its bloc partners; between the WL which supports cop strikes and the SWP which breaks teachers strikes; between the WL which "hates faggots, hippies and women's libbers" and the SWP which in the name of feminism wants the government brought in to bust up the unions. Tim Wohlforth and the reformist SWP deserve each other. ■


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# TUC Clamps Wage Freeze on British Workers

Economist

**TUC general secretary Len Murray (left) with AUEW leader Hugh Scanlon and TGWU head Jack Jones.**

LONDON -Several days ago at the Trades Union Council (TUC) Northern Regional Council at Newcastle, the Labour government's chancellor of the exchequer, Denis Healey, boasted: "if we can keep our heads—and our nerve the long-awaited economic miracle is in our grasp." Making a virtue out of the run on the pound, Healey crowed that Britain was now "better placed than ever" to increase exports, since the "new value of the pound" had "made our goods competitive" (*Observer* [London], 4 July).

Why this bubbling optimism in the face of what is at best a precarious British economy? Industrial production is up, slightly; the balance of payments has improved, somewhat. Inflation is finally falling (last year it shot up to almost 30 percent annual rate), but still stands at 15.4 percent. And although unemployment had been levelling off, it is at record levels (6.3 percent) and was recently increased by an influx of jobless school-leavers. Hardly an economic miracle.

The oil sheiks' money managers, who have an interest in the question, don't share Healey's fatuous buoyancy, and have reportedly been dumping their sterling holdings by the hundreds of millions. When the pound plummeted as low as $1.70 at one point this spring, the fall was halted by an emergency six-month transfusion of $5,300 millions in special drawing rights from the Group of Ten (the "rich man's club," led by the U.S., which runs the International Monetary Fund). However, the motive for this rescue operation was not confidence in the U.K. economy, but rather fear that collapse of the pound would throw the other major capitalist powers back into the depths of depression.

### "Dunkirk Spirit" for the Workers

Only in one area does the Labour government's idiot optimism seem to fit: in its successful bid to saddle the working class with wage reductions and large-scale cutbacks in social services without provoking a union rebellion.

Last week, Healey announced budget cuts totalling £1,000 millions. They appeared specially designed to provoke labour anger: included are reductions in unemployment benefits for pensioners, cuts in hospital and university construction, a substantial rise in the price of school lunches and increased charges for dental treatment and eyeglasses. Earlier the government relaxed the ineffective price controls to allow an additional 1 percent rise (£1,000 millions annually) in order to improve profitability of private industry.

Only last spring, the chancellor's announcement of impending spending reductions was met with a revolt by "left" Labour MP's [members of parliament] which forced a vote of confidence. But this time there was barely a murmur.

In the meantime the cabinet had cracked the whip on parliamentary left-wingers and mobilized the TUC tops to regiment the unions. This government offensive came to fruition when a special TUC conference overwhelmingly ratified the second phase of "voluntary wage restraints" on June 16. By a bloc vote of 9,262,000 to 531,000, with 800,000 abstentions, the conference approved a document entitled "The Social Contract, 1976-77" limiting wage increases to an average of 4.5 percent and a maximum of £4 per week. This represents a sharp reduction even from last year's £6 limit and at current inflation rates means a massive 10 percent wage cut in one year.

Several months ago, soon after James Callaghan (a former consultant to the police federation, bosom friend of U.S. secretary of state Kissinger and firm advocate of supplying military weaponry to the Chilean junta) succeeded Harold Wilson as parliamentary Labour Party (LP) leader and prime minister, Chancellor Healey had proposed a 3 percent wage limit, linking it to an offer of tax relief.

For a brief period the TUC leadership bristled with apparent indignation, all the while assuring the government and the ruling class of its willingness to enforce "equitable" new controls. Jack Jones, head of the Transport and General Workers Union (TGWU), assured Callaghan of "the fullest cooperation in the continuing fight to beat inflation and to reduce unemployment" (*Guardian* [London], 6 April).

Since returning to office following the militant miners strike in early 1974, the Labour cabinet has had to move cautiously to bold down wage claims in the name of a vague "social contract." Relying on large-scale unemployment (coupled with a fierce red-baiting campaign in the bourgeois press) to crush rank-and-file militancy, the union leadership eventually pushed through the £6 limit last September. Emboldened by its success in carrying out the same anti-working-class measures the Tories had failed to accomplish, the Labour administrators of capitalism soon went on to even tighter economic policies.

As the pound slipped on the monetary exchanges, Jones (who once had a reputation as a leftist within the TUC) called for "Dunkirk spirit" and advised the international financial interests that,

> "No one abroad need have any fears. We are going to get an agreement. My advice to anybody is to buy pounds because the pound is going to rise in value."
>
> *Times* [London], 27 April

But in spite of the new deal, which takes effect August 1, the pound has risen only to $1.78.

### Opposition in the Ranks

By early May the TUC general council and the government had reached agreement on the 4.5 percent pay ceiling, and the special conference was convened to ratify it. Actual support among the union ranks was not nearly as strong as the 17-to-1 vote margin indicated, however. Much closer tallies were recorded in meetings of the individual unions.

The National Union of Seamen conference carried a motion for a £20 increase while barely turning back a call for a return to free collective bargaining and an end to wage restraint. The executive of the Union of Construction Allied Trades and Technicians (UCATT) voted nine-to-two to accept the wage packet, but the UCATT conference voted it down. General secretary George Smith responded with an announcement that the executive did not accept the decision, would poll the membership and in the meantime would abstain at the TUC conference. The executive of the National Union of Railwaymen was split equally on the question and also abstained.

Some of the crassest tricks were employed by Hugh Scanlon, head of the powerful Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers (AUEW) and formerly the most prominent opponent of the £6 limit. After narrowly winning a vote (28 to 23) in the union's engineering section, Scanlon forced a bloc vote by this section at the AUEW's national conference a week later where there was a real chance of a majority of the delegates voting down the pact. Subsequently the union announced it will not seek wage negotiations this year at all.

In the crucial mine workers union (NUM), which smashed through the Tories' "incomes policy" with its 1974 strike, national leader Joe Gormley campaigned assiduously for Healey's 4.5 percent limit. The pay ceiling squeaked through a national ballot by 53.4 percent, with the militant coalface miners of Yorkshire, South Wales, Scotland, North Derbyshire and Kent all voting solidly against.

At the NUM conference early this month, Gormley attempted to rule any pay resolutions out of order. Despite his ruling, a motion to revive the claim for £100 for coalface workers was brought on the floor and lost by only 17 votes. Motions were passed calling for lowering the retirement age to 60 (a hot issue given the large percentage of workers near retirement in this industry) and for an extra week's holiday.

Many of the bureaucrats tried to cover their class collaboration with militant rhetoric (subsequently ignored by the Labour government) against public expenditure cuts and for "socialist measures" such as more money for the National Enterprise Board and more import controls. Others raised the spectre of the fall of the Labour government. Jack Jones warned:

> "To oppose the proposals surely will play into the hands of the reactionary forces and the result would be, if they gain power, that there would be no wage increase at all and we would have economic policies dominated by public expenditure cuts and more unemployment."
>
> —*Times*, 8 May

Clive Jenkins, head of the white-collar ASTMS, the largest union to vote against the deal, also protested his loyalty to Callaghan and Healey, stating that, "A Labour Government is essential for the restructuring of our country, but we must urge that Government and arm it with the sharpest polemical swords we can find" (*Times*, 17 June). And although promising to defy wage restraint, the NUM vice president and prominent Communist Party (CP) unionist Mick McGahey trumpeted that "Scottish miners will take second place to no one in maintaining the Labour government" (*Guardian*, 22 April).

The so-called "left" Labourites in parliament performed no better than their brethren in the union bureaucracy. The most prominent "left," cabinet minister Anthony Benn, announced his "unqualified support" for the wage limit at the North-West Miners Delegates conference in early May. The rest, in particular the Tribune group, maintained a polite silence on the wage ceiling, carefully honouring the traditional division of labour between the parliamentary LP and the TUC leadership. Concerning the budget cuts, Tribune group leaders argued that they no longer have the "luxury" of abstaining in parliament since the government and sterling are under mounting attack, and urged their colleagues to restrict

Economist

**British miners on strike in 1974.**

themselves to simply arguing against spending reductions (*Guardian*, 6 July).

After the dust settled, the unions had acquiesced in the 4.5 percent wage limit despite 15 percent inflation. In contrast, in 1974 they brought down Heath's Conservative cabinet by refusing to go along with a 7 percent limit in a period of 14 percent inflation. The sorry spectacle demonstrates once more the bankruptcy of the British centrists' perennial policy of pressuring Labour.

### "Make the Lefts Fight"?

While Labour "lefts" and militant-talking union bureaucrats, including the Stalinist CPers, capitulate to the Healey/Callaghan austerity program, ostensibly revolutionary groups to their left provide protective cover for these fakers by supporting them ("critically") in union and Labour Party elections. The slogan "make the lefts fight" has long been used to encapsulate a policy of tailing after the Benns, Scanlons and McGaheys.

Thus during the 1974 miners strike, McGahey and other Communist leaders in the NUM played a key role in preventing a general strike against Tory wage controls, instead "cooling" militant pickets and asking for "exceptional" pay increases from the Pay Board. Dissolving the sharpening class battles into reformist electoral pressure, the "lefts" only replaced Heath's statutory incomes policy with Wilson's "voluntary restraint." Yet in the midst of this betrayal, the International Marxist Group (IMG), British affiliate of the so-called "United Secretariat of the Fourth International" (USec), proclaimed: "today's NUM left...are not like the 'limp lefts' of yesterday or today.... The NUM lefts have, and will, lead real, hard-fought struggles" (*Red Weekly*, 8 February 1974).

More recently, the fake-Trotskyist IMG threw sand in the workers' eyes by

Socialist Worker

**Bob Wright**

supporting "leftist" Benn in the jockeying over succession to retiring prime minister Wilson. Even though Benn & Co. are clearly dancing to the tune called by right-wingers Callaghan and Healey, the IMG majority tendency (Tendency 4—out of five!—formerly labelled Tendency B) urges a fight to "unify in action all those forces prepared to fight against the Government's policies, isolate and defeat the supporters of these policies, and continually *force the lefts to take action*" (*Red Weekly*, 3 June [our emphasis]).

A clear test for revolutionaries was presented in the recent AUEW elections. The British "far left" failed miserably, responding with characteristic opportunism and centrist confusion. In the most publicised contest, right-wing candidate John Weakley faced Bob Wright, candidate of the "Broad Left," in a second round [run-off] race for the post of AUEW assistant general secretary. Weakley earned notoriety by taking the union to court to ensure a postal ballot and was widely touted by the bourgeois press as a "moderate."

Wright, who was backed by an amalgam of left-talking bureaucrats and CP Stalinists, has been the key AUEW official in both the Chrysler and British Leyland negotiations over redundancies [layoffs], and a strong advocate of "workers participation" schemes under the Ryder Plan. Wright and the "Broad Left" also call for import controls, which pit workers of one country against those of another and reinforce the illusions that the working class has a stake in improving the bosses' profits. Wright earned notoriety by ordering workers to cross official union picket lines in an auto strike in Stokes in 1973 (*Socialist Worker*, 31 January 1973).

Not a single plank in Wright's platform set him squarely apart from his opponent on any fundamental question of the class struggle. Clearly, no principled basis existed for revolutionaries to extend critical support to this phony leftist. Yet nearly every ostensibly revolutionary group joined in the mad scramble to line up with Wright against Weakley.

The International Socialists (I.S.), veteran trade-union opportunists and the largest group to the left of the CP, ran one Len Blood, an AUEW shop steward and branch secretary, on the first round. Blood campaigned on the strictly economist "Engineers' Charter," a program which does not raise the questions of expropriation of the bourgeoisie, a planned economy or a workers government, which are essential to eliminating mass unemployment.

The I.S. noted that Wright's "Broad Left" had "surrendered on the Social Contract and the £6 pay limit and has failed to offer any fight against unemployment" (*Socialist Worker*, 13 March). However, on the second round the I.S. and Engineers' Charter backed Wright "to keep the right-wingers out." *Socialist Worker* (8 May) quoted

Socialist Worker

**John Weakley**

Blood's rationale: "Any member who takes the union to court, as John Weakley did, must be opposed." And what about opposing strikebreakers like Wright! True to mold, the IMG backed Wright as an answer to the "right-wing offensive" (*Red Weekly*, 20 May).

### Learn to Swim Against the Stream!

Another group which, like the IMG, supported Benn against Callaghan for parliamentary LP leader was the International Communist League (ICL), established through the fusion of the former Workers Fight organization with the Workers Power grouping expelled from the I.S. in 1975. Although it poses as Trotskyist and as a left critic of the IMG, the ICL, like the Italian FMR and the German Spartacusbund with which it is associated, is a congenital bog group incapable of providing an alternative to the USec's unprincipled manoeuvres. In fact, both ICL and IMG are eager to submerge political differ-

*continued on page 11*

## SEIU Bureaucrats Isolate Public Workers Strike

# Bitter Alameda County Workers Strike Ends in Defeat

OAKLAND, July 21—The longest strike of public workers in California history ended yesterday when Alameda County workers, represented by the Service Employees International Union (SEIU—Locals 616, 250 and 535), were forced to swallow a humiliating defeat and return to work. After 49 days on the picket lines and struggling under the shadow of the smashing of the San Francisco city workers strike, the county workers voted to accept the settlement by 1,356 to 174. But there was no enthusiasm for the contract on the part of the membership. The vote showed only how a sour and defeatist union bureaucracy, who left the SEIU workers to starve in isolation, could beat down the ranks' will to fight and deliver them up to the bosses.

Using the recent San Francisco defeat as an excuse to be more "reasonable" in bargaining and striking, SEIU negotiators pared down their already inadequate contract demands. The central issue was a percentage wage package equal to that given management (6.8 percent instead of the pitiful 3.2 percent offered to non-management employees). The final package falls far short of the parity demand: most workers will receive a minimum of $40 per month effective September 6, and then a one-time 6 percent increase in July 1977. This averages only 4.5 percent over two years. Furthermore there is no provision for retroactive pay back to June 1, the end of the last contract. So monetarily the *scabs* will come out ahead!

Rubbing the noses of the strikers in their defeat, a provision of the agreement bars the union from taking any punitive measures against the scabs. Chairman of the board of supervisors Fred Cooper, gloating over the settlement, said the deal will be partly funded by "salary savings" (from the pockets of striking workers) avoiding "any impact on this year's property tax rate." The SEIU chief negotiator Paul Varacalri could only whine, "We had to end the strike somehow" (*Oakland Tribune*, 21 July).

Varacalri is making quite a name for himself as an engineer of dirty deals for Bay Area workers. In his position of executive secretary for United Public Employees Local 390, an SEIU affiliate which represents a large chunk of the cross-bay rapid transit workers, Varacalri only two weeks earlier helped "settle" the BART workers contract—a three-year pact containing *no* wage increases, only a cost-of-living adjustment! This also meant throwing away a golden opportunity to link up the marginal county workers with the far more powerful BART workers.

But Varacalri was not the only labor hack who took an active part in sabotaging the county workers strike. An earlier attempt to build support for the strike among AC transit bus drivers was also blocked. At the request of the Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU) acting local president, the SEIU's chief negotiator at that time agreed *not* to send a delegation to a June 7 ATU meeting to discuss support action from the bus drivers. The ATU bureaucrats ruled out of order a militant's motion for a sympathy strike in support of the county workers and the Local executive board's own motion was watered down

WV Photo

**Striking city workers picket Alameda County courthouse last month.**

WV Photo

**SL/SYL supporters in Hayward, California, march supporting SEIU strike.**

to simply a one-day strike to honor the picket lines! Even this motion was put forward with such little enthusiasm that the membership wrongly voted it down.

The county workers were constantly harassed by deputy sheriffs and threatened by the county board's hiring of "temporaries" (scabs). Meanwhile, the Alameda Superior Court handed down a decision declaring the public workers strike "illegal." The hospital workers clerical and social workers who make up the Alameda county strikers lacked social weight and desperately needed to expand their strike in order to win. Responsibility for the defeat of this strike lies clearly with the Alameda Central Labor Council and the SEIU tops who allowed their members to strangle in a web of bureaucratic cowardice and kowtowing to the bosses.

The bosses' anti-union offensive in the Bay Area is sweeping aside union gains won through bloodshed and bitter struggle. To avoid further demoralizing defeats militants must take up the banner of united working-class counter-offensive, dumping the labor traitors who stand in the way. ■

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## From the Great Leap to the Tien An Men Square Riot

# Mao's "Socialism": No Electricity, No Soviets

After the fall of Lin Piao in 1971, the main changes in official Chinese policy consisted of concessions to the workers and peasants, partial recentralization of the economy, reconstruction of the civilian government apparatus (including widespread reinstatement of bureaucrats disgraced during the "Cultural Revolution"), and a headlong plunge into open diplomatic alliance with U.S. imperialism.

With the liquidation of Lin and his People's Liberation Army (PLA) group, Mao turned to Chou En-lai to administer the governmental and party apparatus. A competent, smooth and cynical apparatchik, Chou proved his loyalty to Mao during the Cultural Revolution when he tolerated the purging and humiliation of favorite subordinates such as foreign minister Chen Yi. At the same time, he was known as a "soft-liner" and thus perfectly suited to act as intermediary between Mao and the purged "capitalist roaders" like Teng Hsiao-p'ing who were being rehabilitated in order to stabilize the regime.

## Part 2 of 2

Almost immediately after Lin's death, the bureaucracy moved to conciliate the discontented peasantry. In December 1971 the regime issued a "Directive on the Problem of Distribution in Rural People's Communes" which asserted that, "artificial egalitarianism... hampered the realisation and implementation of Mao's revolutionary line" (*Asian Survey*, January 1973).

This directive reasserted the peasant's right to a private plot and prohibited authorities from commandeering labor from the production teams. Since this time the Mao regime has been extremely conservative about pushing for greater collectivization. The new 1975 constitution of the "people's republic" not only includes the right to a private plot, but stipulates that the production teams will continue to be the basic unit of accounting and distribution.

During this period the Peking rulers also sought to overcome the relative stagnation of agriculture by applying hybrid strains, manufactured fertilizers and other technological advances associated with the so-called "Green Revolution." Between 1972 and 1974, China's production of chemical fertilizer shot up from 14 to 24 million tons (*Far Eastern Economic Review Yearbook, 1975*). This extraordinary jump was made possible by the importation of entire urea plants.

In 1972, the regime also raised the wages of the lowest-paid workers. This was the first wage increase in *nine years*. Mao had the effrontery to link Liu Shao-chi with Lin Piao as advocates of low-wage austerity whom he had finally defeated after a decade of struggle to grant the workers higher incomes! In reality, Mao and his partisans were the foremost advocates of maintaining the workers' living standards at near-peasant levels.

### "Stress on Things Big and Foreign"

The reconstruction of the civilian party and government apparatus naturally led to a greater centralization of economic control. Whereas in 1969-71 local control was all the rage, in 1972 local authorities were reminded that there was a state plan (they had forgotten?) and they were supposed to adhere to it.

> "A few units and comrades have yet failed to view the relationship between the part and the whole correctly in the current work of capital construction. Disregarding the State plan, they have gone after quantity, scale and comprehensiveness, engaging in construction projects outside the plan as they please."
>
> *People's Daily*, 8 June 1972

The most important change in economic policy during the Mao Chou Teng period was the rapid increase in foreign trade, particularly with Japan. In 1972, China's foreign trade totaled $4.7 billion, about the same as in 1966. By 1975 this figure had escalated to $13 billion (*U.S.-China Business Review*, March April 1976), which even discounting the effects of inflation represents a substantial change in the Chinese economy.

Broadly speaking, China exports textiles, coal and oil, and concentrates its imports on technologically sophisticated capital equipment. Since 1972 China has imported more than 100 complete plants. In the past, Peking had been careful to balance exports and imports, but in the last few years the Mao Chou Teng regime abandoned this policy and China has run up a $1.4 billion trade deficit.

As revolutionary Marxists we do not criticize the expansion of China's trade with the imperialist powers per se. Any isolated workers state should take full advantage of the international market to maximize its resources—traditional Stalinist autarky is reactionary. However, China's increasing trade with and credit from the capitalist world takes place in the context of an ever-more-extensive alliance with U.S. imperialism against the Soviet Union. China's genuine need for modern technology does not excuse support for the Japanese *zaibatsu* and the Rockefellers.

### Not "Liberalization" But Workers Democracy

Moreover, an isolated workers state (particularly an economically backward country such as China) will ultimately succumb to the economic pressures of capitalist encirclement. Only the overthrow of the nationalist bureaucracies in the Kremlin and the Forbidden City through proletarian political revolution, along with socialist revolution in the advanced capitalist countries, can overcome China's economic backwardness. This, and not backyard iron furnaces or trade with the imperialists, will open the road to socialist planning on a global scale and integrate the factories of the Ruhr and Leningrad with the communes of Hunan.

In order to defeat Lin Piao and replace his followers who were purged, Mao was forced to reinstate most of the victims of the Cultural Revolution, most notably the number two "capitalist roader," Teng Hsiao-p'ing. This situation required an increased margin for tolerated differences within the bureaucracy, which was then extended to intellectual and cultural life as well (although still within the framework of Stalinist totalitarianism). During the Cultural Revolution and the Lin regime, only five foreign "Marxist" works were allowed to circulate, but since 1972 translations have flourished. After five years of nothing but slogans from the Little Red Book, even the collected works of Enver Hoxha can be a source of political stimulation!

Wreaths at Chou En-lai memorial demonstration April 4 in Peking.

However, if the Mao/Chou/Teng regime was "liberal" toward errant bureaucrats and pliable intellectuals, it had a very different attitude toward the proletariat. In his policies toward the workers, Teng was indistinguishable from Lin Piao. In 1974, he is reported to have told a visiting Hong Kong academic:

> "Wages are low and the living standard is not high. We only get enough clothing and a full stomach. To develop the economy, this situation must be maintained for some time to come. We have made this clear to the people. The people understand."
>
> quoted in U.S. Congress, *China: A Reassessment of the Economy*

But what institutions do the people have for expressing their alleged "understanding"? In the summer of 1975, Teng demonstrated how he dealt with those workers who apparently failed to "understand."

Last year saw a hardening of line, evidently in response to challenges from the workers. The regime's pronouncements of liberality (the January 1975 constitution included the right to strike) combined with evident economic expansion must have created pressure for significant wage increases. Yao Wen-yuan, a leader of the Shanghai "radicals" who came to prominence during the Cultural Revolution, wrote an important article, "On the Social Basis of the Lin Piao Anti-Party Clique" (*Peking Review*, 7 March 1975). Yao's theme is that money wages and material incentives are the main social bases for capitalist restoration. The message was clear: those workers who demanded higher wages were under the influence of bourgeois ideology.

A few months later, the regime responded to worker militancy with distinctly non-literary methods. In July the modern textile plants in Hangchow (near Shanghai) were struck. In response, a 10,000-strong force of PLA troops was sent in to break the (constitutionally permitted) strike. The *Far*

Tien An Men Square, April 5, the day after mass Chou En-lai memorial was held.

*Eastern Economic Review* (8 August) reported.

> "After the city was cordoned off from the rest of the country, Deputy Premier Teng Hsiao-ping personally intervened (bringing with him large detachments of armed public security personnel), the situation calmed down. "

Such are the ways of the "moderate" Stalinists

### And Now?

In what sense does the conflict between "moderates" represented by Teng and Maoist "radicals" reflect fundamental political differences? Certainly the original point of contention between Mao and the central party leadership coalesced around Liu whether to abandon the Great Leap Forward is real. Likewise, the attempt to resuscitate the "Great Leap" in the early stage of the Cultural Revolution was a recognizable political dispute. But in both cases, there were no qualitative left-right divisions between the two wings of the Chinese bureaucracy, and the interests of the proletariat stood in contradiction to support for *either* faction.

While the bureaucracy as a whole acts as a bonapartist arbiter between the pressures of imperialism and the pressures of the working masses, Mao has sought to carve out a personal bonapartist role as mediator between the various cliques and power blocs of the ruling caste. In order to maintain his personal authority, he has constantly shifted lines during the last decade, first proclaiming one policy and then carrying out its virtual opposite.

Thus in 1971 he brought the former "capitalist roaders" back into power in order to do in his main ally of the Cultural Revolution period. While praising economic austerity and Spartan virtues, he seeks to take credit for the modest improvement in living standards during the last few years. Maoist doctrine is whatever the "Great Helmsman" says it is at present, and woe unto those who fail to tack and veer in cadence. Nor, for that matter, have the "moderates" fought for a consistent policy. Chou En-lai's main program was never to be on the losing side of a faction fight. And Teng, despite his posture of liberality, was just as ruthless in suppressing the workers in Hangchow in 1975 as were the "radical" Maoists in Shanghai in 1967.

Thus the Teng/Mao conflict is largely of a cliquist nature, reflecting past enmities and loyalties rather than current burning political differences. Nevertheless, there are differences in the respective bureaucratic clienteles. Mao's backing comes largely from rural party cadre whose consciousness was shaped by the anti-Japanese war and the civil war against the Kuomintang. It is both supremely ethnocentric and profoundly distrustful of the urban working class and the technical intelligentsia as prone to corruption by Western social values.

During the 1950's, Liu and Chou constructed a modern state bureaucracy consciously modeled on the Soviet Union. Their political ties were with the administrative and technical cadre and party activists directly dealing with the urban industrial workers. Thus the Liu/Chou milieu, on which Teng forces draw, inclines toward the importation of modern technology and favors material incentives and education rather than mass mystification and the cult of Man. Both cliques are equally committed to maintaining bureaucratic control over the working masses.

The nature of the current jousting can be deduced from the charges against Teng, which are eminently cliquist in nature. It is said that he wanted to "reverse correct verdicts," that is, reinstate unrepentant anti-Maoists from the Liu period. Most notable among these were Peng Chen and ex-PLA chief of staff, Lo Jui-ch'ing, who in 1965 committed the unforgivable crime

*continued on page 9*

## *For A UFW Harvest Strike!*

# Cannery Workers Battle California Agribusiness

OAKLAND, July 24 As over 30,000 California cannery workers went on strike July 20 the bourgeois news media began blaring about the possible multi-million dollar loss to growers and processors of peaches, apricots, pears and tomatoes. According to official sources, the harvest-season strike is costing $24 million a day. The California Farm Bureau estimates that as many as 100,000 farm workers could be idled by the strike.

The plight of the reactionary agribusiness bosses, stuck with crops they can't sell, is of course considered much more newsworthy than the rotten situation of the thousands of cannery workers, not to mention migrant farm workers.

The political pressure of the growers was enough to mobilize Governor Brown, who telegraphed President Ford last Wednesday to urge the president's personal intervention in hopes that he could end the strike in 48 hours. As the strike became a pre-election political football, federal mediator James Searce moved the talks to Washington, and Ford sent out a federal "fact-finding" team to lay the legal basis for an 80-day Taft-Hartley injunction. Such an injunction would seek to destroy the strike's effectiveness by sending workers back at the height of the canning season, when over 60,000 workers are normally employed.

While the news blackout imposed by Searce has aided only the growers and cannery bosses, it is clear that Teamster officials, representing the striking cannery workers in 13 union locals, prefer to meet behind closed doors, away from rank-and-file pressure. When a *WV* reporter went to one local strike headquarters to get the union's side of the story, the official response was, "We are not entertaining the press."

Teamster officials were reluctant to call the strike at all. The old contract expired June 30 but the union kept the workers at work for three weeks beyond the expiration date. The hard-nosed attitude of the cannery bosses, represented by California Processors Incorporated (CPI), which represents 28 companies with 74 plants in California, finally forced the union to strike.

Though 38 issues remained unresolved as the strike began, only the wage issue has received publicity. The cannery bosses have reportedly offered increases of 95 cents to $1.43 per hour over a three-year contract, but union negotiator Freddy Sanchez said they actually offered only 25 cents. The union is reportedly demanding $3.00 to $3.50 over three years.

Presently wages average only $4.93 per hour in the industry and, most significantly, over half of the cannery workers are hired on a seasonal basis only. Sanchez estimated that 82 percent of his membership earned less than $5,000 last year and worked 1,000 hours or less (*San Francisco Examiner*, 20 July).

Reinforcing the news blackout surrounding the strike is the cowardly silence of the United Farm Workers (UFW) union leadership. In the context of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters (IBT) leadership's decade-long attack on the UFW, rarely have the interests of the ranks of both unions intersected in a more direct and obvious manner against the backstabbing policies of the labor fakers.

Cesar Chavez' limitation of farm workers' struggles to an impotent strategy of legislative lobbying has allowed the Teamster/grower alliance to push the farm workers up against a wall. Since February, when the growers' representatives in the state legislature cut off funds for the Agricultural Labor Relations Board, which had supervised bargaining elections since last summer, the UFW has elected to simply run a holding operation until a November election referendum is held to force the the release of funds to once again attempt to implement the much-touted Agricultural Labor Relations Act.

Now is the time to forge a fighting unity among all workers in the agriculture industry! It is strike action—at harvest time!—and not the bosses' courts and legislatures that will finally bring the agribusiness magnates to their knees. If they think they're threatened by the cannery workers strike, a joint strike of field and processing workers, supported by the entire labor movement and utilizing the methods of militant class struggle, as opposed to pacifistic groveling, could fundamentally alter the relationship of forces in the industry to the benefit of all agricultural workers.

The on-again-off-again "jurisdictional" negotiations between Chavez and Fitzsimmons of the IBT are not designed to bring about such necessary unity. In fact, action by the UFW in solidarity with striking cannery workers would threaten the "settlement" sought in the bureaucratic machinations, not to mention Chavez' most precious hope—the political alliance with Democratic Party "friend of the UFW" Governor Brown.

A recent court decision bringing "affirmative action" to the 74 northern California canneries has caused a furor potentially explosive enough to completely derail the strike. Traditional discrimination in the industry, encouraged by the labor fakers, has sown divisions within the union's ranks, which are now directly aiding the bosses.

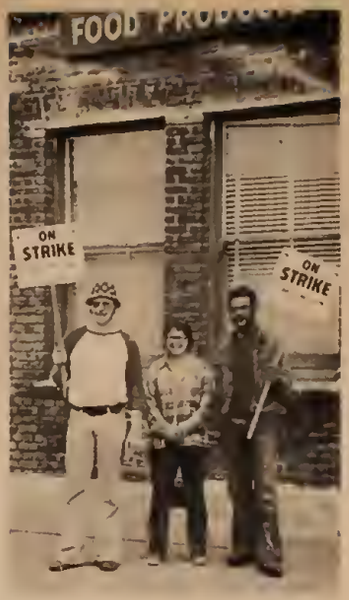
The discrimination is real and pervasive. At peak season, when the industry employs roughly 60,000 workers, women reportedly hold 58 percent of the seasonal jobs and minorities 62 percent. In contrast, these two groups have only a tiny percentage of year-round or high-paid seasonal jobs. This pattern led to class action suits filed three years ago by individual women and the Mexican-American Legal Defense and Education Fund against the Teamsters union and the canning industry.

In a May 5 decision, U.S. district judge William H. Orrick ordered a five-year action plan providing for up to $4.9 million in damages to victims of past discrimination, and setting hiring quotas for women and minorities. "But," noted the *San Francisco Chronicle* (25 June), "the critical element, creating a furor that could spill over into current industry contract negotiations, is the reshuffling of seniority." By granting seniority rights dating from the time of first employment as seasonal workers and eliminating the previously separate seniority lists for seasonal and full-time workers, the court order simply throws out the window contractually established union job protection. It also means that seasonal workers can now bump full-time workers, including some women and minority workers.

This has caused tremendous unrest in the industry. At the Hunt's Food plant in Oakdale, a 36-year-old warehouseman killed himself after brooding over being bumped off the year-round job list. On June 25 hundreds of Central Valley cannery workers participated in a motorcade to the S.F. federal building in protest the "affirmative action" court rulings. They are also reportedly planning to file reverse discrimination charges with the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission.

Although Teamster officials refuse to comment on strike issues, discrimination in the industry and the court attack on seniority are having an impact on the strike. At the Emeryville Del Monte plant, picketers reported anti-strike sentiment among seasonal workers (who far outnumber steady employees). The company is naturally trying its best to exacerbate tensions within the workforce by calling back laid-off workers, thus forcing them to lose unemployment benefits by refusing to cross picket lines.

The northern California cannery strike graphically illustrates how appeals to the bosses' government to meddle in union affairs aid the class enemy and weaken the workers movement. Militants must fight instead for jobs for all through a shorter workweek at no loss in pay, for an end to discrimination in hiring and for strikes against layoffs. Such a fight requires the building of a class-struggle opposition, both in the Teamsters and the UFW, to forge a unified and militant agricultural workers union. ■




WV Photo

**Picket outside Del Monte canning plant in Emeryville.**

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# Auto...

*(continued from page 1)*

Woodcock's point of view, a lousy contract for 700,000 auto workers is a small price to pay for his personal advancement. Class-conscious auto workers, on the other hand, must demand no support to the Democrat's "new breed" of smiling racism and double-talk union-husting: for a workers party based on the unions, to sweep away the corrupt politicians and their capitalist masters!

The UAW brass would have a more difficult time forcing their brazen plans for this year's double dose of peanuts down the throats of an aroused and militant rank and file. But in the absence of an authoritative alternative leadership the conservatizing effects of the last two years of economic disaster are still widespread. At the depth of the 1974-75 depression nearly half of all U.S. auto workers were on either indefinite or temporary layoff.

With high unemployment remaining, even the sharp upturn in auto sales and production in the first half of 1976, accompanied with pounding speed-up, finds auto workers with the caution of men who know there are many jobless eager to take their place. One high-ranking UAW official recently confided to the *Wall Street Journal*, "I think we'll be able to sell the members a package this year that wouldn't have been accepted in 1970 or 1973." Aware that the union tops did absolutely nothing to fight either the massive layoffs or the ensuing productivity drive, the auto workers are totally cynical about their own "leaders," but unsure of the next step forward.

Moreover, the slow strangulation of their striking sister union, the United Rubber Workers (URW), has left many auto workers apprehensive that the same fate could await them. Woodcock & Co. have followed a wretched "hands off" policy made doubly criminal by the fact that a victory in this first-ever URW strike against all Big Four rubber companies at once would have a powerful impact on the battle in auto. With 1.5 million members and a strategic position in industry (compared to the URW's 60,000 members in a subsidiary sector) it is clear that UAW sympathy strike action is the decisive ingredient.

### Rubber Strike Betrayed

From the very beginning of the URW strike in late April, it was clear that effective pressure on the Big Four rubber companies would be exerted only when auto production began to be affected. URW president Bommarito demagogically asserted that stockpiled tires would be liquidated in three to four weeks and then proceeded to run the strike into the ground.

Avoiding all but a few token attempts at mass picketing and scrupulously observing court injunctions, the URW leadership has managed to shut down only 50-60 percent of U.S. tire production. At least 13 non-unionized and non-striking plants continue to work at full capacity and supervisory employees at many struck plants cross the picket lines daily to keep up a steady, if diminished, output of tires. Combined with massive stockpiles far beyond the URW's original estimations and the importations of tires from non-striking URW-organized Canadian plants, auto and truck production has not been curtailed despite the record length of the strike.

The rubber industry, producing new and replacement tires and many rubber car parts, is not a separate but rather a largely subsidiary industry to auto, a situation calling for coordinated bargaining, common contract expiration dates and the closest joint action between the unions. As we stated early on in the strike: "Shutting down auto is a crucial ingredient to victory in the rubber strike. UAW militants must demand an immediate auto solidarity strike. No handling of any tires until the rubber workers win!" (*WV*, No. 111, 28 May).

WV Photo

**Chrysler skilled tradesmen demonstrating for reactionary particularist demands July 16 outside UAW's Solidarity House.**

Such action would bring the URW strike to a speedy conclusion. But such a secondary strike was about the last thing the cowardly URW leadership was going to call for, and certainly the last thing their UAW counterparts wanted to hear of. Questioned in Detroit early in the strike, Woodcock callously observed that the last rubber strike had lasted nearly three months and not hit auto output, and he saw no reason why this one should! Such vicious backstabbing has not only allowed the URW to be slowly starved into desperation—precisely the rubber barons' goal—but also inevitably weakens the UAW as it approaches its own contracts. Local UAW officials in Detroit are already blackjacking their membership, warning that the URW's plight argues against a major auto strike this year.

Brandishing its pro-Democrat, anti-strike arguments, the UAW bureaucracy is offering the ranks a no-win strategy, which in the context of a worldwide capitalist depression means massive setbacks for auto workers. Even big business economists are predicting that the current "shallow" upturn will soon reach its limits and a new slump will set in. The 20 percent of the industry's 1973 workforce still on layoff will never see the inside of an auto plant again, and many more tens of thousands will once more be thrown out of work (this time with SUB funds already near depletion) unless a militant fight for jobs is launched through an industry-wide strike for a shorter workweek with no loss in pay. But this can only be achieved by ousting the present gang of pro-company bureaucrats in Solidarity House.

At this early point of course, there is still some publicity jousting: the UAW tops, for instance, have come down hard against GM's tentative suggestions that auto workers begin picking up part of the tab for skyrocketing health care costs. But negotiators for both sides are aware that UAW members will not, without a bitter struggle, give up company-financing of health insurance which they won in 1961. Such demands will probably be dropped as soon as negotiations get serious. But on the real issues, the main outlines of the UAW "goals" are already shaping up.

### Down-the-Line Sellout

• **Strike Strategy:** While optimistic that a strike can be avoided entirely, UAW leaders will at most launch a token strike against a single company (the "apache strategy") if necessary to keep volatile ranks in line. Only a strike of the entire industry, including agricultural implements and supplier plants in both the U.S. and Canada, can have the force necessary to beat the corporations, which always stand shoulder to shoulder.

Following the recent judicial upholding of Canada's wage-control law, bringing out all auto and agricultural implements workers on both sides of the border to defend wage parity (won in 1967) is an elementary duty of class solidarity with the 60,000 fellow UAW members in Canada. It could also muster the force necessary to launch a cross-Canada general strike against Trudeau's wage controls, an act of militancy that would immeasurably strengthen all North American unions.

• **Job Security:** In the wake of layoffs that hit 300,000 auto workers and that continue to keep the auto employment rolls well below the 1973 levels, the need for a sliding scale of wages and hours—concretized in the UAW's historic slogan "30 hours work for 40 hours pay" combined with full cost-of-living protection—has never been more evident. The demand for the shorter workweek to create more jobs has consistently been the most popular rank-and-file issue in membership polls,

WV Photo

**UAW vice president and Ford division chairman Ken Bannon**

but just as consistently has been rejected by the UAW leadership. Woodcock high-handedly ruled out of order at the special convention even a weak-kneed mention endorsing the "principle" of a shorter workweek being the priority demand this year.

Instead, the UAW is pushing "short work time" hoaxes which boil down to an absentee control plan whereby workers with perfect attendance "bank" one half hour a week and can take a day off every 16 weeks! Already in effect in the agricultural implements division, this farce, of course, has done nothing to create more jobs.

The recent mass layoff at Ford's giant River Rouge complex shows how shallow the bureaucrat's commitment to "job security" is. Especially since Ford is the probable strike target and this is the largest local in the UAW, the company's announcement that it would lay off 1,380 engine plant workers in the course of phasing out that plant became an important test case of the union's resolve.

Local 600 president Mike Rinaldi—who is also head of the Ford UAW National Negotiating Committee—backed up by Ford UAW director and vice president Ken Bannon, vowed they would not let Ford get away with it. When the July 23 layoff deadline came, however, 1,380 workers hit the street: Rinaldi and Bannon had merely obtained an "agreement" where lower-seniority Rouge workers in other plants could be "bumped" out of their jobs, and pledged to bargain for more jobs later in the national negotiations, when the whole issue could be swept under the rug! This attack on a key section of the UAW particularly hits at black and other minority workers who are concentrated at lower seniority levels.

Rouge militants who had been campaigning for a Rouge-wide strike and occupation of the engine plant to prevent the layoffs were reportedly ejected from a recent pre-layoff engine plant meeting. When an engine worker rose to their defense he was ruled out of order and told to shut up and sit down. This is the kind of "fight for job security" the UAW hacks have in mind!

• **SUB Pay:** When the GM and Chrysler Supplemental Unemployment Benefit (SUB) funds—which provide laid-off workers up to 95 percent of their take-home pay during layoffs—went bankrupt in the depth of the 1974-75 crash, the need was posed for guaranteeing the SUB funds out of corporate assets with government backing for the duration of layoffs. Instead the UAW leadership will demand a few more pennies an hour be added to SUB funding and as well seem intent on "protecting" the funds by limiting the eligibility of lower-seniority workers!

Proposing a "restructuring" of the SUB funds to eliminate the circumstance where lower seniority workers who were laid off collected full benefits while higher seniority workers laid off later confronted an empty fund, UAW officials are hinting at a two-tier system with separate funds for high and low seniority workers, or a modification of seniority to achieve the same end. This racist scheme poses the gravest threat to minority and women auto workers and must be soundly defeated. While opposing government "affirmative action" schemes and court orders which throw out the seniority system and take jobs away from white male workers to compensate for company racism and sexism, Marxists must oppose the dangerous "two-tier" scheme which threatens to introduce the worst abuses of seniority by massively victimizing young, black and women workers.

While fake-lefts like the October League and International Socialists who at Fremont GM have been so ready to "restructure the seniority system" to allow the layoff of older white workers rather than younger, female or minority workers, the Spartacist League has consistently demanded: No to government/employer attacks on seniority! No two-tier systems! SUB must become the right of every worker from the date of hire and for the full duration of layoffs! For indefinite recall rights and maintenance of union membership for all laid-off workers!

• **Skilled Trades:** When Ford skilled tradesmen rejected the 1973 agreement by three-to-one, Woodcock & Co. first rigged re-votes at the key Local 600 to ensure a favorable production workers vote, then crushed the tradesmen's revolt. The bitterness since then has fueled the reactionary International Society of Skilled Trades (a secessionist group seeking decertification of the UAW), the Independent

Skilled Trades Council (which wants a veto power over the contract for tradesmen), and a large group of Chrysler committeemen, who recently held a 250-man demonstration at Solidarity House demanding a separate citywide skilled trades local within the UAW. All these measures are steps toward craft-unionist, separatist solutions to the real grievances of the UAW's' 120,000 tradesmen and would represent a historic retreat from industrial unionism.

The UAW brass is worried over the ferment among the craftsmen. At the February skilled trades conference, Woodcock disingenuously apologized for 1973: "I goofed. I admit it." UAW negotiators plan on smoothing things over by "sweetening" this year's pact with extra money to increase the wage gap between skilled and production, as they did in 1967. Over the last ten years, that gap shrunk from a high range of about 38 percent to a current 25 percent.

Tradesmen certainly need a substantial wage boost, but so do production workers! Both received a measly 3 percent annual increase in the last contract, plus c-o-l increases that cover only about 80 percent of the real rise in prices. Communists respect the training and skills which merit special compensation, but oppose an ever-widening gap between the living standards of skilled and production workers, which inevitably erodes their solidarity. UAW members in both skilled and production must demand a substantial wage hike for all, plus a full dollar-for-dollar cost-of-living escalator. In addition, to break down pernicious divisions whereby the skilled trades have been kept overwhelmingly white, while production is heavily black, class-struggle unionists call for an end to discrimination in hiring and for union-controlled training plans to especially attract women and blacks.

Hank Daniel/kcp photography

**Rubber workers at General Tire scab on URW strike.**

• **Speed-up:** The worldwide scramble for the auto market has sparked industry-wide speed-up as the auto magnates seek to squeeze more production out of a permanently reduced workforce. Even the government's Bureau of Labor Statistics estimates that last year's productivity in auto leaped twice its average annual rate (*Wall Street Journal*, 15 July), making the assembly lines worse hells than ever before.

Longtime UAW leader Walter Reuther engineered the bargaining pattern in the automotive industry where relatively high wages and benefits were traded off for management's complete control of the shop floor. Working conditions are largely the province of localized, hence weaker, bargaining, and even the local right to strike over production standards is effectively hamstrung by the International's reluctance to grant strike authorization.

The flagging fake-concern of the UAW leaders over "blue collar blues" and "humanizing the workplace" translates into virtually *no* new demands concerning speed-up or working conditions. UAW militants must counter this by demanding an industry-wide offensive against the productivity drive: Turn back and freeze line speeds and production standards in the contract! For workers veto power over changes in standards! For the right to strike over all grievances, without International authorization! A union steward for every foreman!

### Open up the Bargaining—Elect Strike Committees! For a Class-Struggle Leadership in the UAW!

The hidebound UAW leadership can succeed in its sellout attempt only by maintaining its extreme bureaucratic isolation from the membership, seeking to suppress or co-opt its impulses to struggle at every point. The content of bargaining will be vague and tepid for the next month; as the real negotiations get underway, a news blackout will be mutually accepted to keep the rank and file (and only it) in the dark until agreement is reached on a new contract.

UAW members must demand that this traditional blackout be ended: Open up the bargaining, with daily reports to the membership on all items! As well, strike committees should be elected in every local, composed of trusted militants who can link up nationally to break the exclusive stranglehold of the pro-capitalist union big-wigs.

But above all, the losses already suffered by auto workers can only be reversed by forging a new class-struggle leadership which can oust the Woodcock bureaucracy and its flunkies throughout the union. Unfortunately, the few dissident groups pretending to national influence in the UAW are inherently deformed by their circumscribed reformist outlooks. "Autoworkers United to Fight in '76"—supported by the Maoist Revolutionary Communist Party—simply begs the question of unemployment by opposing any demand for a shorter workweek! The largest group, "Coalition for a Good Contract" (CGC), is touted by the International Socialists and represents an attempt by the United National Caucus to reach ever more timid layers of bureaucratic "oppositionists." In addition to ducking all "political" issues, the CGC, finding little response in the ranks, has occupied itself by trying to link up with straight-line bureaucratic formations (like Local 22 president Frank Runnels' Short Work Week Committee and the Flint-based "30 and Out" Committee) to "pressure" the UAW negotiators into a "better deal."

But the sellout, pro-capitalist UAW tops are not going to change their colors through pressure: they must be thrown out! Groups like the Committee for a Militant UAW (CMUAW) from GM Local 1364 (Fremont, California) are key to this struggle. While CMUAW has been campaigning centrally for an industry-wide strike for jobs through a shorter workweek with no loss in pay, it raises a broader transitional program ranging from "cops, company and courts out of the union" to the expropriation of industry. CMUAW calls on the unions to break with the capitalist parties and form a workers party to fight for the creation of a workers government to expropriate industry and run it in the interests of all the working people and the oppressed. The expansion of such groups' influence to embrace the broad ranks of the UAW is essential in defeating the capitalists and their lackeys in Solidarity House. ■

# Mao...

*(continued from page 7)*

of favoring a united front with the Soviet Union against U.S. imperialist aggression in Vietnam.

Apart from the empty "capitalist roader" rhetoric, the only concrete policy differences revealed in the fall of Teng concern the economy. Teng is accused of advocating over-centralization and too much emphasis on importing modern technology:

> "In light of the actual conditions of the industrial front, some enterprises are criticizing the revisionist wares of the capitalist-roader [Teng] such as his attempts to oppose independence and self-reliance and advocate the slavish comprador philosophy and doctrine of trailing behind at a snail's pace, to oppose the activism of both the central as well as local initiatives and re-impose the practice of 'direct and exclusive control of enterprises by the ministry concerned,' to oppose the policy of 'walking on two legs' and lay one-sided stress on things big and foreign...."
>
> —*Hsinhua Weekly*, 29 March 1976

Pictorial Parade

**Machine-tool factory in Hunan Province.**

### Riots in the Square of Heavenly Peace

If the political differences between Teng and Mao's followers are not great, the organizational conflict is nonetheless bitter. The pro-Teng riot in Peking's Square of Heavenly Peace on April 5 was no more spontaneous than the larger pro-Mao demonstrations which followed. However, it did reveal the extreme instability of the bureaucracy and the explosive tensions within Chinese society. For anti-regime rioters to control central Peking for over ten hours indicates extensive collusion with local police, militia and army authorities. Further, it indicates that the "moderates," too, can mobilize the masses against those in power, holding out the threat (promise) of a reversal of Mao's scenario of 1966. No doubt realization of this fact has inhibited the so-called "radicals" from extending the anti-Teng offensive to include other former "capitalist roaders."

What effect will Teng's ouster have on Peking's policies? Not much. The decision to replace Teng by the dark-horse, middle-of-the-road Hua Kuo-feng rather than a prominent "radical" like Yao Wen-yuan implies a temporizing approach to current policies. The commune party secretaries will continue to be granted enough money to build small steel or fertilizer plants as they see fit, ambitious capital goods imports may be curtailed somewhat, and the cult of Mao is likely to be revved up again.

This prognosis stands in contrast to that of various self-proclaimed "Trotskyist" tendencies who in one form or another gave "critical" support to Mao or his Red Guards during the Cultural Revolution. These "critical" apologists for Stalinism—embarrassed by Peking's post-1971 bloc with U.S. imperialism—deny Mao's responsibility by postulating a more-or-less total fall from power. They analyze Mao's present situation as that of a leftist outsider once again preparing to "storm the headquarters."

The Maoist faction "did not win politically" during the Cultural Revolution says a recent article in *Inprecor* (8 July), the organ of the United Secretariat (USec). Rather, it "yielded" to the "Chou faction" but is now engaged in another "more directly confrontationist and provocative" campaign against the mainstream of the bureaucracy. The author, while forced to admit the existence of a bureaucracy, prettifies the Stalinist regime, claiming that "even now China maintains a sort of horizontal democracy" in which the masses can discuss "how to implement" policy decided on high by Mao & Co. While the *Inprecor* editors formally distance themselves from the article (referring to it as "a contribution" to analysis of recent events), its faith in Mao is standard USec tailism.

Ollie Atkins/Time

**Hua Kuo-feng**

For the Chinese laboring masses the difference between the Mao and Teng cliques of the bureaucracy is no more significant than that between capitalist politicians Gerald Ford and Jimmy Carter for American workers. After experiencing in the course of the last decade the rise and fall of the Red Guards, of Lin's PLA regime and of the old party "moderates," there is reason to hope that the most advanced workers are disillusioned with Maoist bureaucratic factionalism. On the other hand, Mao's personal mediating bonapartist role has been key to maintaining the precarious "unity" of the Chinese bureaucracy, while the material backwardness of the country promises continued dissension in the ruling stratum as one policy after another fails to raise "People's China" to "great power" status.

Thus the stage is set for tremendous turmoil in China following the death of the Chairman (if not before). In this convulsion the workers must not simply act as cat's paws for one or another bureaucratic faction or clique. Their mission is to oust the parasitic bureaucrats who stand in the way of working-class political power, the democratic rule of soviets. It is with the aim of leading this anti-bureaucratic political revolution that a Chinese Trotskyist party must be built. ■

# Tyler...

*(continued from page 3)*

"Boston Workers United to Fight Back."

At the Boston demonstration the OL speaker openly advocated that those the OL disagreed with should be excluded from participation in the Gary Tyler defense. He denounced the leadership of the national Tyler Defense Committee as "the enemy within our ranks" and wound up in a crescendo of redbaiting, demanding that "these same people and their Trotskyite friends...must be exposed and thrown out of our movement." Only OL-dominated organizations (Communist Youth Organization, Fight Back, *Call* Sellers' Collective) were permitted speakers.

The Boston march is only one example of the criminal sectarian squabbling which has been permitted to undermine the urgent requirements of united-front solidarity in defense of victimized militants. In New Orleans the OL organized a "Southwide Coalition to Free Gary Tyler" based on its own program (including such reformist slogans as "Jobs or Income Now"). In their hostility to Tyler Committee national coordinator Walter Collins—a former leader in the Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF) which the OL now dominates—these unprincipled sectarians are now attempting to use SCEF to make a power play for leadership of Tyler defense activities.

Every organization in a united-front action must be permitted to put forward its distinctive political viewpoint. But any attempt to impose one's program on other groups as a condition for participation in joint defense action is a blow against a united defense.

The PDC encountered similar behavior at the June 5 New York I.S.-influenced march. One of the slogans of the march was "Ban the Klan," which appeals to and implies confidence in the racist bourgeois state and its Klan-infested cops to protect black people. When the PDC explained that this slogan was counterposed to its class-struggle defense policies, the New York Tyler committee responded that the PDC would be barred from speaking at the rally unless it accepted the slogan. The PDC nevertheless took part in the action, carrying signs demanding freedom for Tyler and also raising the slogan, "Labor Black Defense Against Racist Cop Klan Terror."

From the outset the Healyite Workers League/Young Socialists which makes a "principle" of never engaging in united actions with other organizations—also sought to make the Tyler case its private property through its "own" Tyler committee.

By undermining the traditions of working-class solidarity with all victims of bourgeois repression, these despicable sectarian antics will one day explode in the faces of their perpetrators when they themselves come under attack. The PDC, in its principled defense of all class-war prisoners, represents the alternative: a class-based defense policy which mobilizes the broadest unity in action while actively defending the right of all left-wing tendencies to freely put forward their contending political programs. Free Gary Tyler! ■

# Defend Victims of Haitian Dictatorship!

WV Photo

**A "Demonstration Against Oppression in Haiti," held at the United Nations on July 24, drew 150 opponents of the Duvalier regime of terror. The protesters denounced the assassinations, arbitrary jailings and torture of political critics, mass starvation among the peasants and imperialist economic domination. Appeals were made to support three young leftists who fled across the border into the Dominican Republic and sought asylum in the Jamaican embassy in Santo Domingo following a gun battle with the murderous thugs of the "tontons macoutes." In contrast to various priests and other petty-bourgeois elements who called for a democratic (bourgeois) republic to replace "Baby Doc," the Spartacist League raised the internationalist perspective of smashing the Duvalier dictatorship through a proletarian revolution in Haiti and the Dominican Republic, extended through a socialist federation of the Caribbean, and supported by the working class of the U.S. and South America.**

# Miners...

*(continued from page 12)*

the strike official and that strike committees be elected. But unless class-struggle militants put forward a transitional program going beyond trade-union reformism, they will fail to prepare the miners to smash the red-baiting propaganda and government repression that the strikers will soon confront. Lacking this preparation the militant ranks will once again be forced to capitulate to pressure from Miller or pro-Boyle bureaucrats still in power at the district level.

The Right to Strike Committee's current tailism comes as no surprise since the RCP, then the Revolutionary Union, found Miller's use of the courts no obstacle to supporting him in 1972. In May Aubrey Brown, a spokesman for the Committee, stated that "no one is more despised in the coal fields than Arnold Miller." However, Right to Strike Committee spokesman, Skip Delano, added that the UMW president can "change his tune" and that the group would back him if he does (*Charleston Gazette*, 8 May).

Right to Strike leaders Delano and Bruce Miller have themselves been victimized by the courts. Both Delano and Miller were jailed for five days last fall for their activities during an unsuccessful wildcat, but they were released after agreeing to refrain from further militant activities. Miller was jailed again in March by Judge Hall for violating an injunction and served a three-month sentence.

By essentially restricting itself to demanding the right to strike, the Committee has nothing to add when miners defy the courts and walk off the job. They can only chase after bureaucrats who claim to "support the demands." The bureaucrats will allow certain militant actions to blow off steam and will even identify themselves with the strike to a certain extent in order to maintain credibility with the ranks. Local 1759 president Holstein, for example, has received telephone threats against himself and his family and had his car damaged. Yet he is just as committed to the defense of capital as Arnold Miller. Holstein told *WV* that he has stopped many strikes over issues he considered trivial or based on a thirst for "revenge." "I've ended plenty of strikes for them [the coal companies]," he said.

At this point the strike is still gathering momentum. After Sunday's meeting, workers gathered in numerous smaller groups to arrange for pickets throughout Kanawha, Boone and Raleigh counties and all across the state. Militants promised that scabs who received broken windshields as a first warning would have something else broken the next time they tried to cross a picket line.

Militancy alone will not put an end to the onerous working conditions, the murderous cave-ins and anti-union injunctions, however. These are features of the profit-hungry capitalist system which can be ended only by a united working-class upsurge to smash the bosses' state apparatus and institute a workers government in its place. In many ways the men in the pits are far ahead of their American class brothers and sisters in combativity and union traditions. Revolutionaries must seek to lead the miners and all workers beyond the reformist trade-unionism personified by Arnold Miller, as well as the Right to Strike Committee, and toward the conscious struggle against the wage-slave system itself. ■

## CORRECTION

The article, "The Lessons of Entebbe," *WV* No. 118 (16 July), includes the following sentence: "Unlike the right of nations to self-determination, 'national sovereignty' is not a bourgeois-democratic demand that Marxists support." Unfortunately, due to faulty grammar this sentence could be read as implying that "national sovereignty" is a democratic demand, but one which we do not support. National sovereignty is not a bourgeois-democratic demand; it means, rather, the monopoly on violence of a particular state power within its borders. While defending the right of nations to self-determination and opposing imperialist aggression against colonial and ex-colonial countries, Marxists do not defend the "sovereignty" of bourgeois states.

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# Olympics...

*(continued from page 1)*

in the U.S. The black African rulers (who carry on a substantial foreign trade with South Africa) went after inconsequential New Zealand precisely because they did not dare to try to force out of the Olympics South Africa's real allies: West Germany, which supplies Vorster's military machine with nuclear reactors, or the U.S., the ultimate protector of the apartheid state.

The protest raises the general question of quarantining South Africa: should opponents of apartheid refuse to visit South Africa on principle. In general, cultural isolation of South Africa does not advance the struggle against racial oppression. Boycott by foreign scientists, academics, artists and athletic teams only strengthens the garrison-state attitudes of extreme Afrikaaner nationalism. When Arthur Ashe beats white tennis players in South Africa, this does not reinforce apartheid. When Jesse Owens won four gold medals in the 1936 Munich Olympics, he humiliated Hitler personally and objectively ridiculed the doctrine of the Aryan "master race."

Under particular circumstances, boycotting athletic events can be an effective political protest. A year after the reactionary coup in Chile, the masses were still heavily boycotting soccer matches at Santiago's National Stadium, where thousands of leftists and labor militants had been brutally tortured (and many murdered) in the weeks following the September 1973 coup. This unorganized, almost instinctive boycott was one of the few ways the Chilean working people could express their hatred for the murderous Pinochet junta. When the Russian soccer team refused to play the Chileans in 1974, this was a significant act which reinforced the protest arising from the Chilean masses themselves.

Similarly, after the Soweto massacre or during the Angola invasion, a campaign of international protest against South Africa—including cancellation of athletic tours—could be very effective. But a permanent boycott "in principle" is either empty moralism or a cynical gesture by the neo-colonial African nationalist regimes.

### Can the Olympics Be "Non-Political"?

The exploitation of the Olympic games for purposes of national prestige was never more clear than this year, as the Canadian government turned Montreal into a virtual military garrison, under the guise of preventing a repetition of the catastrophe which occurred at Munich in 1972, when a "Black September" guerrilla kidnapping of Israeli athletes ended in a bloodbath.

The idea that politics can be kept out of sports in class society is liberal individualistic idealism. International athletic competition, which is organized along nation-state lines and largely government-financed, necessarily expresses chauvinist ideology and is subordinated to diplomatic maneuvering. Competitive athletic superiority is closely identified with martial and "macho" values. The deformed workers states, with their nationalist ideology and commitment to the substitution of diplomatic "victories" for class-struggle victories in the name of "peaceful coexistence," accept the framework which defines the Olympic games as mainly a tool for patriotic self-congratulation, expending considerable resources of their planned economies in the training of superior athletes.

The Olympics in particular have a history as an arena for national antagonism. They arose out of the sports associations which flourished after the Franco-Prussian War of 1870. The associations were encouraged by governments to stimulate national pride and instill the martial values of discipline and competitiveness. The Olympics' French founder, Baron Pierre de Courbetin, adamantly opposed admitting German athletes to the games.

AP

**Tommie Smith and John Carlos give "black power" salute during playing of the U.S. national anthem at the 1968 Olympics.**

The "cold war" mentality of the 1950's virtually reduced the Olympics to a symbolic test of superiority between "Soviet socialist man" and the "rugged individualism" of the "free world." When the USSR outpointed the U.S. for the first time in 1956, it produced a minor national trauma and much hand-wringing over the supposed loss of moral fibre among American youth.

When national hostility reaches a certain pitch, it explodes among the athletes themselves. In 1956, shortly after Soviet tanks crushed the workers' uprising in Budapest, the Russian and Hungarian water polo teams met at the Melbourne Olympics. Within minutes the pool was red with blood.

The cry that "politics should be kept out of the Olympics" also reflects Americans' and Europeans' smug contempt for the "lesser nations" of Asia and Africa. During the first and second world wars, the Olympics were simply cancelled. If in 1944 anyone had suggested that the Olympics be held on schedule in neutral Sweden so that Russian, German and French youth could compete in a spirit of brotherhood, he would certainly have been declared a lunatic. Yet liberal sportswriters argue that Israeli and Egyptian, or Pakistani and Indian, athletes should somehow be unaffected by the fratricidal antagonisms whipped up by their bourgeoisies.

The flag-waving patriotism of the Olympic ceremonies creates a natural target for oppressed national or ethnic minorities. In 1968, two American black medal winners in track refused to stand at attention for the "Star Spangled Banner," instead raising a clenched-fist "black power" salute. Bourgeois public opinion denounced Tommie Smith and John Carlos for "besmirching the Olympics." A militant black in 1968 certainly had every reason to refuse to salute the flag which was the emblem of the racist cops who gunned down ghetto poor in Watts, Detroit and Newark.

### Sports in a Socialist World

But the sentiment that "politics should be kept out of sports" reflects more than just liberal mushy-headedness. Like music or astronomy, athletics is a genuinely trans-national activity whose standards of achievement are international. Sports like judo and new techniques like the back flip (the "Fosbury flop") in high jumping and the East German-developed skin suit in swimming were rapidly internationalized. The notion that national antagonisms should not prevent athletes from competing against one another is in part a rational impulse which is utopian in the consummately irrational world system dominated by capitalism.

The skill and dedication of Olympic and professional athletes deserves to be recognized. But bourgeois society deforms all fields of individual and collective endeavor and utilizes every social institution to buttress its decadent system. Organized sports play an important role in indoctrinating the youth and instilling in them the values of ruthless competition and approved labor discipline. If the English ruling class likes to believe that World War II was won on the playing fields of Eton, the U.S. bourgeoisie is just as certain that its hegemony is due to the "100 percent Americanism" and ruthless competition drive instilled by the Boy Scouts and the Little League.

The "star system" of capitalist sports—aped by the Russians, who repeatedly harassed gymnast Olga Korbut to keep her in line with Stalinist standards of decorum after building her up into a teenage idol—is deliberately fostered to provide the illusion of a just society in which talent and hard work are sufficient to produce recognition and material success. The inspiring achievements of exceptionally talented athletes like Walt Frazier and Jim Brown are supposed to be the model for black youth in a society which cannot provide good jobs, decent housing or education for the black masses. The fact that some fields of entertainment including professional sports (especially those sports which can be practiced in inner-city playgrounds, unlike for example tennis or swimming) are open to individual blacks of great talent becomes the paradigm case of the great hoax called the "American dream."

The deformed workers states share with the capitalist countries a mortal fear of athletes who think. Former New York Rangers hockey coach Emile Francis was once quoted as saying he knew a player wouldn't "make it" when he saw the young man reading a book on the team bus. And the athlete who talks about politics is anathema. The U.S. sports establishment hounded Muhammed Ali unmercifully for his black nationalist and antiwar views; when he refused to accept the draft during the Vietnam war he was stripped of his world championship boxing title.

A socialist society would see an unprecedented flowering of athletics on every level. Greater individual athletes will be produced, without the mutilation which produces illiterate American boxers and Russian gymnasts who have done nothing else since they were four. Amateur sports will draw upon the broader participation of people from all social and age groups, who will find in athletics a source of pleasure, relaxation and health. Socialist man, benefiting from the enormous increase in leisure resulting from the qualitative expansion of the means of production inaugurated by the destruction of private ownership, will find in all the diverse forms of creative endeavor an outlet for a competitive spirit unlike that which now finds its expression in a sports world suffused with racism, sadism and commercialism. In Trotsky's words, socialist man "will make it his business to achieve beauty by giving the movement of his own limbs the utmost precision, purposefulness and economy in his work, his walk and his play." ■


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# TUC...

*(continued from page 5)*

ences in order to build cozy propaganda blocs in the unions, a point made quite explicit by IMG national secretary Brian Grogan at a joint meeting with the ICL earlier this year.

Likewise, in typically impressionistic fashion, the ICL advocated a second-round vote for Wright in the AUEW election, "not for what he stands for, but to keep out Weakley and the right wing" (*Workers Action*, 10 March). To elaborate its position, the 3 June issue of *Workers Action* published a letter from one of its supporters without comment. The letter argues for support to Wright on the grounds that he will be "more susceptible to rank and file pressure" and "would be forced to support such calls as opposition to wage restraint" as "the only way he could retain his left appearance." But on key issues such as economic protectionism, class-collaborationist "workers participation" schemes and bringing the government into union affairs, Wright responded to pressure from the Labour tops, who in turn responded to the pressure of the ruling class.

Another recently formed avowedly Trotskyist group is the Workers Socialist League (WSL), which was expelled last year from the Healy/Banda Workers Revolutionary Party (WRP). It actively asserts the need for a "new leadership" and a fight for the Transitional Program in the unions. Unlike the IMG and ICL, the WSL pulled back from supporting Benn in the Labour Party election. It also opposed participation in the Ryder Plan committees, while I.S. and WRP members at British Leyland stood for election in these management-dominated speed-up committees (see "Expropriate British Chrysler!" *WV* No. 90, 2 January). Yet in the crucial AUEW election, the WSL also called for support to Wright, without explanation and noting (almost in passing) that he does not pose "an alternate policy" to the right wing (*Socialist Press*, 5 May).

Characteristically, the WSL (like the WRP, IMG, I.S. and ICL) caters to the illusions of rank-and-file militants rather than swimming against the stream and posing a clear-cut pole of class-struggle unionism linked with the fight for a Trotskyist party of the working class. The thread which links all these groups is their political submersion within the current of left Labourism and shop-floor union militancy. The crucial task of an authentic Trotskyist organization in Britain today is to win advanced workers to the understanding that the Labour Party and the trade-union bureaucracy which is its base of support are a roadblock to revolution.

The working class cannot attain proletarian state power and a planned economy by pushing the Labour Party, the TUC or their factions to the left. The union misleaders must be ousted and replaced by a genuinely revolutionary leadership, and the Labour Party must be polarized and split between the reformist servants of capitalism and the proletarian masses whom they time and again betray. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

# Miners Wildcat Against Court Injunction

## Report from West Virginia Coalfields

CHARLESTON, W. Va., July 26—. Coal production in West Virginia has come to a virtual standstill in the wake of a week-old strike, which by now includes an estimated 55,000 out of the 60,000 United Mine Workers (UMW) members in the state. The walkout began June 24 over a job-posting controversy at the Cedar Coal Company in Cabin Creek, but has now become a political strike against government interference in mine workers/management disputes.

The strike continues to grow, spreading into southern Ohio and reportedly into Pennsylvania and Illinois as well. By last week the strike had reduced rail tonnage of coal by 70 percent on the Chesapeake & Ohio Railroad, which laid off hundreds of employees as a result.

In March UMW Local 1759 at Cedar Coal filed a grievance demanding that a newly created communications job be filled by a union member. The company eventually submitted to an arbitrated decision, but refused to post the job, claiming that as a new position it did not come under the 1974 UMW Bituminous Coal Operators contract. Following the June work stoppage, both union and management agreed to submit the posting issue to a federal arbitrator. On July 9, the arbitrator ruled in the company's favor and a week later U.S. district judge Dennis Knapp fined the striking local $50,000 and an additional $25,000 for each day the strike continued. Currently the Local has $28 in its treasury.

### "Bullets Wrapped in Paper"

It was in response to these fines that the wildcat last week spread across the state. Union members met in Logan County Saturday, July 24, to discuss the strike and a much larger meeting was held Sunday on a field at Dry Branch on Cabin Creek to organize and spread the struggle. Miner after miner rose to attack the court. One militant described the injunctions as "bullets wrapped in paper." The strikers demanded allegiance from all miners and denounced as a scab any miner who works at a site where pickets may be temporarily absent.

Several strikers criticized UMW president Arnold Miller for his attitude towards the strike. They referred to his statement of sympathy for the strike while urging the miners back to work. After a number of militants criticized Miller, local union officials felt obliged to defend the union president, telling workers to "read between the lines." A motion was passed, however, calling on Miller to arrange a meeting with the Bituminous Coal Operators Association (BCOA) to discuss the strikers' demands.

The strikers want a written statement from the operators forswearing the use of courts in disputes with the union. They also demand that all fines and injunctions be dropped, and that no discharges or reprisals result from the strike. At the Logan County meeting, strikers demanded investigation of the judges who had issued "massive fines and penalties against the miners."

Though militants insisted they will not mine coal until the demands are won, local union officials are starting to hedge on the last demand. One local officer said, "don't press too hard on that one." They are afraid that an investigation of possible financial connections between the judges and the coal companies would compromise U.S. district judge K.K. Hall's decision last week which denied a Cedar Coal Company petition for a court order enjoining employees from honoring picket lines. Hall's decision was based on a recent Supreme Court ruling at the Buffalo Forge steel plant.

Similarly, union officials are fearful of antagonizing Judge Knapp, who continued indefinitely a hearing on criminal contempt charges against 213 union members and agreed to hold in abeyance the fines which had been accumulating against Local 1759. A hearing on the company's request for a new restraining order was to be held on Tuesday, July 27, the day Knapp's original order expires. If the request is not granted the companies will be without legal sanctions to force the miners back to work. Knapp's decision, which he claimed "would be in the best interests of everyone," is ostensibly intended to provide a "cooling-off period" precisely when strikers' anger and militancy is increasing.

The demand for an investigation of the judges is potentially a powerful demand, which could marshall broad support for the miners by exposing the complicity of the politicians, courts and coal bosses. Knapp was appointed by Nixon, with strong backing from West Virginia's notoriously corrupt governor, Arch Moore. Hall, who fined the union $700,000 during the 1975 wildcat and who dragged the 213 strikers to court in the first place, is backed by former Ku Klux Klansman and current U.S. senator Robert Byrd. Hall also collaborated with an attempt by the Kanawha Coal Operators Association to force two *Charleston Gazette* reporters to testify against miners involved in last summer's wildcat strike wave. The reporters refused to reveal information they obtained at a strike meeting, protesting that they would not be used as labor spies. The contempt of court citations which Hall slapped on the newsmen were dismissed this week by a federal appeals court, but only on the technical grounds that the information was available from other sources. Thus, the courts have not denied the coal companies the power to coerce journalists into supplying legally incriminating evidence against UMW members.

The willingness of the local bureaucrats, perhaps under orders from Miller, to abandon the demand for an investigation of these reactionary judges is an ominous warning of their readiness to undercut the strike to suit the wishes of the very court against whom the strike is directed.

Charleston Gazette

### "A Company Injunction"

The political potential of the coal struggle is great. The strikers have raised a powerful voice against the bosses' government. When one speaker at Sunday's rally inquired whether the no-strike injunction was federal or state, a worker yelled out, "it's a company injunction!" Local 1759 President Hayes Holstein has been quoted as saying that "this is not a Cedar Coal strike. It's a strike against the U.S. government, so it will be a hard strike to win" (*Sunday Gazette-Mail* [Charleston], 25 July).

The sentiment against company-bought politicians and judges, particularly in an election year when disgust over governmental corruption is at an all-time high, should be turned toward mobilizing the labor movement for the construction of a workers party with a class-struggle program. Pro-capitalist labor bureaucrats like Arnold Miller, however, are completely opposed to any such demand since unleashing the workers' political muscle would mean dumping them as the first order of business.

Miller, in fact, was elected by appealing to the federal government to interfere in UMW affairs. It is self-defeating to oppose court interference in labor-management disputes while inviting the same judges to settle internal union issues. The corruption of crooks like former UMW president Tony Boyle must be cleaned out by the miners themselves. While virtually every left group in the country supported Arnold Miller's campaign for the UMW presidency in 1972, citing his talk of union democracy and the gangsterism of his opponents, the Spartacist League refused to back this liberal "reformer" precisely because Miller dragged the UMW into court and invited the scrutiny of the U.S. Labor Department to ensure his election.

The most prominent opposition group in the UMW is the Right to Strike Committee, which is uncritically supported by the Maoist Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP). However, at the Dry Branch meeting Sunday, the Right to Strike Committee made no attempt to direct the anger of the workers beyond the level set by the bureaucrats. One Committee supporter insisted to a local bureaucrat that the group simply supports the four strike demands.

Seeking to keep a low profile (in contrast to its prominence in the September wildcat), the Committee has simply tailed after the bureaucrats, not even raising the call for re-opening the contract to include the right to strike or demanding that the International make

*continued on page 9*

WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

No. 121 6 August 1976

# Communal Bloodbath in Lebanon

AUGUST 3—The squalid civil war in Lebanon continues unabated after 60 "ceasefires" and 40,000 dead out of a population of less than 3 million. The relatively massive Syrian military invasion of Lebanon has increased to 16,500 regular troops, in addition to the pro-Syrian forces operating as units of the Palestine Liberation Army (the "regular" army of the refugee camps), and the Syrian Ba'athist Palestinian commando group, al-Saiqa.

Since the Damascus regime is *currently* throwing its military weight behind the right-wing Maronite militias and gangs, the balance of forces has shifted to their side, as has been tragically demonstrated by the siege of the Tel Zaatar Palestinian refugee camp on the southeast edge of Beirut. But the Syrian invasion has not changed the fundamentally *inter-communal* and sectarian character of the Lebanese civil war in which all sides are sordid and no side is worthy of any support from a proletarian perspective.

Tel Zaatar is near the eastern Christian districts of Beirut and the right-wing Maronites want to wipe out the camp in order to compact a homogeneous Maronite area and open the road linking Christian districts of Beirut to Mount Lebanon and the Mkalles industrial zone. To achieve this end, they refuse to permit the evacuation of 1,000 wounded Palestinians from the besieged camp, allowing children to die of dehydration and defenseless refugees to perish in tunnels meant to protect them from Israeli bombing raids.

On the other hand, the so-called "Muslim-leftist alliance" is not fighting the right-wing gangsters besieging the refugee camp, but rather making "diversionary" attacks upon innocent villagers of Chekka and other northern Lebanese Christian towns which have no relation to the siege of Tel Zaatar, except for those whose strategy is reciprocal communal genocide (in other words, both sides of this reactionary civil war). In a 24-hour period on July 7, some 550 people, most of them unarmed villagers, died in a "diversionary" attack by Muslim forces in northern Lebanon.

### Fake-Lefts Back Anti-Syrian Forces

Especially under the impact of the Syrian invasion, various fake-left organizations who have either abandoned or never had a proletarian perspective have championed the "Muslim-leftist alliance" led by Druze patriarch and Progressive Socialist Party leader Kamal Jumblatt, and their current allies within the Palestinian nationalist movement, led by Yasir Arafat of Fatah. For example, the Revolutionary Socialist League (RSL), a vanishing split-off from the American International Socialists, states: "The key tactic is to give military support to the Moslem-Leftist Alliance" (*Torch*, 15 July-14 August).

In turn, the Healyites—whose political practice mimics some of the least savory aspects of the Lebanese civil war, particularly its gangsterism and sectarianism—in a July 12 statement, "salute[d] the incredibly tenacious and heroic struggle of the PLO [Palestine Liberation Organization, the umbrella group of the all Palestinian nationalist organizations] and the Lebanese left and calls on the Arab workers to declare a general strike in solidarity with the defenders of Tel al-Zaatar." The reformist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) has, in its usual manner of evading thorny problems, dodged the issue of whether to be for or against military support to Jumblatt and the PLO, instead raising as the focus of all its propaganda the "single issue" "Syria out of Lebanon," thus giving backhanded support to the so-called "Muslim-leftist" forces.

However, until spring of this year, Syria was the main military backer of the PLO and the Jumblatt forces. The supply route from Syria to south Lebanon ("Fatahland") was known as the "Arafat trail" and Palestinian commandos received military training in Syria. When it came to giving lip-service to the Palestinian cause, no one was louder or more truculent than the self-proclaimed "vanguard of the Arab revolution" in Damascus. It was the Syrians who forced through the recognition of the PLO as "sole representative of the Palestinian people" at the Rabat summit of the Arab League states in October 1974. It was Syria which forced the debate on the Palestinian question before the United Nations Security Council last December as the quid pro quo for the renewal of UN 'peacekeeping' forces in the Golan Heights.

The same groups which are today condemning Syria for smashing the PLO proclaimed during the October 1973 Arab-Israeli war that Palestinian self-determination would be realized through Syrian (as well as Egyptian) tanks. Yet Syrian suppression of the Palestinian refugees did not begin with the invasion of Lebanon. The current ruler of Syria, President Hafez Assad, came to power in a November 1970 coup after opposing the Syrian intervention on the side of the Palestinians in the Jordanian "Black September" civil war in which 5,000 to 10,000 Palestinian refugees were massacred and the resistance movement in Palestine was crushed. (Not inappropriately, the current siege of Tel Zaatar is being called a Lebanese Black September.)

After Assad came to power, he first banned Palestinian commandos from launching any operations into Israel from the Syrian front, then drove the commandos out of Syria into Lebanon, and then in September 1973 closed down the Voice of Palestine radio operating in the Syrian town of Deraa along the border with Jordan. This presaged the present military alliance with the reactionary Hashemite monarchy in Amman and took place only one month before the October war.

P. Jurnaux/Paris Match

**Phalangist commandos**

In the 1970 civil war in Jordan, the Spartacist League gave military support to the Palestinians defending their refugee camps and communities from the Hashemite army. But in Lebanon, by throwing in their lot with Jumblatt or the Maronite gangs, all factions of the PLO PLA have become submerged in the sectarian communal strife. Therefore, while recognizing the right of both Muslim and Christian communities, including Maronite communities, to self-defense, from a proletarian perspective none of the militias, gangs, "armies" or factions in the Lebanese civil war can be given military support.

### The "Heroic" Communal Terror of the "Muslim-Leftist Alliance"

Earlier this year, when the Jumblatt forces had the upper hand, it was mainly with Syrian-supplied weapons that they drove the Maronite population of Lebanon into small enclaves in the eastern districts of Beirut and along the coast between the capital and Tripoli, in an area bordered by the Christian port cities of Chekka in the north and Junieh in the south.

The creation of a Maronite statelet was not simply a scheme to protect Maronite privilege by that most right-wing Maronite chauvinist, the abbot Charbel Kassis, head of the Order of the Maronite Monks. Inter-communal war has its own logic based on indiscriminate massacre, forced population transfer and partition. And indiscriminate, sectarian massacre has been the dominant character of the military struggle on *both* sides. Thus, when Jumblatt forces were riding high in January of this year, they wiped out the entire Christian village of Damur, killing 500

*continued on page 9*

Michel Artault/Gamma

**Syrian unit on the road to Beirut.**

Review of *Late Capitalism:*

**The Many Faces and Long Waves of Ernest Mandel.....6**

## Chance for Joint Action with UFW Lost

# California Cannery Strike Scuttled

OAKLAND, July 31 Northern California cannery workers started returning to work today as Teamster officials rammed through ratification of a new three-year pact. In Teamster Local 750 here the settlement was approved by more than a two-to-one margin.

As President Ford and the Labor Department threatened an 80-day injunction under the Taft-Hartley Act, Teamster officials were more than willing to end the walkout with a miserly wage settlement and numerous grievances unsettled. In an industry where wages average $4.93 per hour and 82 percent of the workers earn less than $5,000 per year because work is heavily seasonal, the Teamsters agreed to accept a $1.60 per hour raise spread over three years. Their original demand had been $3.00-$3.50 over three years.

Furthermore, no move was made to resolve the complicated question of the union seniority system, which was recently declared null and void by a court decision on "affirmative action." Full-time workers will now be bumped by court order in the name of ending discrimination against Chicano and women workers. The bureaucrats are quite content to keep this explosive issue out of contract negotiations and in the hands of the bourgeois courts, which claim the right to intervene at will in internal union affairs. All they offer the workers whose jobs are threatened is the dead-end of a counter-suit in court.

As the Teamster tops flushed away the opportunity to overcome divisions between full- and part-time workers, the canning companies came out ahead on all fronts. The agribusiness bosses are planning to pass the wage increase on to the consumer by increasing prices on canned peaches and tomatoes by 2 or 3 cents a can. Bumper crops this year, as well as enormous "case carryovers" from last season, made the canneries quite confident of their bargaining position. According to *Business Week* (9 August):

> "Indeed, June inventories of canned apricots were six times as high as a year ago, Tomato paste in institutional sizes was three times as plentiful, and cling peach stocks were 50% greater. The higher inventories, coupled with last year's 25% decline in wholesale prices of products such as tomato paste, and this summer's plentiful crops, all provided the canners with bargaining room in their negotiations with the Teamsters."

Teamster negotiator Freddy Sanchez complained that "the strike was forced upon us by employers who chose this means of reducing their huge inventories rather than make an equitable settlement when our contract expired on June 30" (*San Francisco Examiner*, 31 July). This impotent whine is merely an excuse for not waging a militant strike struggle. Moreover, the Teamster bureaucrats kept cannery workers on the job a full three weeks beyond contract expiration, during the height of the harvest season!

On the divisive seniority issue, militants must not call for gains for one section of the working class at the expense of other sections of workers. However, the maintenance of a semi-permanent workforce of part-timers is a real danger to the union. The seasonal workers, composed largely of Chicanos and women generally discriminated against in hiring for full-time positions, are a ready source of anti-union attitudes. Justly angry at the union's traditional toleration of discriminatory practices, these workers obviously have little to gain under present circumstances from strikes—which to be effective must be waged at the peak canning season—since they only cut into their already limited work time.

To undercut this, militants must demand inclusive union hiring halls in the canning and packing industries to distribute available work. Such hiring halls, combined with demands for a large pay boost and a shorter workweek at no cut in pay to create more jobs, can cut across the discrimination inherent in the present two-tier seniority system separating full and part-time workers. It is the only means to provide a decent living for all agricultural workers. Such demands reinforce the need for unity among Teamster cannery workers and UFW-organized field workers, a goal which is completely alien to both the bureaucrats of the Teamsters and those of the UFW. The time to oust the labor fakers in favor of a class-struggle leadership is long overdue. ■


**WORKERS VANGUARD**

**Marxist Working-Class Weekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.**

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WV Photo

**West Virginia miners protesting court injunctions against wildcats in Charleston last year.**

## Sparked by Court Fines, Injunction

# Miners Wildcat Shuts Down Half of U.S. Coal

AUGUST 3 The coal miners wildcat continues despite a back-to-work movement pushed by the bureaucracy of president Arnold Miller of the United Mine Workers (UMW).

The impetus for the back-to-work movement was a concession offered by federal judge Dennis Knapp, whose decision to impose huge fines and jail sentences on miners at the Cedar Coal Company originally sparked the massive wildcat. On Friday Knapp offered to drop civil and criminal charges (including fines exceeding $300,000) against UMW Local 1759 at Cedar Coal if the miners returned to work as soon as "reasonably possible."

Although Knapp's offer represents a significant concession, the militant coal miners are far from satisfied. The imposition of fines and criminal sanctions by company-controlled judges to break UMW strikes is a phenomenon widespread throughout the industry. Coal miners are demanding that fines and injunctions be lifted on *all* UMW locals throughout the coal fields.

Miners also want a guarantee of amnesty against victimization of any miner involved in the strike. Furthermore, the striking miners want a meeting between the union and the Bituminous Coal Operators Association (BCOA, the employers organization) before any return to work. The miners are demanding that BCOA cease utilizing the courts in their bargaining with the union and want an agreement that there be no more fines, jailings or injunctions.

Since the inception of the walkout, which has spread to include 80,000 miners and has shut down half of all U.S. coalfields, UMW president Arnold Miller has staunchly opposed the strike. Miller has attempted to divert the

# Letter to the Red Weekly

c/o BCM Box 4272
London WC1V 6XX
12 July 1976

*Red Weekly*

To the Editor,

In *Red Weekly* (1 July 1976) there is an article ("Jim Crow Flies Again") by Steve Potter which concludes that "Only the Trotskyists of the Socialist Workers Party have consistently fought for such mobilisations on the issue, combining support for black self-defence with a call for federal troops to enforce busing in Boston on the model of Little Rock in 1957." This statement is not only factually inaccurate, but politically represents a denial of basic tenets of Trotskyism.

It is completely misleading to claim that the SWP "combines" the call for black self-defence with the call for federal troops. Any call for self-defence has mostly been relegated to the level of general and abstract proposals for the future, quite subordinate and secondary to its main plank that the imperialist butcher army be sent to protect the oppressed in Boston. The SWP has denounced the Spartacist League's call for labour black defence as "unrealistic," as "sectarian," "ultra-left" phrasemongering.

Consistent with its central axis, the SWP has sought to hide examples of integrated workers self-defence. For instance, last year at the instigation of the Labor Struggle Caucus, a class struggle group within the union, Local 6 of the United Auto Workers union in Chicago established a labour black defence guard to defend the home of a black member which was being attacked by racists. Though the action received considerable publicity in the local bourgeois and national left-wing press, the *Militant* has not printed one word about it.

The example of Little Rock which Potter cites in fact illustrates graphically the dangers of calling on the capitalist army to defend the oppressed. Eisenhower at first ignored calls for federal intervention, only sending the troops in *after* the blacks had responded to racist riots by arming themselves to defend their community. Eisenhower was not enforcing integration, but responding to the pleas of the panicky local racist authorities and acted to restore capitalist "law and order."

The events of Little Rock, and the deployment of federal troops in Detroit 1943, Birmingham 1963, Selma 1965 and Detroit 1967, verify the basic Marxist analysis of the class nature of the capitalist state, and highlight the utter bankruptcy of the SWP's essential assumption (apparently now shared by the IMG) that it is possible to control the armed forces of the capitalist state through mass pressure. All necessary efforts at black self-defence, together with the continuing struggle to broaden the defence out to make clear its class content, must be unconditionally counterposed to calls on the bourgeois army to act as liberator towards those it is intended to oppress. If the IMG believes that the SWP is correct, how long will it be before it imitates the SWP's call to "Bring the boys home from Vietnam and send them to Alabama" with one of "Out of Belfast, into Brixton!"*

Certainly the fact that the same issue of *Red Weekly* calls for the bourgeois state to ban fascists (veiled as a demand that the "Labour Government ban all provocative marches and demonstrations"), together with your apparent agreement with the call of troops to Boston, suggests that the IMG is at bottom willing to accept the same denial of Lenin's teachings as in *State and Revolution* which the SWP so brazenly espouses.

Fraternally,
David Strachan,
international Spartacist tendency

*A neighborhood in south-central London with a large concentration of black immigrants

attention of miners by concentrating on lobbying Congress. His latest "coup" strategically timed for the middle of the strike—was the passing of a bill in the House of Representatives that would transfer the enforcement of federal coal safety standards from the Department of Interior to the Department of Labor! This meaningless measure which leaves miners at the mercy of the government will avail the miners nothing. The gross bias of the federal government is what prompted the strike in the first place!

However, Miller has been unsuccessful in derailing the militancy of the ranks. Under pressure from the membership, he has been forced to publicly acknowledge the justness of the miners' grievances and the fact that the issues are not local ones but are a nationwide problem. However, the strikebreaking UMW chief has also asserted that miners must return to work before the issues can be resolved.

Using the Knapp offer as a convenient pretext, Miller scheduled numerous back-to-work votes over the weekend. While the bourgeois press circulated reports that a number of UMW locals voted to return to work, this has not had a significant impact on the strike. As of today, West Virginia, the heart of the wildcat, remains solidly shut down, while the majority of miners in Ohio are out. Numerous mines in Pennsylvania, Kentucky, Virginia, Illinois and Indiana are also closed.

In the absence of a centralized strike leadership, the high degree of solidarity exhibited has been achieved essentially through the use of roving picket squads. Miners have traditionally refused to cross picket lines and many of the mines have been shut down through the presence of only one or two pickets.

The rift between the UMW bureaucracy and the angry ranks has noticeably widened during the strike. Thirty members of Local 1759 stormed out of a meeting with Miller on July 29. Local 1759 president Hayes Holstein told *WV* that "The men don't trust him [Miller]." Holstein, who apologized for Miller by stating that "He's trying to do the best he can," added that "A lot of people are bucking him at every time." Referring to the no-nonsense mood prevalent among the rank and file, he said: "They're not going to pay attention to anybody. I don't think they'd listen to the president of the United States."

Holstein also made clear that he and other local union officials currently "leading" the strike were willing to sacrifice the demands of the miners. Holstein dismissed the demand raised earlier that the ties between the judges and the coal operators be investigated, stating "That's impossible." Of the demand that fines and injunctions be lifted on all UMW locals, he replied frankly, "We're prepared to deal on that one."

Holstein also asserted that the Right to Strike Committee, a grouping supported by the Revolutionary Communist Party, was playing no role in the current strike. Last week, *WV* reported that the Right to Strike Committee is simply tailing after the spontaneous militancy of the rank and file.

The Right to Strike Committee has totally failed to counterpose itself to the program of the bureaucracy. These ostensible militants are silent in the face of the treachery of Miller and the local union leaders. Failing to raise the need for elected committees to run the strike, they ensure that key demands of the miners will be sold out by the officials.

Rather than such gross capitulation, class-struggle militants must demand that an official nationwide strike be called. Such a strike, while encompassing the miners demands against the use of the courts, would call for a reopening of the contract to take on such key issues as the right to strike, the creation of strong union safety committees, organizing the unorganized mines, and the need for a sliding scale of hours and wages. ■

## Gotbaum Threatens to Strike City Hospitals

# Nine NYC Doctors Dismissed for Honoring 1199 Pickets

AUGUST 2—New York City hospitals continue to be the focus of labor unrest as a doctors' wildcat broke out last week at Montefiore Hospital in the Bronx. The walkout occurred after the hospital fired two doctors and suspended seven others who last month refused to cross the picket lines of striking District 1199 workers. In another development, members of AFSCME Local 420 voted to strike the city's municipal hospitals beginning August 4 in protest against a new wave of hospital layoffs.

However, for non-medical personnel in the private hospitals (organized into SEIU Local 144), plans for a strike when the contract expired July 31 were quashed when union bureaucrats rammed through a two-year extension of the present contract and agreed to submit wage demands to binding arbitration.

The Montefiore wildcat, which now includes about 40 doctors, began July 24 when the hospital announced the firing of attending physicians Marji Gold and Mike Fisher, and the suspension of seven residents on the house staff who refused to cross Local 1199 lines during the recent 11-day contract strike against NYC "non-profit" hospitals. Their act of labor solidarity stood in sharp contrast to the rest of the city's hospitals, where doctors scabbed freely, with the go-ahead of the Committee of Interns and Residents (CIR). Two of the Montefiore doctors identify themselves as supporters of the Progressive Labor Party (PL) and several others are in the PL-supported Health Committee Against Racism.

After a week of picketing, the hospital offered to rescind the penalties of the seven suspended doctors, without, however, rebating their pay. But the picketers insist they will stay out until Gold and Fisher are rehired and guarantees are given against further reprisals. Today was established by the Montefiore administration as the deadline for doctors and other hospital employees to return to work, under threat of new disciplinary action.

Throughout the week the wildcat remained small and isolated, with only about 40 of Montefiore's 450 doctors staying out, supported by a handful of the more than 2,500 District 1199 workers at the hospital. District 1199 president Leon Davis refuses to instruct the members to respect the doctors' picket lines, despite the widespread sympathy many members have expressed for the strike. The picket swells each day at noon when many 1199ers come out to walk the line during lunch hour.

The District 1199 unit delegates voted to support the strike and have collected over 400 signatures on a petition demanding that the hospital respect a "no-reprisals" clause signed by the union and the League of Voluntary Hospitals as part of the 1199 strike settlement. (Montefiore naturally interprets the clause to apply only to 1199 members.) In addition, groups of psychiatric social workers, members of the pediatrics house staff and other groups have read support statements on the line. While responsibility for the criminal abandonment of the victimized doctors must be laid at the feet of the 1199 bureaucracy, workers at the hospital must be made to realize that their "sympathy" counts for nothing while they are daily scabbing.

An 1199 showdown rumored to be planned for today was apparently scratched by Davis who, ironically, owes the victimized doctors both a political and a personal "debt." Suspended doctor Barbara Otto told *WV* that during the hospital workers strike Leon Davis walked the Montefiore line where he pledged to stay out "forever" if any reprisals were taken against the doctors. A few days later, Davis fainted from the heat during an 1199 rally held outside the Democratic convention at Madison Square Garden. Marji Gold attended him there and accompanied the union leader to the hospital. When she was fired shortly afterwards, Gold remembered the pledge and called Davis up. Now Davis denies he ever made it!

The Leon Davis/Moe Foner leadership of District 1199 fears above all that respecting the doctors' picket line at Montefiore could lead to a reopening of their own sellout contract. In addition, these Communist Party-backed bureaucrats will shed no tears for the disappearance of "PL doctors" from their "turf." Such cynical victimization of political opponents on the left—a long-time characteristic of PL also, which learned its Stalinist tricks in the CP—must be countered by militant solidarity of all Montefiore workers in respecting the lines.

While support for the doctors must be gained from CIR and 1199 members throughout the city, the wildcat was a typical PL-style action which in the past has not only isolated and wiped out many of its own supporters from the trade unions, but also cost the jobs of other class-conscious unionists who refused to cross the lines. Moreover, skits staged by the wildcatters during the noontime rally Friday equated the union with management. Instead of ignoring or writing off the union because of its treacherous misleaders, a struggle must be waged within 1199 to bring the union out in defense of the victimized doctors.

WV Photo

**Doctors and nurses picketed Montefiore Hospital last week after doctors were dismissed for respecting 1199 picket lines during recent hospital workers strike.**

### Municipal Hospital Strike Vote

In AFSCME's District 37 last week, Local 420 (representing NYC non-medical hospital workers) voted in an emergency meeting to strike the municipal hospitals beginning August 4. The union is demanding that a newly announced wave of layoffs be rescinded. The strike action grows out of long negotiations between the union and the city's Health and Hospital Corporation (HHC). Last June, DC 37 head Victor Gotbaum called off an announced strike against layoffs, declaring a "victory" after the HHC's "compromise" offer to lay off 842 workers on the spot and to refer a proposed 2,000 more to a "fact-finding" panel. Last week the panel ordered 1,350 immediate layoffs.

The layoffs necessitate transfers of higher-seniority workers from hospitals experiencing cutbacks to other hospitals, where they "bump" lower-seniority employees. This has spread the impact of the cutbacks throughout the municipal hospital system and has engendered an overwhelming strike sentiment among the Local 420 rank and file. By *WV* press time the union was making noises about gearing up for some kind of action on August 4. However, Gotbaum's blustering always generates widespread skepticism. Despite the elimination of 5,000 jobs in the municipal hospitals since the beginning of the "fiscal crunch," Local 420 has *never* struck the city.

Nonetheless, the union's back is against the wall and the new wave of layoffs comes in the midst of a vicious anti-union climate triggered by the recent 1199 strike. Paving the way for the layoff announcement, the *New York Times* ran a serialized exposé revealing that several hundred workers scheduled to be laid off under previous cuts were still on the payrolls and drawing salaries from Fordham and Morissania Hospitals which were closed recently.

Workers at the Local 420 emergency meeting Thursday chanted "strike, strike, strike," and the Gotbaum bu-

*continued on page 4*

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## Lordstown Auto Workers Picket Firestone

# Rubber Companies Break Off Negotiations in 100-Day URW Strike

CLEVELAND, August 1 The strike against Goodyear, Firestone, B.F. Goodrich and Uniroyal by 60,000 members of the United Rubber Workers (URW) is more than 100 days old. The Big Four rubber companies have arrogantly refused to budge from their "final offer" presented in early July: a $1.30 wage increase over three years, a cost-of-living allowance which did not cover the first year of the contract at all and only partially covers the last two years, and a pension increase applying only to future years of service. After a three-week recess in negotiations occasioned when the URW rejected this offer, talks were resumed in Washington under the direct supervision of Secretary of Labor W.J. Usery. These talks in turn collapsed after only three days with

AP

**URW pickets at Firestone at beginning of current rubber strike.**

representatives of Firestone and Goodyear threatening to file unfair labor practice charges against the union, citing the "adamant attitude of the United Rubber Workers leadership."

The conduct of the strike by URW president Pete Bommarito has been a travesty of class-struggle leadership. Repeatedly, rubber workers in Akron (there are 11,000 strikers in the industrial center) have assembled at plant gates to prevent white-collar employees and scabs from entering the struck plants and to attempt to close down the non-striking plants. One Akron deputy has appeared on nearly 200 occasions instructing pickets to disperse in accordance with anti-strike injunctions. But URW bureaucrats have never gone beyond token efforts to defy these strike-breaking court orders.

When the strike began in April, Bommarito looked forward to contract expirations in several rubber companies which were supposed to cut farther into tire production while adding thousands of workers to the numbers already on strike. Instead, workers at General Tire, Kelly-Springfield and Mohawk stayed on the job. At a URW rally in Akron on June 18, Bommarito boasted that the workers at Mansfield Tire had joined the strike and would stay out until the Big Four settled.

Mansfield Local 17 leaders insisted, Bommarito stated, that returning to work during the Big Four strike would be like crossing a picket line. This is true, but it did not prevent Local 17 head Harold O. Boyce from ending the strike the very same day. "Pete is really going to be mad," Boyce said (19 June *Akron Beacon-Journal*).

On June 21, Local 6 leaders reached a tentative agreement with Mohawk. Though pickets from other factories in Akron defied an injunction and temporarily closed the plant, Local 6 president Herbert Stoneking urged the Mohawk workers back to the job. Stoneking claimed to have a letter from the URW president also urging Local 6 to go back. As a result of this treachery at the top, Local 6 members decided by *one vote* to return to work. Eventually Stoneking had to call a secret local meeting (secret from other URW members who might protest over Stoneking's backstabbing) to insure acceptance of the "me too" agreement with Mohawk.

At this point only a mixture of 3,300 Armstrong Rubber Company workers, General Tire workers at Logansport, Indiana and those at Dayton Tire remain on strike alongside the Big Four strikers. In addition to the 65,000 URW members now on strike, contracts affecting more than 20,000 additional rubber workers will have expired by the end of 1976. These union members should have been called out in sympathy 100 days ago. Instead they have been used as a lever against a URW victory.

When the rubber strike began in April Bommarito confidently predicted that tire supplies would run out in May and the auto manufacturers would be forced to shut down. However, at this point the auto giants continue to operate full blast with heavy overtime schedules. Not only did Bommarito grossly underestimate the size of tire stockpiles but supplies have been constantly augmented through production by scabs, the renegade URW locals and imports from URW-organized Canadian plants. And new model changeover in the auto plants will add additional weeks before tire shortages are felt. Michelin, an unorganized company which has significant facilities in the U.S., has supplied increased quantities of tires for Ford and has serviced GM for the first time. Bommarito has announced plans to organize Michelin workers—once the strike is over!

Spurred on by Bommarito's incompetence and his inability to control his own union officials, the companies have risen to new heights of arrogance. While early in the strike Supplemental Unemployment Benefits (SUB) to laid-off employees were cut off, the Big Four later announced that hospitalization and insurance benefits for strikers would expire though workers would be allowed to maintain the policies if they pay the premiums themselves! These premiums amount to approximately $90 monthly for workers with families workers with no earnings since April 21.

Most serious, however, was Goodyear's effort to bypass negotiations with the URW International. On July 7 Goodyear representatives met with union representatives in Dayton to discuss a proposal already rejected by the URW national bargainers in Cleveland. O.N. Sherman, Goodyear's vice president for industrial relations, was quite candid about the company's intentions. The attempt was made, he said, because national union negotiators refused "the best possible offer that could be made and the largest ever proposed in the history of the rubber industry" (*Cleveland Press*, 6 July). It was necessary for Bommarito himself to attend the Dayton meeting to remind the URW's Goodyear negotiators that they were not authorized to bargain on economic issues.

The only bright spot in this dismal picture has come neither from URW bureaucrats nor their counterparts in the United Auto Workers (UAW). The latter despite the increasingly obvious desperate plight of the much smaller rubber workers union have refused to call a solidarity strike of auto workers. The only attempt at inter-union solidarity has come from the UAW ranks themselves. Last week 50 militants from the Lordstown GM plant picketed at the Akron Firestone factory. **The picketing was scarcely mentioned in the bourgeois media and a URW International spokesman claimed not even to know about it.** The president of UAW Local 112 in Lordstown told *WV* that the demonstration was unofficial and not authorized by Local officials. Thus the officialdom of both unions is anxious to dissociate itself from the militant solidarity which alone can save the rubber strike from defeat and spark a victory in auto.

Unlike Leonard Woodcock of the UAW, who is hoping to retire into a position in Jimmy Carter's cabinet, Bommarito has nowhere to go. In 1973 he negotiated a sweetheart agreement with no c-o-l provision and unless he makes a better showing this time, his job in the URW hierarchy is in jeopardy. However, precisely because of his weak position within the union, he cannot afford to alienate the local union bureaucrats, who within the relatively decentralized structure of the URW have considerable power. Predictably, Bommarito has capitulated over and over to the backstabbing and parochialism of the local bureaucrats.

Despite their frequent squabbling, there is no fundamental difference between Bommarito and the local URW labor fakers. Bommarito's weak-kneed strike strategy encourages the defeatism of the local officials, while the strike-breaking of the latter offers Bommarito an excuse for his inevitable sellout. All of these class-collaborationist parasites must be swept out of office and replaced by a genuine class-struggle leadership. ■


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# ILWU Local 6 Backs Muñoz Defense

**OAKLAND—On July 8, the general executive board of ILWU Local 6 (Bay Area warehouse) adopted a motion calling upon the Argentine government to allow safe passage for Chilean exiled trade-union leader Mario Muñoz. The motion also demanded the immediate restoration of trade-union rights now suppressed by the Videla junta.**

**The motion was put up by Bob Mandel, a member of the Militant Caucus, who has taken an active role in the Committee to Save Mario Muñoz. Significantly, it was seconded by Joe Figueiredo, a prominent spokesman in the Local for the views of the Communist Party's West Coast weekly, *People's World*. While the Muñoz campaign has received the endorsement of Angela Davis, in general the CP has been extremely reticent about supporting victims of the Videla junta. When the military took over in March, the Argentina Communists saluted the junta's supposed "respect for representative democracy"!**

**ILWU support for the campaign to save Muñoz and other victims of the Argentina junta can have an immediate and powerful impact. In 1974 ILWU and ILA longshoremen as part of a worldwide protest refused to handle any Chilean cargo for two days in solidarity with the embattled Chilean working class. Such labor action today against Argentine shipping could force the junta to grant free exit to the many class-war political refugees currently trapped inside Argentina.**

# NYC Doctors...

*(continued from page 3)*

reaucracy met opposition from many who wanted an immediate walkout when it added on a rider for a five-day extension of the strike deadline. DC 37's popular black demagogue Lillian Roberts had to be brought in to control the meeting (a role she also plays in the executive board of the New York Coalition of Labor Union Women) and win the members to the bureaucracy's strategy of "creeping paralysis." This may entail impotent harassment tactics, such as closing only one hospital at a time. Clearly worried about a repeat of the militant battles 1199ers had with scabs at Mount Sinai and other hospitals last month, Roberts warned the members, "don't go out until you're told," because "we have to have professional people there when the cops start playing games."

Last month, Gotbaum's sole purpose in referring the 2,000 layoffs to a "fact-finding" committee was to avoid a strike deadline which would coincide with the 1199 contract expiration date. Last year as thousands more layoffs devastated Local 420 he called strikes "an act of weakness." Now Gotbaum's substitute for militant union action is to support right-to-work peanut magnate Jimmy Carter for U.S. president! Militant unionists must demand instead that 1199 and DC 37 break with the Democrats, dump the bureaucrats, and take the lead in building a workers party to fight for a workers government.

Last month Gotbaum demanded that city money be diverted from private hospitals to the municipal hospitals, thus gaining jobs for Local 420 members at the expense of District 1199 members. Last year he dealt with the layoffs by calling for the sacking of minority CETA (federally funded) workers to save the jobs of AFSCME members. Class-struggle union action, in contrast, means labor solidarity. The 1199 contract must be reopened and a joint city-wide strike of all hospital workers waged, with the unions pledged to fighting for no layoffs and more jobs through a shorter workweek at no loss in pay. ■


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## Wurf Puts Local 1006 in Receivership

# Chicago AFSCME Strikers Forced Back to Work

CHICAGO, July 31—Jerry Wurf has joined with Chicago cops and the state of Illinois to give the *coup de grâce* to a 23-day strike of unemployment office workers here. When they were arrested on the picket lines early in the strike, AFSCME Local 1006 strikers received neither legal nor financial support from the International, and they received no aid when at least 289 of them were fired or "suspended pending discharge." Last Wednesday the International leadership went from passive obstructionism to active strikebreaking when it fired all officers of the striking Local and took Local 1006 into "administratorship." "The strike is over," declared spokesmen for the International. To make good on this *diktat*, International representatives locked the union hall and cut off the Local's telephone.

With the strikers isolated and deprived of even the means for centralized communication, the AFSCME brass is without a doubt at this very moment preparing a witchhunt of "irresponsible" militants and leftists in order to finish off its dirty job. Union "radicals"—particularly supporters of Progressive Labor Party (PL), who are represented in the Local leadership—are likely to be victimized and will certainly be the least likely of the fired and suspended workers to get back into the unemployment office.

Militant workers must call upon the entire Chicago labor movement to defend these union members! Any attempt to victimize strikers must be stopped! All charges against those arrested on the picket lines (and whose bail was paid out of their own pockets due to the sabotage by the International) must be dropped! The elected leadership of Local 1006 must be reinstated and the AFSCME International's receivership lifted immediately!

However, instead of organizing a hard-hitting, class-struggle defense campaign, the Local leadership has fostered dangerous illusions among the strikers that "justice" will somehow be granted them by the bourgeois courts. Specifically, it is building up the hope that they will win a court injunction to reinstate the 289 fired strikers. This "militant"-talking legalism is well illustrated by the response of Houston Stevens, Local 1006 field director, to the firings and suspensions:

> "Our jobs are secure. We have legally protected rights to them, and Local 1006 members will defend those rights with unity, determination, *and the law firm of McCoy, Ming and Black*." [our emphasis]
>
> strike bulletin, 26 July

Although the leaders ousted by the International are still saying that the strike continues and picket lines will remain up until the original demands—including a guarantee of no reprisals—are met, the situation looks very bleak for the strike, which has been isolated from the beginning. The picket line in front of the central office has dwindled from 400 picketers on the first day to 20 the day after the International declared the strike over. The Local leadership has boxed itself into a corner by its early failure to mobilize broad labor support for this small and relatively weak union, and by its capitulation to the state. On July 19 and 20, the leadership demonstrated its "cooperative" attitude by voluntarily taking down picket lines in order to "facilitate" negotiations!

The AFSCME International's assault on the Chicago unemployment office workers is only the latest episode in its long history of backstabbing betrayal. While in Chicago the International bureaucracy is collaborating with the cops to break the strike, nationally AFSCME has organized police, prison guards and other armed agents of the capitalist state—sworn enemies of the working class—into the union. They should be expelled—Cops out of the unions!

WV Photo

**AFSCME strikers picket in front of Chicago unemployment office last month.**

The lesson of the Local 1006 strike is clear: a class-struggle opposition must be built which, unlike the weak-kneed misleaders of Local 1006, can defend the membership and oust Wurf and the rest of the strikebreaking AFSCME piecards. The Local's defeat can be reversed only by forging a militant new leadership that understands the laws of the class struggle and has a strategy to win it. ■


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# Sadlowski Supporter Shot While Leafleting Houston Steelworkers

On July 26, Ben Corum, head of a United Steelworkers (USWA) union local in Kankakee, Illinois, was shot in the neck while distributing leaflets critical of USWA International president I.W. Abel outside Hughes Tool Company in Houston, Texas. Corum is a supporter of USWA Chicago-Gary district director Ed Sadlowski's Steelworkers Fightback Committee.

The assault on Corum was not an isolated incident. Supporters of Steelworkers Fightback were physically attacked twice while handing out literature at Armco Steel in Houston. The attackers at Armco apparently included officials of the Steelworkers local at that plant. Furthermore, Fightback Committee members were reportedly told by USWA staffers that they "had better leave Houston, or you'll regret it" (quoted in *Daily World*, 29 July).

This gangster-style violence takes place in the context of heightened tension within the union over succession for the International presidency when Abel retires next year. Recently a second slate claiming loyalty to Abel has been formed. Most likely this "split" within the Abel gang is nothing more than a reshuffling in order to build a more effective "united slate" against the insurgent bureaucratic reformer Sadlowski. Abel proclaims neutrality in the split between his supporters while concentrating his fire on Sadlowski.

Steelworkers Fightback, which is currently running a nationwide organizing campaign in preparation for the USWA convention in late August, denounced the shooting of Corum and the strongarm tactics at Armco, calling on Abel and other union officials to repudiate the violence. In response, District 37 director Jim Ward has declared a "hands off" attitude. The president of USWA Local 1742 at Hughes Tool, W.W. Woods, while claiming he opposes violence, even offered backhanded justification for the assaults. The attack against Corum took place, he said, because workers at the plant were allegedly angry at being "handbilled in the past by communists" (*Militant*, 6 August).

Militant steel workers must denounce this gangsterism and condemn the inaction of the pro-Abel bureaucrats. USWA members must defend the right of oppositionists to distribute literature, which is crucial in order that all viewpoints may be brought before the union membership and freely debated. Union democracy is necessary for successful defense against company attacks and in selecting a class-struggle leadership that can wage such a defense.

Rather than struggling within the union to mobilize the ranks against this reactionary thug violence, however, Sadlowski called for an investigation by the U.S. Labor Department and the FBI. He further asserted that, "This intimidation makes a mockery of the notion of union democracy and free speech guaranteed by the constitution and the 1959 Landrum-Griffin Act." Thus once again, this liberal reformer is angling for the full-blown government intervention that that put him into office in the first place.

Militant unionists do not defend the would-be assassin of Ben Corum against prosecution for attempted murder. Nevertheless, they must resolutely oppose any government intervention into union affairs launched on the pretext of "curbing violence." Class-conscious steel workers must denounce Sadlowski's invitation to such deadly enemies of the labor movement as the U.S. Labor Department and the FBI, as well as his willingness to utilize the union-busting Landrum-Griffin Act against opponents in the bureaucracy. Gangsterism and thuggery within the unions will only be halted by resolute action of the membership itself.

Not content with appealing to the federal government, Steelworkers Fightback also demanded that Houston cops police the plants to protect their leafleters against goon violence. While the police have apparently declined to intervene, Sadlowski's attempt to bring in these notorious Ku Klux Klan-infested strikebreakers is the most dangerous treachery. But the call for police protection is uncritically echoed by the reformist Communist Party (CP) and Socialist Workers Party (SWP).

Clearly, intervention of the cops, courts, FBI or Labor Department into Steelworkers affairs would be directed not against hooligans and gunmen, but against militant unionists and socialists. Hughes Tool Company has already declared war against "reds." Two years ago the company issued a circular which explicitly denounced "Rising Up Angry," a newsletter supported by the Revolutionary Communist Party, as well as the SWP's *Militant* and Progressive Labor's *Challenge*. Were the cops to police steel plants, the first victims would be the leftists and militants who distribute literature at Hughes Tool, including the very same reformists who advocate this measure!

While claiming to oppose the dictatorial methods of the Abel machine, Sadlowski, like "reformer" Arnold Miller in the United Mine Workers (UMW), is himself viciously anti-communist and hostile to workers democracy. When Miller became head of the UMW (also through government intervention), he soon began to crack down on "unauthorized work stoppages" and refused to defend wildcat strike leaders against government prosecution. Not by calling for the bosses' hired guns and judges into the unions, but by organizing the union membership for militant defense of workers democracy and class-struggle policies can the bureaucratic stranglehold of the pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy be smashed. ■


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# The Many Faces and Long Waves of Ernest Mandel

Ernest Mandel

News Ltd

## by Joseph Seymour

In reviewing the writings of Ernest Mandel, one is immediately struck by his quite substantial changes in line on virtually any subject. Thus, for example, in various pamphlets and articles during the middle and late 1960's this eminent "Marxist economist" went on at great length about a supposed "neo-capitalism" of greatly increasing productivity (due to a "third industrial revolution" in the computer age) and counter-cyclical capitalist state planning allegedly preventing the recurrence of a 1929-style crash.

The contradiction with the Leninist theory of imperialism as the epoch of capitalist *decay* was total, and was expressed in blatant revisions of the Marxist program in numerous spheres. Workers control no longer meant dual power at the level of the factory, as it did for the Bolsheviks, but merely "anti-capitalist structural reforms"; the struggle between labor and capital no longer concerned exploitation, but instead focused on "problems of organizing production."

**REVIEW: *Late Capitalism* by Ernest Mandel**

Then in the 1970's, Mandel's references to "neo-capitalism" suddenly disappear and in their place we find talk of "more classical models" of socialist revolution. At one level this is an expression of rampant empiricism. Certainly today not even the most inveterate reformists postulate increasing productive forces, successful capitalist crisis management or the disappearance of struggles over surplus value.

But unlike a Paul Sweezy or a Paul Mattick, Ernest Mandel is not merely a pseudo-Marxist academic, and his analyses of contemporary capitalism must be placed in the framework of his role as leader of the ex-Trotskyist revisionist current today known as the "United Secretariat of the Fourth International" (USec). The abandonment of "neo-capitalism" was the result of the demise of the student-centered and "third-worldist" New Left (with its "new working class" theories) which forced the incorrigible tailist Mandel to look for new pastures in a "broad vanguard" of a Stalinoid or syndicalist character.

The connecting thread of Mandel's various "theoretical" shifts is his rejection of Trotsky's fundamental proposition in the Transitional Program, that "the historical crisis of mankind is reduced to the crisis of revolutionary leadership."

In the early 1950's, reacting to the organizational isolation of the Fourth International (FI) and the post-war expansion of Stalinism, one Michel Pablo (Raptis), head of the FI's International Secretariat, with Ernest Germain (Mandel) as his intellectual lieutenant, developed the liquidationist perspective of long-term "deep entrism" into the mass Stalinist and social-democratic parties, seeking to pressure the reformists to the left.

Later, in the early 1960's, the Pablo-ists put forward the notion that the peasantry of the colonial and semi-colonial countries was the new "epicenter of world revolution," and the task of European revolutionaries was henceforth that of cheerleaders for petty-bourgeois nationalists (like the Algerian FLN) and Stalinists (such as the Vietnamese NLF).

At bottom, *Late Capitalism* and Ernest Mandel's other writings on the subject are an objectivist justification for this Pablo-ist liquidationism. The notion that the post-World War II period up to the mid-1960's was a "long wave of rapid growth in the international capitalist economy" means that this was a fundamentally different and, from the bourgeoisie's standpoint, more positive *epoch* than that in which the Fourth International was formed. It is an excuse for rejecting the Transitional Program as in large part obsolete and the principles on which Trotsky sought to build the FI as no longer valid.

Nor is Mandel's assertion that the "long post-war wave of rapid growth" ended in 1966 an objective empirical analysis. The eruption of a new political generation in the late 1960's—dramatically manifested in the French May events of 1968—produced a sizable layer of New Leftist, Maoist and syndicalist-inclined youth to the left of the traditional mass reformist parties. To attract the "broad vanguard" of leftists who chanted "The Only Solution is Revolution," Mandel had to promise them "another long wave of increasing social and economic crises for world capitalism."

The political implications of the Mandelian "long wave" theory are scarcely touched upon in the hundreds of pages of *Late Capitalism*. However, the final chapter does contain this significant passage:

> "The essential and intrinsic consequence of the end of the long wave of post-war expansion, and the intensified struggle over the rate of surplus-value unleashed from the second half of the 60's onwards, is a world-wide tendency towards qualitatively sharpened class conflicts, which will bring the endemic crisis of capitalist relations of production to explosion point."

The clear implication is that before the mid-1960's, the "endemic crisis" of capitalism could not reach an "explosion point." And what a contrast to Mandel's earlier pronouncement that, "Neo-capitalism experiences and will experience depressions, but not new crises comparable to that of 1929" (speech to the "Cercle K. Marx," 12 January 1964, quoted in "Défense du trotskysme," *La Vérité*, September 1965)!

Before discussing in detail the arguments of *Late Capitalism*, it is important to note that the 1975 English edition is not simply a translation of the 1972 German original: it is a revision. Mandel assures us that he has only "corrected and clarified subsidiary formulations, and brought relevant statistics up to date." But most of his readers will have no way of verifying this. When Marx or Trotsky brought out a new edition or translation of a work they considered no longer fully adequate, they included a new introduction or footnotes. In contrast, Mandel has followed the notorious Stalinist and bourgeois academic practice of altering the original text.

### Kondratiev's Long Waves

The core of Mandel's book is the assertion that the period from 1940-45 to 1966 was the first phase of the fourth long cycle of capitalist development based on the "third technological revolution."

As he notes, the concept of such long cycles first became prominent in the Marxist movement in the early 1920's through the work of an eclectic Russian economist, N.D. Kondratiev, a fellow-traveler of the Soviet regime. Kondratiev's schema was based entirely on observed statistical regularities. He made no effort to provide a causal explanation from the standpoint of Marxism or any other theoretical framework.

Kondratiev's long cycle schema produced a lively debate among Marxists during the 1920's. The general tenor of criticism was that his schema was mechanical and without apparent theoretical footing. Typical of Kondratiev's critics was the Soviet economist S.A. Pervushin:

> "To prove the existence of major cycles it is not sufficient to find swings of long duration. You must prove that the cause of the upswing necessarily originates the factors which bring down the depression."
>
> —quoted in George Garvy, "Kondratieff's Theory of Long Cycles," *Review of Economic Statistics*, 1943

Trotsky participated in the "Kondratiev cycle" debate, notably in his 1923 note, "The Curve of Capitalist Development" (translated in *Fourth International*, May 1941). Trotsky held that Kondratiev's explorations provided valuable material and insights for a more profound history of capitalism. But he raised against the "long cycle" theory two fundamental, interrelated criticisms. First, Trotsky denied that "long cycles" were genuinely cyclical and analogous to the conjunctural cycle produced by the self-perpetuating effect of the rate of accumulation on the rate of profit. Therefore, he maintained, long waves cannot be explained by purely economic factors, but must be affected by all major historical events:

> "As regards the large segments of the capitalist curve of development (50 years) which Professor Kondratieff incautiously proposes to designate as cycles, their character and duration is determined not by the internal interplay of capitalist forces but by those external conditions through whose channel capitalist development flows."

Granting that the history of capitalism shows a succession of fairly long periods of rapid growth and greater cyclical stability than adjacent periods, the decisive question is this: do long waves arise from a common cause, an internal law of capitalist production relations, or are they rather an after-the-fact statistical generalization mirroring all the factors which determine the uneven development of capitalist production?

The answer to this question has great political importance. If long waves are more or less a law of capitalist development, then they have the force of long-term conjunctural predictability. A revolutionary organization would have to take into account which phase of the long wave it was passing through in determining its political line. If it concluded it was in the beginning of a long wave of accelerated growth, this would mean that there would be no fundamental worsening of the conditions facing the masses and that a major depression would not occur. Such a prognosis would require a major revision of programmatic emphasis as well as of tactical perspectives.

Where does Mandel stand on this critical issue? His formulations are so guarded and ambiguous that it is difficult to pin him down. At one point, in response to a correct criticism of long wave "theories" by Polish Stalinist economist Oskar Lange, Mandel replies:

> "Although we likewise reject the concept of the 'long cycle' and do not, therefore, accept the mechanical determination of the 'ebb' by the 'flow' and vice versa, we have nevertheless attempted to show that the inner logic of

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**1960-61 Belgian general strike. Mandel withdrew call for march on Brussels when "left" bureaucrat Rénard refused to support it.**

Nikolai Bukharin — Il Mondo

> the long wave is determined by long-term oscillations in the rate of profit."

Despite his disclaimers of holding a mechanical cyclical theory, Mandel nonetheless asserts that capitalism has regularly experienced long waves based on technological revolutions and their predictable effect on the rate of profit. This is the core of his theory:

> "The history of capitalism on the international plane thus appears not only as a succession of cyclical movements every 7 or 10 years, but also as a succession of longer periods, of approximately 50 years, of which we have experienced four up till now....
>
> "Each of these long periods can be subdivided into two parts: an initial phase, in which the technology actually undergoes a revolution.... This phase is distinguished by an increased rate of profit, *accelerated accumulation*, accelerated growth.... This first phase is followed by a second, in which the actual transformation in productive technology has already taken place.... The force that determined the sudden extension by leaps and bounds of capital accumulation in Department I [capital goods] thus falls away, and accordingly this phase becomes one of retreating profits, *gradually decelerating accumulation*, decelerating economic growth...." [original emphasis]

Mandel's theory does imply long-term predictability: once a technological revolution has occurred, this event imposes a definite pattern on economic conditions for the next decades. The logic of Mandel's schema is that given sufficient empirical data in the early 1950's, one could predict the absence of a major depression, no marked deceleration in the rate of growth and no period of intense class struggle until the mid-1960's. The rightist, liquidationist political implications of such an objectivist theory are obvious.

What are we to make of Mandel's thesis? First, he offers *no* empirical evidence for it, and for the 19th century no empirical evidence is available. Before 1900, at the earliest, there exist no reliable statistics for deriving changes in productivity, the rate of profit, capital per worker or the rate of surplus value. Thus Mandel is engaging in outright charlatanism when he writes that in 1826-47 there was a "stagnant rate of profit" or that in 1848-73 the rate of surplus value was rising. It appears that he is simply *deducing* the rate of profit and its component parts from the observed rate of growth in output. This "method" is not only completely unscientific, but it simply *supposes* the causal relationship that must be proved!

From a theoretical standpoint, there is absolutely no reason to believe that technological innovations should come in concentrated clumps about every 50 years. There is also absolutely no reason to believe that diffusion of new technology on an international scale and its impact on the rate of profit has a regular and predictable periodicity. In short, Mandel's theory is without sound empirical foundation and has no a priori plausibility.

### Disappearing the 1920's

If Mandel's theoretical construction is untestable for the 19th century, his periodization since World War I is arbitrary and false. Key to the entire conception laid out in *Late Capitalism* is the existence of a "sixth long wave" from 1914 to 1939 which is described as "regressive" with the rate of profit "falling sharply."

Even those without a profound knowledge of economic history know that the economic conditions of the 1920's were very different from the 1930's, not to mention the economic impact of World War I. The 1920's was a period of unusually rapid economic expansion. Between 1920 and 1929, industrial production in the United States increased by 65 percent, in Britain by 13 percent, in France by 104 percent and in Germany by 100 percent; in Japan during the 1920's real national income almost tripled (from Ingvar Svennilson, *Growth and Stagnation in the European Economy*, and Colin Clark, *The Conditions of Economic Progress* [1957 edition]). The volume of world exports, which had fallen to 65 percent of the pre-war level in 1921, jumped 86 percent by the end of the decade.

What Mandel does is to simply disappear the economic boom of the 1920's by constructing an arbitrary, artificial long wave of "decelerating growth." He has done this by combining in one category a period of great expansion with a destructive world war and the greatest depression in capitalist history.

The failure to acknowledge, much less analyze, the boom in the 1920's vitiates Mandel's entire analysis of the post-World War II period. In order to scientifically demonstrate a "third technological revolution" during the 1940's and early 1950's, it is necessary to show that there was a radical increase in the rate of productivity, not relative to the depressed 1930's—that is self-evident—but relative to the 1920's.

This Mandel makes no attempt to demonstrate, since he cannot. From 1919 to 1929, the average annual increase in productivity of U.S. manufacturing was 2.0 percent, a figure almost equal to the 2.3 percent average annual increase in the 1948-57 period (John W. Kendrick, *Productivity Trends in the United States*). In Europe, too, the 1920's was a period of considerable technological dynamism. For example, electricity production more than doubled during the decade. Comparing 1929 with 1913, the output of pig-iron per blast furnace increased by 58 percent in Britain, by 65 percent in France and by 131 percent in Germany.

The Newsletter

**André Renard, a leader of the 1960-61 Belgian general strike.**

The economic expansion of the 1920's generated a vast literature claiming that capitalism had fundamentally changed for the better, a literature similar to the Keynesian New Economics and "neo-capitalist" theories of the 1950's and 1960's. For example, in 1928, the prominent American populist Lincoln Steffens could assert.

> "Big business in America is producing what the Socialists held up as their goal: food, shelter and clothing for all. You will see it during the Hoover administration."
>
> quoted in William E. Leuchtenburg, *The Perils of Prosperity*

The notion that the economic expansion of the 1920's was based on fundamental structural changes was not limited to liberals or social democrats. The best-known "revolutionary Marxist economist" of the period, Nikolai Bukharin, attempted to explain a "second period" boom as based on a "technological revolution" associated with the development of state capitalist tendencies in the imperialist economies. As we shall see, the similarity between Bukharin's "second period" and Mandel's "seventh long wave" is undeniable. Perhaps that is why the almost 600 pages of *Late Capitalism* failed to mention Bukharin's analysis of the 1920's even once.

### State Expenditure and the Rate of Profit

In a lengthy work designed to be a major contribution to Marxist economics, one is shocked by the superficiality and amateurishness of the statistical material. Since Mandel's central premise is that the first technological revolution since the 1890's occurred in the 1940's and early 1950's, the least one would expect is a consistent historical series measuring productivity change in the major capitalist countries. Instead, Chapter 6 on the "third technological revolution" contains a smattering of illustrative figures such as might be found in a popular magazine article, not a scientific work.

Likewise Mandel does not construct a consistent historical series for the rate of profit and its component parts. He simply asserts that between 1940-45 and 1966 the rate of exploitation rose steeply and then became stable, while the rate of profit rose and then slowly fell. To back these assertions, he presents bits and pieces of incommensurate statistical data, virtually none of which are calculated in labor value terms or otherwise conform to Marxist categories.

Significantly, Mandel explicitly rejects the only scientific Marxist attempt to measure long-term changes in the rate of profit which we know of. This is an unpublished doctoral thesis by Shane Mage (a founder of the Spartacist tendency, who has since abandoned Marxism) entitled *The "Law of the Falling Tendency of the Rate of Profit": Its Place in the Marxian Theoretical Framework and Relevance to the U.S. Economy* (1963). Mage calculates the rate of profit for every year from 1900 to 1960 for the U.S., in both current labor value terms and "real" (1960 labor value) use value terms. Contrary to Mandel's assertion, Mage found that from 1945 to 1960 the rate of profit fell steadily as the rate of surplus value remained stable, while the organic composition of capital (the value of capital per productive worker) rose markedly.

Mandel rejects Mage's findings by asserting that government expenditure should be treated as part of surplus value. This treatment of government expenditure is key to Mandel's entire argument in two ways. First, it is only by adding government expenditure to private property income that Mandel can defend his empirical assertion that the rate of surplus value rose sharply in the post-war period. Second, his treatment of government expenditures is key to his belief in the *past* efficacy of Keynesian stabilization policy as a means of realizing surplus value without increasing the organic composition of capital through productive investment.

Taking issue with Mage for limiting surplus value to property income *after* taxation, Mandel writes:

> "In Marx's theory all revenues are traced back to wages or surplus-value. Since state revenues can hardly be regarded as variable capital...they can only be regarded as a redistribution of social surplus-value or an increase of it by deductions from wages."

The term "social surplus-value," which nowhere appears in Marx's writings, is an elementary confusion between use value and exchange value. Social surplus denotes those real resources available over and above those needed to reproduce the existing level of output. Social surplus is a universal category applicable to all societies above the most primitive. Surplus value, on the other hand, is the exchange value, realized in money, available to the owners of the means of production in capitalist society. Judged by the standards of a rationally planned socialist economy, the social surplus of any capitalist economy is far greater than surplus value, which is restricted by the overhead costs of the capitalist system. And this is what government expenditure is.

Contrary to Mandel, the commodity product is not entirely divided between surplus value and the wage of productive workers. A part of the commodity product is expended on replacing the capital used up in the process of production. This replacement of capital is not limited to depreciation on the physical means of production and distribution, but includes all overhead costs necessary for capitalist reproduction. According to Mage, government expenditure as well as private administrative and commercial expenses are a part of constant capital expended and replaced:

> "Since these commercial and political expenses, though unproductive of new value, signify the consumption of a portion of the social capital, the *value* consumed in this way, in order to assure its continual reproduction must enter into the *total value* of the mass of commodities produced.... Consequently the appropriate treatment for the outlay of unproductive expenses in general, provided only that they are "socially necessary" under the existing form of social organization, is to regard them as part of the constant capital advanced and expended." [original emphasis]
>
> --Shane Mage, *op. cit.*

A precise specification of surplus value is key because it is the numerator of the rate of profit, the central concept of Marxist economics. The rate of profit, in turn, is the main regulator of new investment determining the short-run level of output and long-term changes in productivity. By including government expenditure in surplus value, Mandel is faced with two alternatives concerning the incentive to invest. He can assert that the level of investment is not affected by the rate of taxation and government borrowing, which is manifestly absurd; or he can redefine the relevant rate of profit as surplus value minus taxes.

Far from having an identical role in capitalist economics, government expenditure and profit are profoundly antagonistic. One of the most striking reactions of the bourgeoisie to the 1974-75 depression is a determination to augment profit by cutting back what is seen as a bloated, parasitic state sector. Mandel's identification of government expenditure as part of surplus value cannot comprehend, much less predict, the rage for fiscal austerity now sweeping the advanced capitalist world. In contrast, Mage's theory fully explains the attempts of the capitalist class to restore profitability by reducing the cost of government.

### Mandel's "Seventh Long Wave" and Bukharin's "Second Period"

> "From the economic point of view, from the point of view of the analysis of the capitalist economy, the second period may be described as the period of the restoration of the productive forces of capitalism. In this period, relying on its political victories and on its relative political stabilization, capitalism strove to achieve and ultimately did achieve a certain economic stabilization. The second period passed away to give place to the third period, the period of capitalist reconstruction. This reconstruction was expressed in the pre-war limits being exceeded qualitatively and quantitatively. The growth of the productive forces of capitalism is due on the one hand to the rather considerable progress achieved in the technique of industry and on the other hand to the extensive reorganization of the capitalist economic contacts."

Is this a quote from Mandel describing the developments after

*continued on page 8*

# Mandel...

*(continued from page 7)*

World War II? No, it is Bukharin giving the report on the world situation to the Sixth Congress of the Third International in 1928 (*International Press Correspondence*, 30 July 1928). As for technological revolution, the report bristles with examples: electrification, synthetic fuels, light metals, industrialization of agriculture, automatic production line, etc. And Mandel really should give Bukharin credit for putting it all together:

> "The changes in technique which in some countries, primarily in the United States, is assuming the character of a technological revolution, is quite definitely linked up with the trustification of the national economy, with the establishment of gigantic banking consortiums and already in the post-war period with the growth of state capitalist tendencies in multifarious forms."
>
> *Ibid.*

While we are focusing on the theoretical parallelism between Bukharin's analysis of the 1920's and Mandel's evaluation of the 1950's and early 1960's, it is important to point out the radically different social bases for the respective revisionist doctrines, which make for a qualitatively different scale of historic impact. The rejection of Marxism by Stalin-Bukharin stemmed from the isolation of the Soviet state bureaucracy, which sought to maintain its precarious and parasitic position by adapting to what it viewed as an unshakeable capitalist world order. Commanding the resources of a major world power, Stalinism had a great impact on the political events of the 1920's; the doctrine of "socialism in one country" served to excuse such monumental betrayals as the Comintern's failure to oppose Hitler's march to power.

By way of contrast, Pablo/Mandel's attack on Marxism reflected the isolation of small revolutionary propaganda groups from the mass organizations of the working class under seemingly unshakeable reformist leaderships. The historic impact of Pablo-Mandel's revisionism was primarily in disrupting the continuity of revolutionary Marxism by destroying the Fourth International. It is because Pabloism has been unable to commit betrayals of world-historic proportions in the name of the FI that Trotskyists today struggle for the rebirth of the Fourth International rather than building a new "Fifth" International. But Mandel's revisionism nonetheless bears a major responsibility for the fact that the new generation of radical intellectuals and workers emerging in the 1960's looked to Maoism, Castroism and other "militant" variants of Stalinism rather than to Trotskyism as the embodiment of Marxism.

The origins of both Bukharin's "second period" and Mandel's "seventh long wave" schemas were the subsiding of a post-war revolutionary wave and subsequent strengthening of the reformist bureaucracies in relation to the communist vanguard. This was associated with an unexpected economic expansion which was seen as reinforcing the conservatism of the masses. Both Bukharin and Mandel objectified this particular political and economic conjuncture, constructing what is essentially a sub-epochal scheme.

From the notion that the dominance of the reformist bureaucracies was unshakeable due to a long period of economic expansion, it was a short step to the conclusion that communists could make headway only by allying with one section of the bureaucracy against its more rightist opponents. For Stalin-Bukharin the Anglo-Russian Trade Union Council during 1925-27 had the same purpose as "deep entrism" for Pablo-Mandel: a means of pressuring and maneuvering with a reformist bureaucracy whose dominance was considered objectively unassailable.

The anti-revolutionary consequences of this line were not long in manifesting themselves. Just when Stalin-Bukharin had settled in for long-term collaboration with the British Trades Union Council leaders Citrine and Cook, and when Mandel had forged his one-sided alliance with Belgian Socialist Party trade-union leader André Renard, these very forces were placed at the head of general strikes. Moreover, the British general strike of 1926 took place at the very apex of Bukharin's "second period" of capitalist stability, and the Belgian general strike of 1960-61 was in the heart of Mandel's "long wave of rapid economic growth." Yet these were important class battles pregnant with revolutionary perspectives. Partly to conciliate their new-found reformist allies and partly because they believed the period was inherently non-revolutionary, Stalin-Bukharin in 1926 and Mandel in 1960-61 played a passive, tailist and defeatist role in these historic class battles.

In the Belgian case, Mandel backtracked and finally under pressure from Renard abandoned altogether the demand of a march on Brussels. On 1 January 1961 Mandel's paper, *La Gauche*, carried a red headline proclaiming: "Organize the march on Brussels." The next week (7 January) it argued against concentrating forces for a single day and place and instead for infiltrating tens of thousands of demonstrators into the capital. Finally, on 14 January it wrote:

> "We have been reproached for having launched the slogan of a march on Brussels.... Since we find that the demand has not been taken up by the leaders, we submit; but we point out that at the moment our call appeared last week, no indications on this subject were yet known."

Mandel's "long post-war wave of rapid growth" implies a defeatist attitude not only to the Belgian general strike of 1960 but also to the French general strike of August 1953 (when Pablo's French lieutenant, Pierre Frank, issued a statement apologizing for the fact that the Communist Party-led CGT labor federation refused to demand the ouster of the Laniel government) and toward the East German workers uprising of the same year (when Pablo's International Secretariat issued a declaration calling for "real democratization of the Communist parties"—i.e., bureaucratic "self-reform"—and failed to demand unconditional withdrawal of the Soviet occupation forces which put down the revolt).

Likewise, the "long wave" analysis holds no perspective for the Hungarian Revolution of 1956 (where Pablo wrote that the absence of a political leadership had "provoked...exactly those flaws and dangers" which Poland had avoided "thanks to the leadership role played by ...the Gomulka tendency...a centrist tendency nonetheless evolving to the left ...") or for resistance to De Gaulle's coup in 1958. A victory for the proletariat in any of these major class battles would have radically altered the course of post-war European history and rendered all questions about a "long wave of accelerated accumulation" sterile scholasticism.

## Tactical Origins of the "New Long Wave"

The "deep entrist" tactic was not originally based on the projection of a long period of economic prosperity. Quite the contrary: it was motivated by imminent catastrophism. In the early 1950's, Pablo advanced the "war/revolution" thesis according to which World War III, between the U.S. and the USSR, would break out immediately with the mass reformist workers parties of West Europe being forced into the Soviet camp. Thus this "entrism sui generis" was predicated on revolutionary situations developing before the Trotskyist vanguard could develop significant forces.

By the late 1950's, the "war revolution" thesis had become an embarrassing memory and the tactical justification for entrism was turned around 180 degrees. A long period of economic and political stability was now projected for the advanced capitalist countries; this was implicit in the notion that the "epicenter of world revolution" had shifted to the colonial world. The failure of the Pablo-Mandel entrists to pressure their favored left reformists (Renard in the Belgian SP, Pietro Ingrao in the Italian CP) into leading centrist splits—this being the highest standard of success imaginable—was blamed on objective conditions. A 1969 document of Mandel's United Secretariat reassesses the entry tactic in the following terms:

> "The economic cycle that took place was as a whole unfavorable to the massive development of left currents in the old parties. Nonetheless in several countries such currents did form, but owing to the existing conditions on the one hand and the weakness of the revolutionary Marxists on the other, large splits were rare. Finally, the weight of the objective situation gained the upper hand and led to a very pronounced shift to the right among the traditional parties."
>
> "Draft Resolution on Our Tactics in Europe"

By the mid-1960's, entrism was a failure even in terms of immediate organizational opportunities. A new generation of radical student youth—the New Left—emerged outside of and hostile to the social-democratic and Stalinist parties. With the rapid growth of organizations within the New Left, Maoist/syndicalist continuum, continuation of the "deep entrist" tactic threatened Mandel's USec with being outflanked from the left.

Hungarian workers tore down Stalin statue during 1956 uprising.

Photoworld

1953 riots in East Berlin.

Consequently, in the late 1960's the European USec sections made a sharp tactical turn abandoning entrism for an orientation to this "new mass vanguard." This shift was the focus of the 1969 document, "Draft Resolution on Our Tactics in Europe," as well as of the core document of the USec's "tenth world congress" in 1973, "The Building of Revolutionary Parties in Capitalist Europe." The key passage of the latter document reads:

> "[T]he central task for revolutionary Marxists in the stage that opened in 1967-68 is to win hegemony within the new mass vanguard...."

*Late Capitalism* was written in the same period as these documents and can be considered an attempt to provide a high-Marxist, world-historic analysis to crown the new turn. The 1969 "Draft Resolution" was naive enough to place the start of the new period with May 1968, a political event:

> "With May 1968, a new period opened up, characterized among other things by a world crisis of the capitalist system and by a political awakening of the European working-class movement."

The USec to the contrary, both the French May events and Italy's "red summer" in 1969 took place under economic conjunctural conditions that were similar to the early 1960's.

However, according to Mandel's objectivist schema a revolutionary situation could not occur during the "long post-war wave of rapid growth." So he had to find a convenient conjunctural event before, but not too much before, May 1968. He came up with the West German recession of 1966-67! Mandel must be the only economist in the world today who believes that 1966 was the fundamental turning point in the post-war capitalist economy. The

failure of the rest of the world to notice the epochal change in that year is readily comprehensible. In the four years preceding 1966, national income in the advanced capitalist countries increased by 24 percent; in the four years following 1966 it went up by 19 percent, hardly an earth-shaking deceleration (*National Accounts of the OECD Countries, 1962-1973*).

Interestingly, in the 1972 German edition Mandel made no attempt to demonstrate empirically that the West German downturn of 1966-67 marked the end of the "seventh long wave," since he could not do so convincingly. However, in the 1975 English edition he triumphantly provides such a proof by adding in the 1974-75 world depression, which of course greatly reduces average annual growth since 1966. Had Mandel chosen the 1969-70 American recession as the turning point, he could have shown an even sharper deceleration. This demonstrates the empirically arbitrary but politically deliberate nature of Mandel's long wave schema.

In rejecting Mandel's objectivism, we do not hold an accidentalist view of contemporary political development, i.e., that a revolutionary situation could break out anytime, anywhere. Only a political imbecile would argue that the prospect for revolutionary struggle in the next few years is the same in West Germany as in Spain. In projecting the development of the class struggle, the economic conjuncture must certainly be taken into account. But to label 25 years of world capitalism, with several generalized recessions and a number of revolutionary opportunities, as a "long wave of rapid growth" is not only totally inaccurate, but necessarily implies a defeatist attitude. *Late Capitalism* is not a serious work of Marxist economics; it is a cynical apologia for Pablo-ist liquidationism. ■

# Lebanon...

*(continued from page 1)*

villagers, even breaking open coffins and burning corpses.

Damur was the fiefdom of Camille Chamoun, a rightist Maronite who was president of Lebanon in 1958 when he invited in the U.S. Marines, and is interior minister of the present "government," such as it is. Chamoun's National Liberal Party is, if anything, even more rightist that Pierre Gemayel's Phalangists, which were modeled after the Nazis, and Chamoun's militia has been in the vanguard of the vicious and brutal siege of Tel Zaatar. The sacking of Damur, of course, was partly in reprisal for the sacking by right-wing Maronites of the predominantly Muslim Quarantina enclave in eastern Beirut, during which 1,500 were murdered.

So when the RSL gives "military support" to the "Muslim-leftist" forces it is to the murderers of Damur, to continued senseless communal slaughter. When the Healyite political bandits of the "International Committee" hail the "incredibly tenacious and heroic struggle of the PLO and the Lebanese left," they are saluting the "diversionary" massacres of Christian villagers in the north.

Julienne/Sygma

**Bloody aftermath of January battle in the Quarantina slum district of Beirut.**

P. Jurnaux/Paris Match

**Pierre Gemayel**

### Lebanon Goes the Way of Cyprus

Throughout the Near East during the 20th century there have been communal conflicts between a crazy-quilt of interpenetrated religious and national populations. Palestine prior to 1948, Cyprus prior to 1973 and Lebanon until now are examples. Capitalism offers no democratic solution to such conflicts, which fester and mount until a flashpoint is reached. Now Lebanon may go the way of Cyprus, through the forced population transfers of interpenetrated peoples into separate Christian and Muslim statelets.

The comparison with sectarian strife in Northern Ireland has also not been lost on Lebanon. The London *Observer* (6 June) relates how an Armenian Christian "hauled out of his car by a particularly bloodthirsty Muslim roadblock reportedly saved his life by telling his captors he was a Protestant. One of them went off to find out what this was and returned with orders to release the Armenian immediately. 'Protestants are the people killing all those bloody Christians in Northern Ireland,' he explained."

Fatah in its demand for a "democratic secular Palestine" projected a solution to the Palestinian question which was "democratic," but not anti-capitalist. Lebanon was their model. But now Fatah's model of multi-religious harmony is drowned in the blood of sectarian war.

Given the weakness of the former Lebanese army, now disintegrated into its sectarian components, the Palestinian refugee camps were able to constitute a "state within a state," setting up their own army, police, laws and government. Right-wing Maronite forces (including the presidential candidate of Jumblatt, Raymond Edde) have struggled incessantly to consolidate Lebanese "sovereignty" and strip the refugee camps of their militias and autonomy. Now the Syrian army may very well finish the job that Chamoun, Edde, Gemayel, etc., were unable to complete.

Cyprus, Northern Ireland, Lebanon and Palestine all are the legacy of imperialism, where religious, racial and/or national differences were exploited and exacerbated in order to divide and rule. Capitalism offers no other solution to these conflicts than that which transpired yesterday in Cyprus and threatens today in Lebanon. The only way out of the morass of communal killing in Lebanon must be based on a perspective that is proletarian, revolutionary and internationalist.

The butchery of Muslim Quarantina and Christian Damur will only be avenged through a proletarian class upheaval which welds together the urban and rural oppressed, extending beyond the narrow national boundaries to give rise to a socialist federation of the Near East. ■

## NOTICE

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# SWP...

*(continued from page 12)*

sition grouping in the plant the SWP press breathed not a word about it.

In the cause of not frightening the civil libertarians, the SWP argues against calling on the state to suppress the fascists, a standard Communist Party demand. In arguing that the fascists' "freedom of speech" must be defended, the "Education for Socialists" bulletins repeat a number of Trotsky and 1930's SWP statements warning that to call for state repression of the Nazis would legitimize state repression against left "extremists" as well. This is a telling argument against the SWP's "fraternal" allies of the fake-Trotskyist United Secretariat in Europe, such as the French LCR, which has called for the state to outlaw the fascists and ban their demonstrations. But the SL/SYL has repeatedly warned that, "Any government ban against extremist armed groups will always be used as a bludgeon against the left, not the right" ("The Fight to Implement Busing").

To this the SWP responds, "It's basically self-contradictory to say that we don't call upon the state or campus administration to ban these fascist groups and at the same time say that they have no right to speak." Only for those whose political horizons are limited to calling on the state to carry out their reformist program! The SWP has repeatedly called on the federal government to bring in troops to impose "law and order" on anti-busing rioters in Boston. Just as in the case of banning fascist groups or demonstrations, such calls only open the way for government repression of the oppressed blacks, especially if the latter should begin to defend themselves against racist marauders terrorizing their communities. To the SL/SYL call for labor/black defense by the unions and mass black organizations, the SWP once again raises a hue and cry about "adventurism" and "irrelevancy."

Dobbs ends up on a "left" note, cautioning that: "We don't fight for free speech for Nazis.... Our aim is to crush the fascists." But only last November, the YSA championed the right of Ku Klux Klan leader Scott Nelson to speak at the University of Houston. In response to militant black students and SYL supporters who protested the appearance of this notorious purveyor of "nigger-hunting licenses," the SWP/YSA distributed a leaflet saying: "Scott Nelson must have the right to speak at the University of Houston." And when the audience beatedly responded to Nelson's vile race-baiting, SWP/YSA supporters intervened to oppose the heckling and protect Nelson's "right." This revolting defense of an advocate of lynch-mob terror gives the lie to Dobbs' calculated bit of decent.

### Renouncing Trotsky, and Their Own History

While SWP/YSA leaders make a great show about how they are unconcerned with answering the Spartacists, *Counter-Mobilization* shows that these revisionists have at least been forced to deal with the numerous articles the SYL has reprinted from the Trotskyist press of the 1930's and 1940's on how to fight fascism. Their response is to openly break with the historic Trotskyist position, but they do so in a consummately dishonest manner, seeking to place the blame on the Spartacus Youth League, youth group of the Communist League of America in the 1930's, implying that the youth, always prone to ultra-leftism went a little overboard in some of their formulations.

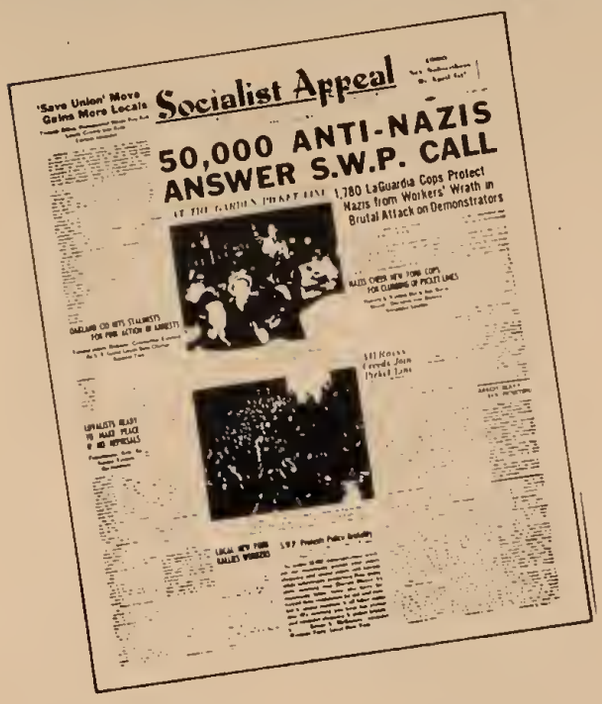
Thus, for example, the SYL called for preventing the fascists "by all possible means...from assembling and spreading their insidious program" (*Young Spartacus*, 12 October 1934). The SWP leaders also object to "misformulations" in two 1934 documents, the statement that "Every right of the working class must be defended every right of the fascists must be taken away by us" ("The Youth in the Struggle Against American Fascism"); and "Immediate action to obstruct their 'civil rights' to assemble forces which can effectively conduct such destructive activity is also needed" (letter to the Young People's Socialist League).

This is merely an underhanded way of attacking the position universally held throughout the Trotskyist movement that the fascist scum have no "rights" which the working class is bound to respect, that each storm-trooper meeting, each race-hate speech is a launching pad for genocide and anti-labor violence. The SWP itself had exactly this position in 1939, and put it into practice. After bringing out 50,000 anti-fascist militants who surrounded the Madison Square Garden filled with assembled Silvershirts, Bundists and Coughlinites, it responded to the wails of the civil libertarians with an article, "Should Fascists Be Allowed the Right of Free Speech?" (*Socialist Appeal*, 3 March 1939), that should send Barnes and Dobbs up the wall:

> "The wailing and weeping about the Nazis' 'rights' can safely be left to the prissy Liberals and phoney Democrats. The self-preservation of the working class demands that it cut through all abstract chatter and smash the fascist gangs by decisive and relentless action."

James de Pree/Time

**Nazi-led racists attacked Martin Luther King Jr. Movement march in Chicago two weeks ago.**



'Save Union' Move Gains More Locals

Socialist Appeal

50,000 ANTI-NAZIS ANSWER S.W.P. CALL

1,780 LaGuardia Cops Protect Nazis from Workers' Wrath in Brutal Attack on Demonstrators

As for Trotsky, he was far from advocating that the fight against fascism he limited to peaceful protest marches in order not to "confuse" the liberals. To the workers of France he counseled:

> "A workers' militia, however is not for parades or theater performances . but for fierce struggle A workers' militia is the mailed fist of the proletariat Answer each and every blow with two blows Carry the struggle to the point of exhaustion, to annihilation Do not let the fascist enemy raise its head Follow hot on its trail."
>
> "France is Now the Key to the Situation," 1934

"Do not let the fascist enemy raise its head," counsels Trotsky. "Every right of the fascists must be taken away by us," writes the SYL in 1934. "No platform for fascists!" demands the SYL in 1975 in rallying students to drive the Nazis off S.F. State campus. "If you are insisting that fascists can't speak, you risk antagonizing students," says Farrell Dobbs in *Counter-Mobilization*!!!

### Against Civil-Libertarian Cretinism — For Labor/Black Defense!

Despite all their sermons about "smart" tactics, the SWP/YSA leaders present in *Counter-Mobilization* a strategy for combating fascism which can only lead to defeat for the working people and the black masses of this country. Serious militants influenced by the SWP/YSA strategy for "counter-mobilizations" would do well to study the lessons of history. In Italy during 1920-22, when the fascist Black Shirts of Mussolini grew from a tiny handful of thugs to a powerful movement, the Italian Socialist Party pleaded for the bourgeois state to intervene against the fascists, while refusing to organize workers defense squads. Rather, the Italian Socialists prattled that mass demonstrations and processions would intimidate the fascists and compel the government to act against the Black Shirts. But again and again during 1919 and 1920 mass "counter-mobilizations" of tens of thousands of Socialists were dispersed and routed by well-executed terror attacks of a single carload of armed fascists.

Today the SWP/YSA preaches the same fatal illusions promoted by the Italian social democrats. While the ultra-"respectable" line of the SWP/YSA may attract hesitant liberals to its "counter-mobilizations" against fascists, the strategy based on the framework of civil libertarianism can only retard and obstruct the development of labor/black defense. The success of the struggle against the fascist danger tomorrow depends on the political strategy and tactics fought for by the vanguard of the workers movement today.

The SWP/YSA calls for federal troops and more cops to repel the racist mobilizations and preaches that fascists must be permitted to speak and organize for racist terror. The SL/SYL raises the call for labor/black defense to defend black people from racist attack and to smash the fascist scum, despite howls about suppression of "democratic rights" of the lynchers. It is the difference between treacherous reformism and revolutionary Marxism. ■

> **"In order to prevent fascist meetings it is a question of the relationship of forces. We alone are not strong, but we propose a united front.**
>
> **"Hitler explains his success in his book. The Social Democracy was extremely powerful. To a meeting of the Social Democracy he sent a band with Rudolf Hess. He says that at the end of the meeting his thirty boys evicted all the workers and they were incapable of opposing them. Then he knew he would be victorious. The workers were only organized to pay dues. No preparation at all for other tasks. Now we must do what Hitler did except in reverse. Send 40 or 50 men to dissolve the meeting. This has tremendous importance. The workers become steeled, fighting elements. They become trumpets.... We can only arouse the vanguard but this vanguard must then arouse the others. That is why I repeat it is a very important question. In Minneapolis where we have very skilled powerful comrades we can begin and show the entire country."**
>
> **—L.D. Trotsky, "More Discussion on the Transitional Program," June 1938**

WV Photo

**Union defense guard from UAW Local 6 protects home of black member against racist violence.**

# Farrell Dobbs Mis-remembers

**Farrell Dobbs** Militant

Farrell Dobbs, former national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), speaks with authority on the battles waged by Midwest trade unionists against fascist swine like William Pelley's Silver Shirts and Gerald L.K. Smith's gang of thugs. From 1934 to 1940, he was a militant leader in the struggle to organize the International Brotherhood of Teamsters along industrial union lines and to defend the workers' gains against employers, the government and right-wing, anti-labor forces.

Yet in Dobbs' contributions to *Counter-Mobilization* the Trotskyist trade union cadre of 1934 has become the elder statesman of labor reformism in 1976.

Dobbs recounts the anti-fascist struggles of the 1930's and 1940's through the distorting lens of the SWP's present-day legalism and pacifism. On the question of "free speech for fascists" and "defensive slogans":

> "The essence of it then was to counterpose to the fascist actions the democratic right of a counter-mobilization. We bypassed the whole free speech question.... We were not there formally *or actually* (our emphasis, BT) to prevent the fascists from speaking. We were there to show them that we were just as determined that they weren't going to carry out an attack on the trade unions as they were determined to carry one out maybe more so."

How did the workers' defense guards in Minneapolis and other union towns, in fact, demonstrate their determination? Is it true that the workers "were not there formally or actually to prevent the fascists from speaking"? In *What Policy to Fight Fascism?* (August 1975) the SYL reprinted an account where a phalanx of militant SWP-led unionists in 1946 chased Gerald L.K. Smith's bully boys right out of Minneapolis:

> "Surging through the lobby, the pickets were met by a knot of fascists who attempted to bar the way to the ballroom where the meeting was to be held. With a mighty push, the Smith supporters were brushed aside and the pickets plunged on like a tidal wave toward the meeting hall.
>
> "Charging through a barricade of chairs which the fascists had thrown up to prevent the pickets from entering the hall, the shouting mass of labor anti-fascists made their way into the ballroom. In their frantic retreat, the fascists left broken chairs, tables, lamps and mirrors in their wake. Dozens of Smith's supporters fled through the windows. Those remaining in the hall scuttled to one corner of the room and huddled there."
>
> *The Militant*, 31 August 1946

Another such confrontation was described in a *Northwest Organizer* (24 November 1938) article:

> "A company of union defense guards, made up of unionists from Youngstown, Ohio, had the honor of leading the first victorious assault on the fascist Silver Shirts when the boss-supported labor-haters sought to hold a meeting last Thursday in Sharon....
>
> "The meeting had no sooner got under way than 10 carloads of union guards from Youngstown dashed up the stairs and stormed the meeting.
>
> "As the doors and windows were being battered down, several squads of cops rushed in to protect the Silver Shirts. The union guards circled the building and prepared to storm it from the rear. At this point, two officials from the Carpenters Union arrived and ordered the Silver Shirts out of the building.
>
> "Quaking, the Silver Shirts quickly stole out of the building and were escorted to their cars by the cops as the union pickets hurled their hatred at the local Hitlerites."

One of the union guards described to the *Northwest Organizer* how these workers "bypassed the whole free speech question": "Union members in this area are determined that the Silver Shirts shall hold no meetings.... Our motto 'Offense is the best defense!'" While always emphasizing the mortal danger to the working class posed by fascist activities (i.e., using defensive formulations), these workers' defense guards certainly did not share Dobbs' latter-day temerity about clearly stating their opposition to the 'right' of these would-be storm troopers to assemble and propagate their bloodthirsty creed.

# Baraka's Follies

To call "S-1," Amiri Baraka's new skit abysmally amateurish, wooden, boring, idiotically simple-minded, etc. (although all true) misses the point of this production, which is actually beneath criticism on an aesthetic level. "S-1" is simply a propaganda vehicle for Baraka's Congress of Afrikan People (CAP), on the level of a rather mediocre RAT troupe performance at a 1960's SDS conference.

"S-1" is nothing but a walking-talking hodge-podge of CAP articles on how the S-1 bill will lead to fascism, how the two "imperialist superpowers," the U.S. and USSR, are going to start a war (the USSR is the aggressor in "S-1"), which will *also* lead to fascism, and how the "only solution is revolution" (as the actors periodically chant).

Although this trashy act has Baraka's name on it, it could have been written by any combination of Maoist hacks in committee—the bureaucratic ideal of how Stalinist "socialist-realist peoples' culture" should be cranked out. Baraka is undoubtedly not so stupid as to imagine that "S-1" has any literary value whatsoever; he is merely cynically trading on his literary reputation to attract an audience (including an unwary *New York Times* reviewer who somehow found the play "incendiary" apparently under the misapprehension that it was some kind of literary effort). The play received a polite reception from the professionally "broad-minded" radical-chic Village audience at its weekend performance at the Washington Square Church, while a small trickle of indignant, white-haired CPers leaving the auditorium as the actors called the USSR "imperialist" did relieve the general tedium (about a fifth of the audience escaped during the intermission).

Amiri Baraka has now put Mao-Thought in command, and it is striking that his early poetry was a more accurate reflection of the life of American black people than his later "more political" works. This is in no small measure because his politics codified a series of lies in defense of the narrow nationalism of the Peking bureaucracy. Trotsky understood that art could not be created in the service of a corrupt and rapacious bureaucracy. "Artistic creation has its laws," he wrote, "even when it consciously serves a social movement. Truly intellectual creation is incompatible with lies, hypocrisy and the spirit of conformity" ("Art and Politics in Our Epoch," June 1938).

There is a tradition for politics' theater that goes back to old Greek theater. Successfully employed it can be quite powerful. Jean Paul Sartre's "The Flies," a disguised anti-fascist drama performed at the time of the German occupation, is a modern example. Others include the more well-known plays of Brecht, such as "Galileo," which is an allegorical treatment of the Moscow Trials; or in the U.S., Arthur Miller's "Crucible," an attack on the witchhunts of the McCarthy period.

**Amiri Baraka**

Artists have long been moved by political themes, and the best of them have created works which have made a lasting contribution to human culture. But Baraka's "S-1" is nothing of the sort.

In 1930, Mayakovsky went home, changed his linen and put a bullet in his head. His late plays were a devastating attack on the Stalinist bureaucracy, and with the official hack critics closing their philistine grip about his talented neck, he chose death. After seeing "S-1," one clearly knows why. ■

WV Photo

**YSA national secretary Steve Clark: "In dealing with the question of how to fight the Nazis at San Francisco, for instance, we had the problem of differentiating ourselves from the Spartacus Youth League without appearing to be siding just a little bit with the Nazis, without appearing to be soft."**

WORKERS VANGUARD

# SWP Opposes Militant Action Against Fascists

As its national convention approaches, the reformist ex-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) has recently evidenced considerable political discomfort over its by now notorious defense of "free speech for fascists."

Several months ago the SWP/Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) issued an "Education for Socialists" bulletin containing documents—many of them already published by the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League (SL/SYL) in the pamphlets, "The Fight to Implement Busing" and "What Policy to Fight Fascism?" attempting to prove "by way of contrast" that the SL/SYL "indulges in adventurist tactics in the name of 'smashing fascism'." (Our response to the SWP's social-democratic eyewash is to be found in *Young Spartacus*, Nos. 43 and 44, May and June 1976.)

But in the context of continuing anti-busing mobilization in Boston, fascist-inspired bombings of radical offices in several cities and the current wave of Nazi KKK anti-black violence in Chicago, many militants are understandably not satisfied with the SWP's placid calls for "educational campaigns." Apparently, incredible as it seems, the desire to defend endangered blacks and crush the fascist vermin has found a faint echo in the solidly reformist and deeply cynical SWP/YSA ranks. To answer these waverings, a new "Education for Socialists" bulletin has appeared with the deliberately weasely title, *Counter-Mobilization: A Strategy to Fight Racist and Fascist Attacks*.

Even more than its predecessor, *Counter-Mobilization* is a polemic against the SL/SYL. It grows out of an incident at San Francisco State College in March 1975, where the SYL initiated a united-front committee around the demand "No platform for fascists" and led a demonstration of 150 that drove a gang of stormtroopers from the National Socialist White People's Party off campus. The campus YSA "by way of contrast" opposed the demonstration as "unfortunate," "counterproductive" and a "disruption." It offered only the most minimal, tokenistic paper defense of the SYL and Progressive Labor when these were subsequently threatened by an administration witchhunt against the anti-fascist demonstrators. After such despicable behavior, the YSA understandably had difficulty holding its head up among local leftists.

But this was not low enough for the SWP leadership! A YSA statement on the anti-Nazi demonstration had sought to excuse their passivity with the argument, "To stop the Nazis from speaking, the campus majority has to be won to that point of view through an educational campaign." Subsequently the party leaders came down against even this timid hint of future anti-Nazi action. There must be no "suppression of free speech" for the fascists, they decreed. *Counter-Mobilization* is a transcript of discussions in which SWP leaders Farrell Dobbs and Jack Barnes explain this snivelling line to YSA youth leaders, supposedly in order to inoculate these little Kautskys against infection by "ultra-leftism."

### Siding "Just a Little" with the Nazis

The preoccupations of the youth leaders are put forward by then YSA national secretary Steve Clark:

> "In dealing with the question of how to fight the Nazis at San Francisco State, for instance, we had the problem of differentiating ourselves from the Spartacus Youth League without appearing to be siding just a little bit with the Nazis, without appearing to be soft. These sectarian groups have orators who will try very hard to whip up a frenzy on this theme and sometimes this will have an impact on militant Black students, although this was not at all the case at San Francisco State."

He goes on to say the YSA line doesn't go down too well with black students who "don't have any civil-libertarian hangups" and just have a "gut hatred for these racists." "To the extent that our members may be uncomfortable with the educational process that we have to carry out on this issue," he says, "I think that the problem will not be how do we answer the Spartacist League," but how to win black militants to the SWP/YSA, (that is, to their head-in-the-sand civil libertarianism).

At this point SWP national secretary Jack Barnes intervenes to orient the discussion toward the "main problem." Well, what is the main problem? The Nazis and Klan sticking their heads up more and more frequently, trying to use the campuses as a platform to spew out their incitements to lynching? "Civil libertarian hangups" among liberal students who want to let the fascist terrorists "present their side of the story"? The need to mobilize the ranks of organized labor and the black masses to defend themselves against racist nightriders and segregationist mob violence?

Wrong. "The problem," says Barnes, "is ultra-leftism." Furthermore, "The ultraleftists in the Black student movement don't know the time of day any more than the Spartacists." This insidious spectre of a movement of black students and communists of the Spartacist League haunts the SWP and is for them even more frightening than the movement of fascists! How does the SWP propose to fight it? Barnes' and Dobbs' answer is the consummately ambiguous "counter-mobilization." There is no doubt about their real meaning, however. Dobbs suggests at one point that instead of running the stormtroopers off campus at S.F. State there could have been a peaceful and ultra-respectable "counterdemonstration outside the meeting" being addressed by the Nazi. That way, you see, the fascists' "right" to free speech won't be touched!

After all the SWP/YSA's talk of Spartacist "ultra-leftism" and "adventurism," do Barnes & Co. give even one example where the SL/SYL led unsuspecting militants into suicidal confrontations with the cops, where we called on tiny groups of leftists to take on hordes of racists in a pitched battle? No, because the Spartacist tendency has sharply criticized kamikaze adventurists who are more concerned with "kicking ass" than teaching the fascists a lesson they won't forget. At S.F. State, the united-front demonstration steering committee advised demonstrators not to follow a group of splitters who entered the building where in narrow corridors and a small classroom students would be virtually unable to defend themselves against a Nazi or cop attack. In the article, "Fascism: How Not to Fight It" (*WV* No. 70, 6 June 1975) we denounced adventurist demonstrations or actions by Maoists and pseudo-Trotskyist groups in several countries which attempted to take on the cops, the army or mass fascist mobilizations.

Rather, the substance of these ex-Trotskyists' accusations of ultra-leftism is simply the fact that the SL/SYL stands for the Trotskyist policy of crushing the fascists, where possible, before they get a chance to assault the left, labor and oppressed minorities. Dobbs put forward the SWP's main criterion: at all costs, avoid giving "the professional civil libertarians... grounds for getting themselves worked up about how you are jeopardizing the Constitution by demanding the suppression of somebody's freedom of speech." Otherwise, he says, "many students" will become "confused." Barnes chimes in: "I think too much credence is given in the *Young Socialist* to the idea that the big goal is to stop the racists from speaking—if not now, then later."

### "Fighting" Fascism...By Defending Fascists' Rights

Of course, says Barnes, "It's going to be necessary to stop fascist forces *one day*" (our emphasis). But for now it's organizing, educating, etc. Dobbs makes the same argument: "If you start by attempting to hastily gather together a vanguard force and crush fascism in the egg, you are playing into the hands of the fascists." But the SWP leaders' drivel about "today nothing, tomorrow the final conflict" is simply a cover: they oppose smashing the fascists today because they have no intention of doing so tomorrow either.

Nor is it a matter of mobilizing the unions rather than a few students. When UAW Local 6 at International Harvester near Chicago last year mobilized a union defense guard to protect a black Local member's house from firebombing by racist nightriders—an action undertaken on the motion of the Labor Struggle Caucus, a class-struggle oppo-

*continued on page 10*

## A Short History of Liberalism

**SWP CARTOON**
**from Socialist Appeal, 17 March 1939**

WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

No. 122 20 August 1976

## Racists Shoot Down Hundreds

# Anti-Apartheid Struggles Sweep South Africa

AUGUST 14 The determination of South Africa's black masses to destroy the apartheid system root and branch is evident in the wave of plebeian rebellions that continues to convulse African townships from Johanneshurg to Cape Town. In the face of overwhelming military force and armed with nothing more than sticks and stones, African youths have struck out with increasing boldness and organization. The white supremacist regime in Pretoria has responded with a few window-dressing concessions and sharpened repression, including the arrest yesterday of Winnie Mandela, wife of long-imprisoned African National Congress (ANC) leader Nelson Mandela.

The revolt, which began June 16 in the huge Soweto township outside Johannesburg, spread for the first time this week to the southwestern Cape Province. Since Wednesday at least 29 black protesters have been slaughtered by racist stormtroopers in the African areas of Langa, Nyanga and Guguletu outside Cape Town.

Like Soweto, the rebels at Cape Town organized a school boycott to demand

*continued on page 8*

AP

Demonstrators near Cape Town are attacked by South African police dogs August 12.

**Rhodesian Terror Raid on Mozambique/ 8**

Hubert Schatzl

Muñoz greeted at airport by Austrian representative of Committee to Save Mario Muñoz

### International Defense Campaign Victorious

# Mario Muñoz Arrives in Vienna!

VIENNA, August 10—After spending more than 130 days in hiding from the Argentine police, Mario Muñoz arrived at Schwechat airport in Vienna, Austria Wednesday night. As the persecuted Chilean miners' leader emerged from customs he was surrounded by a crowd which had come to greet him. Among them were fellow Chilean refugees, Muñoz' fellow militants in struggle, who embraced their comrade. Ever since the junta's manhunt began on March 29, they had lived in fear that they would never see Muñoz alive again.

A worldwide campaign had been built to save Muñoz from the blood-drenched Argentine military dictatorship, which had alternately threatened to shoot him on sight or deport him to Chile, where he would face certain imprisonment, torture and possible death at the hands of Pinochet's butchers. The campaign of militant labor solidarity—co-sponsored by the Partisan Defense Committee (PDC) in the U.S. and the Europe-based Committee to Defend the Worker and Sailor Prisoners in Chile—had obtained an Austrian visa and aid from the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR), enabling Muñoz to leave Argentina under UN auspices.

On hand at the airport to meet Muñoz was a delegation organized by the Committee to Save Mario Muñoz. His comrades clung to him for several minutes in an emotional reunion. Then a welcoming speech was made by Albrecht Konecny, chairman of the Young Generation of the Austrian Socialist Party. Muñoz expressed gratitude that the Austrian government had agreed to receive him and thanked all those whose solidarity with the campaign had saved his life.

Two days later, on March 7, the Committee to Save Mario Muñoz held a press conference at the Cafe Landtmann

*continued on page 10*

Fleeta Drumgo | David Johnson | Hugo Pinell | Johnny Larry Spain | Luis Talamantez | Willie Tate

Guardian Bureau

## Trial Ends, Persecution Continues

# Free the San Quentin Six!

### Three Acquitted in $2 Million Racist Show Trial

After the longest and most expensive show trial in California's history, the verdict on the San Quentin Six is in—three acquitted, three found guilty of assault and murder. These men, brought into court every day for 16 months leashed like animals, were chained to chairs bolted to the floor, behind a bullet-proof screen. They were accused of resisting prison guards—guards who shot down and murdered George Jackson on 21 August 1971.

The murderous guards, of course, are free. The six prisoners were kept in solitary confinement for *four years* before the trial even began, in an attempt to break their spirit. It is for their refusal to submit to the inhuman degradation of prison life that they were singled out for persecution.

The reinstitution of the death penalty, recent Supreme Court decisions to refuse prisoners the right to counsel or to cross-examine witnesses against them, and the railroading of the San Quentin Six are part of the bourgeois state's increasingly open and violent repression of all who would resist it. The San Quentin Six trial is one bitter episode in an escalation of state terror by true criminals—the Fords and Kissingers (and Carters)—to maintain the bourgeoisie's state power.

The jury returned its verdict on August 12. Three of the six, Fleeta Drumgo, Luis Talamantez and Willie Tate, were acquitted of all charges. Hugo Pinell and David Johnson were convicted of assault against prison guards (which carries a possible sentence of life imprisonment) and Johnny L. Spain was convicted of two first-degree murders and conspiracy to escape from San Quentin prison by force.

### Racist Frame-up

The prosecution charges stemmed from the events of 21 August 1971 at San Quentin, when George Jackson, well-known Black Panther, was shot down by prison guards in what the prosecution characterized as an "escape attempt" only two days before he was scheduled to appear in court (on other charges stemming from the shooting of a prison guard, the "Soledad Brothers" case—defendants in that case were all later acquitted). Three prison guards and two inmate "trustees" died in the melee touched off by the state's death plot against Jackson, who had served 11 years of an indeterminate "one-year-to-life" sentence for a $71 gas station robbery.

The San Quentin Six were *all* charged with conspiracy and murder by the prosecution—which admitted that it could not prove which of the defendants had allegedly committed which murders. What the six did have in common, and what was the real basis for the prosecution's singling them out, however, is their long history of resistance to the pervasive official harassment and terror of the prison system. Drumgo and Spain participated in political discussions organized by Jackson; Johnson and Tate made written statements denouncing the murder of a prisoner by San Quentin guards; others had been through previous frame-ups and were acquitted of charges of assaulting or murdering prison guards.

They were all hated by prison authorities for refusing to submit to the inhuman degradations of prison life. Protests, food riots and work stoppages have been directed against many aspects of the barbaric conditions of life at San Quentin, and the San Quentin Six (and defendants in other related cases) have been active in these struggles.

Thus the state singled out these men for persecution. Although it managed to win three convictions, the state's lengthy trial, which cost over $2 million, left many questions unanswered in the minds of the jury, which was out for 24 days. Members of the jury admitted to reporters that there were "puzzles" and "a number of unanswered questions" remaining, and one juror commented, "I still don't think I know what were the circumstances of George Jackson's death." Johnny Spain's murder convictions rest solely on a report that he had had a pistol on the day of Jackson's death and that two of the guards had died of gunshot wounds (additionally, one juror commented that .38-caliber bullets had been reported found in a bar of soap in his cell).

### The Trial: State Intimidation, Cover-up and Conspiracy

Although the state had *four years* to prepare its case (the trial did not begin until 1975), during which the defendants were in solitary confinement, the prosecution case was flimsy and self-contradictory, resting on the vague catch-all "conspiracy" theory.

The defense was denied access to government files. Defense witnesses, mostly black prisoners, were fearful of beatings by guards when they returned to their cells after testifying. The five defendants still in prison (Willie Tate was released on bail in 1975) appeared in court shackled. Trial spectators were searched and photographed every time they entered the courtroom. The official autopsy on Jackson was drastically revised a month after its release, and last November a state ballistics expert, David Burd, changed his four-year-old story on how bullets traveled through Jackson's body.

The openly hostile judge, Henry Broderick, consistently sustained prosecution objections, while obstructing defense evidence. Dramatic testimony by ex-agent provocateur Louis Tackwood in April on government plans to assassinate Jackson was only partially heard by the jury, on Judge Broderick's orders, while an affidavit filed by Frank J. Cox, Marin County's Chief Public Defender, in June 1975, asserting there was a conspiracy to kill Jackson, was ordered sealed by the judge.

While the trial is over, the persecution of the San Quentin Six will continue.

*continued on page 11*

# Letter

6 August 1976

Comrades,

Re your (most welcome) review of Baraka's recent 'play' S.1 which states that Brecht's GALILEO is 'an allegorical treatment of the Moscow Trials', here is Eric Bentley replying to Isaac Deutscher (whose interpretation of GALILEO is significantly similar to your own):

> "Brecht may have been troubled by inner doubts, but on the whole he must be said to have given his approval to the Moscow trials, much in the spirit of his close friend Feuchtwanger, whose ardently Stalinist book MOSCOW 1937 is mentioned by Mr. Deutscher.... That Brecht, in that period, would knowingly have depicted Stalin simply as the enemy is improbable in the extreme.'

The full article, which persuasively suggests that the real theme of GALILEO is the issue of scientific responsibility, can be found in Bentley's THEATRE OF WAR.

Comradely,

N.P.

*WV replies*: It is undoubtedly correct that a major concern of Brecht's play *Galileo Galilei* is the question of freedom of scientific inquiry and the social responsibility of the scientist. Nevertheless, the political Brecht was no doubt aware, as he wrote this play at the height of the Moscow Trials in 1937-38, of the burning moral political issues involved. Deutscher's interpretation of the play was that it expressed the problem of old Bolsheviks facing new Stalinist terror on a grand scale:

> "He [Brecht] surrendered to it with a load of doubt on his mind, as the capitulators in Russia had done, and he expressed artistically his and their predicament in *Galileo Galilei*. It was through the prism of the Bolshevik experience that he saw Galileo going down on his knees before the Inquisition and doing this from an 'historic necessity' because of the people's spiritual and political immaturity."
>
> Isaac Deutscher, *The Prophet Outcast*

Eric Bentley's interpretation of the play's "real theme" as scientific responsibility by no means precludes other levels of meaning. The original play gives an historical justification for false confession given under political duress. It is revealing in this regard that when Brecht re-wrote sections of the play in the U.S. during the McCarthy witch-hunt and at the time of the Stalinist show trials in Eastern Europe, a denunciation of false confession was included.

The implication of the Bentley quote is that it is inconceivable that a Stalinist, such as Brecht, would have allowed his qualms about the Moscow Trials to find expression in his dramatic art. This is simply blind Stalinophobia. Yet despite his qualms, Brecht himself never broke with Stalinism and remained a defender of the Stalinist regimes in Russia and Eastern Europe until his death. Our mention of *Galileo* is certainly no defense of Brecht's political integrity, but rather a recognition that the show-trial atrocities of Stalinism had their effect even within the ranks of fellow travelers and CPers who were unable, for various reasons, to make a clean break to revolutionary politics.

**WORKERS VANGUARD**

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*Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint.*

## Gotbaum Gives Away COLA

# Bureaucrats Sell Out AFSCME Hospital Strike

NEW YORK—With the agreement of hospital workers leaders Victor Gotbaum and Lillian Roberts to give up over $10 million in the union's 1976 (and possibly '77) COLA (cost of living adjustment) increases, the four-day-old strike of AFSCME Local 420 ended abruptly here August 8. In exchange for the COLA, the deal—which union leaders tried to label a "victory"—called for the city to rescind the 992 layoffs which sparked the strike when announced earlier this month.

A week before the strike Gotbaum's paper, the *Public Employee Press*, hailed an interim agreement to save the COLA as a "remarkable achievement" on the part of the leadership. Now they toss this vitally necessary increase out the window!

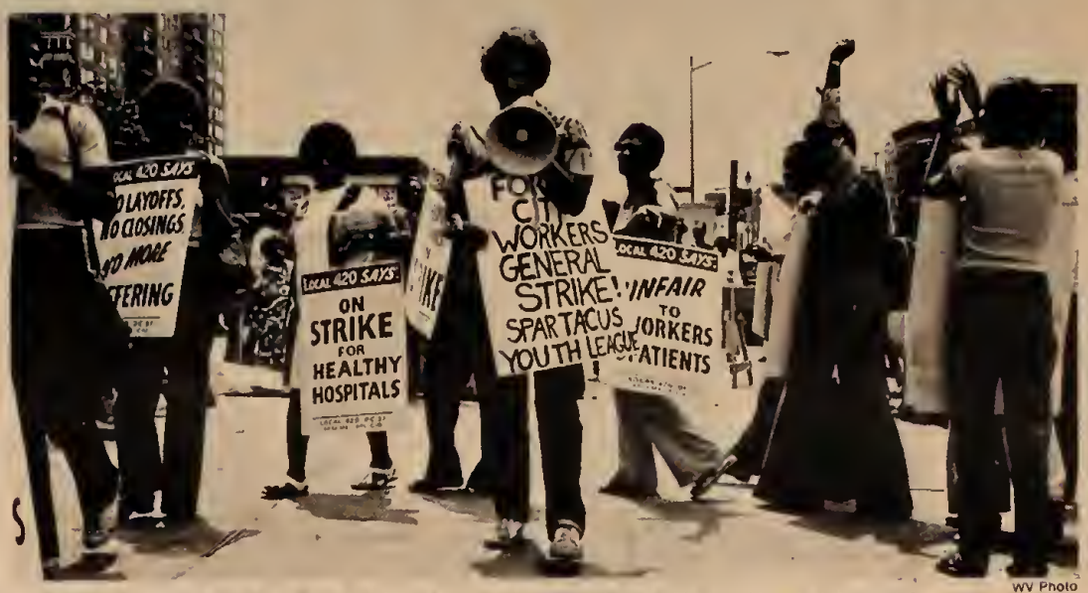
Almost before the bureaucrats' "victory" settlement had hit the press, the city was announcing a new wave of over 3,000 more layoffs projected for the end of the year. Behind the enormous contempt the city's announcement revealed toward the blustering do-nothing labor bureaucrats was the sure knowledge that further protests from them would be feeble.

Indeed, throughout the strike, the first in Local 420's history, Gotbaum was clearly more afraid of the consequences of winning than of losing. Thus the settlement came at a time when labor support to striking Local 420 was growing. Ambulance drivers Local 2507 was refusing to cross 420's lines, and a militant membership meeting of hospital clerks Local 1549 had threatened a sympathy strike which would have quickly spread to the other associated hospital workers' locals. The mood at many of the struck hospitals was militant; with workers arrested for trying to keep out scabs at many locations, despite the leadership's warnings to cool down the lines.

The first "official" city strike against layoffs (sanitationmen briefly wildcatted against the first wave of cuts in 1975), the city hospital workers strike had vast political potential. There is a felt need here for labor action to link the struggles of city workers, students, and the poor and minority populations against the Draconian cuts. At Harlem Hospital, for example, about two hundred workers roundly cheered the approach of a contingent of City College students who marched from the campus to join the lines.

Initiated by the Spartacus Youth League, the CCNY Ad Hoc Committee to Support the Hospital Strike was well received as it marched through Harlem chanting "Victory to the Hospital Strike. Workers and Students Must Unite!" At the lines strikers cheered when SYL spokesman Brian Mendis linked the students' struggle against cutbacks to that of the hospital workers, pointing to the SYL's call on the campuses for a citywide general strike against cutbacks. Also joining the march were seamen from the Militant-Solidarity Caucus of the National Maritime Union.

From the strike's beginning the city gambled on taking a hard line to force the Local into early settlement. It was not much of a risk, for above all Gotbaum shares with the city's ruling Democratic Party the fear of any strike escalation which could lead to a situation like the recent San Francisco near general strike. The city's policy was aimed at quickly convincing the ranks that the situation was hopeless with the union caught between the city's hard line and a leadership that will not fight. This the members well know, from Gotbaum's initial acceptance of 3,000 layoffs without a fight last year to his delaying the present strike until August in order to ensure "labor peace" during the Democratic Convention.




WV Photo

**Spartacus Youth League spokesman addressing Local 420 pickets at Harlem Hospital August 5.**

Thus, as the bourgeois press blamed strikers for the alleged rising toll of hospital deaths due to patient neglect, the city took the offensive, refusing at first to negotiate, while issuing immediate injunctions forbidding sanitationmen and other city workers to respect the hospital lines. Leaning on the Taylor Law (which forbids strikes of public employees), it threatened to arrest the leadership and slapped heavy fines on the union treasury. Then in the midst of the strike, Governor Hugh Carey provocatively announced that the state was cutting back Medicaid reimbursements to the city, necessitating several thousand additional layoffs by year's end.

By the weekend the city began to negotiate, offering to rescind the 992 layoffs in exchange for the union's COLA increase. The payroll, it said, could be maintained through the "discovery" of a spare $5 million mislaid until now in the city's coffers—a statement whose boundless cynicism was matched only by the union's claim that the deal was a "victory." With a noticeable lack of enthusiasm, an August 8 membership meeting ratified the deal with no organized opposition from the floor.

Many of the opposition groups inside the union seemed taken aback and disoriented by Gotbaum's decision to call the strike. A leaflet from the DC 37 Rank-and-File Committee (supported by Workers Viewpoint) explained, "The 4-day strike showed us that *despite* [emphasis in original] the MIS-leadership of Gotbaum, Roberts and Butler, we can fight and fight to win.... It is our *militancy* and *working class solidarity* that forced our union MIS-leaders to call the strike." But the ranks' desire to fight did not suffice to save the strike from bitter defeat. Mass pressure cannot force the leadership to the left beyond momentary posturing. The struggle against the labor bureaucracy must be waged politically and cannot be sidestepped. The Rank-and-File group's simple appeal to the ranks' militancy in calling for wildcat action is no substitute for this fight and in general will bring, not victory, but treacherous defeat.

While the Rank-and-File Committee at least called for a no vote on the

*continued on page 11*

# Scab Runs Down ILWU Militant

OAKLAND, CA., August 18—A member of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) was killed on the picket line in Tracy by a scab truckdriver at 4 a.m. on August 6. The picket, Norman Ray Lewis, was a member of Warehouse Local 6 and was picketing the Handyman Corporation warehouse, which was struck on August 4 by the 23 recently unionized workers who are struggling for their first contract.

The labor fakers' abdication of their most elementary responsibility to defend the unions from the bosses' escalating anti-labor offensive in the Bay Area has emboldened the capitalists and created the atmosphere in which scabs dare murder strikers.

According to Chief Steward Jim Halog at the scene, the driver of the 27-foot truck, who was said to be a company supervisor, deliberately drove through the picket line: "The truck hit Norman. When he moved away, the truck moved closer, hitting him again, knocked him down and then ran over him" (*The Dispatcher*, 6 August). Norman Ray Lewis was in his 30's, married, and had five children; early reports indicated he died of head injuries. The truck driver was reported to be Leslie Raymond Laeger of Richardson, Texas (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 7 August).

This atrocity should have provoked a massive response from the Bay Area labor movement and the ILWU in particular, to demand the prosecution of the truck driver and to come to the defense of the Handyman strike. Indeed the 1934 San Francisco general strike was sparked by the police murder of two workers. But the class-collaborationist labor bureaucracy is more afraid of mobilizing its own ranks than anything else—as was demonstrated by the absolute refusal of the Central Labor Council to implement its own call for a general strike last April to defend the beleaguered S.F. city workers strike.

Thus, the ILWU leadership has kept a tight lid on information about the murder: the only official union notice was a small box in the August 6 issue of *The Dispatcher*, which merely advises the membership to "not purchase any Handyman products until further notice." The union paper also says, "Watch Disoatcher and local bulletins for details," but another box announces the cancellation of the next issue until September 10!

A recent leaflet put out by *Longshore Militant*, a class-struggle opposition in Longshore Local 10, gives a detailed picture of the bureaucracy's opposition to class solidarity. According to the leaflet, *LM* supporter Stan Gow presented a motion at the Local 10 executive board meeting of August 12. The motion called for a "stop-work action to build a mass labor rally" to defend the Handyman strike. The motion also demanded the immediate recognition of the union, immediate jailing of the accused murderer and that "the company provide lifelong payments to widow and family equal to each month's wage."

This motion was inexcusably voted *down* by the executive board, including local leaders such as Cleophus Williams, and no substitute motion was presented! This criminal action is the clearest indication that the new local leadership is no different from the old leadership and is committed only to betrayal. Defend the Handyman strikers! Join the picket line! Organize stop-work action! Prosecute the murderer of Norman Ray Lewis!

## Miller Stands with Federal Judges Against the Union

# UMW Bureaucracy Sabotages Miners' Wildcat

CHARLESTON, W. Va., August 14 The month-old strike by wildcatting United Mine Workers (UMW) members is going down in defeat. The wildcat is being abandoned as workers return to their jobs in Kentucky, Indiana, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Alabama and Illinois, as well as in West Virginia where the strike began in mid-July.

Hayes Holstein, president of UMW Local 1759, the local that sparked the strike over a job-posting grievance, told BT that he expects full production to resume by Monday. Scattered picket lines remain at some of the pits. These have been honored, but their number diminishes each day.

The original strike against the Cedar Coal Company was rapidly transformed into a generalized protest against court interference in union-management disputes. The strike raised a mighty protest against such government intervention, but nevertheless failed to achieve its goals. This is due to the treachery of the Arnold Miller bureaucracy and local union officials.

The strike reached a critical point last week. Miller was in Charleston August 8 and called a rally at which he intended to urge the miners back to work. Although 1,000 strikers showed up at Cedar Grove, West Virginia, Miller did not. He later claimed that death threats and a picket line prevented him from attending. These charges, which are unsubstantiated, only demonstrate the strike-breaking Miller's unpopularity with the rank and file.

In Miller's absence a strike rally was held and a unanimous vote was taken to continue the strike. At this conjuncture the strike appeared to be out of the control of even local bureaucrats. Local officials present were noticeably reticent, no doubt feeling the pressure of Miller on one side and the ranks on the other.

Hayes Holstein at first declined to speak when called upon and finally mumbled a few words having little to do with the strike. He indicated that he would assume a low profile for the remainder of the strike and would not issue further public statements until the end of the strike "when I can tell people that it's time to go back to work" (*Charleston Gazette*, 9 August).

Another local president started to bluster to the press that he had come a long way and had some important comments to make. As nattily dressed reporters fumbled for their tape recorders and cameras, militant miners shouted at the president that if he had something to say he should have said it during the rally.

### Militant Unionism and Strike Committees

The crucial need at this point was to elect a broadly based strike committee to coordinate, direct and spread the strike. A small step was taken in that direction when an ad hoc steering committee was formed with miners from UMW districts. One of these miners told BT that the group was merely receiving information at that point and intended to legitimize the steering committee the following day through elections at district strike meetings.

It was intended that this committee be responsible for press releases, etc., and would itself take the strike demands to the Bituminous Coal Operators Association (BCOA) if Miller refused. The strikers demanded a meeting with the BCOA to produce a written guarantee against using the courts against the union. They also insisted that all fines, jailings and injunctions be dropped and that no company reprisals result from the strike.

The committee was not dominated by UMW local officials. Holstein, for example, had been seen as the strike spokesman previously, but was not nominated. The hesitation of militants to put local bureaucrats on the committee was not surprising. The ranks were justly skeptical of the officials' reliability in leading a strike actively opposed by the union tops, and the officials were none too eager to make such a break either. As it turned out, the steering committee never really got off the ground.

A broadly based strike committee, democratically representing the large eight-state area of the strike, could have effectively asserted its legitimacy and neutralized vacillating officials. An official strike vote would have counteracted UMW bureaucrats like Leroy Patterson, an International Executive Board (IEB) member from western Kentucky. "I don't know why the miners in West Virginia are down and I can't seem to find out" (*Sunday Gazette Mail*, 8 August). Patterson told 1,500 strikers in Kentucky August 7. Particularly in outlying districts a recognized strike leadership was needed to counteract the bureaucrats' deliberate misrepresentation of the issues of the strike.

David Vick/Charleston Gazette

**UMW District 17 officials applaud back-to-work motion passed at Charleston meeting August 11.**

### Strikers Go After Scabs...

As a matter of fact, the miners were very resourceful in assigning pickets and organizing numerous rallies. They were eager and prepared to deal with the "Right to Work" forces who began to surface late in the strike. These Right to Workers distributed a leaflet stating that the strike was instigated by a handful of radicals. Calling on miners to be "men first and union men second" this anti-strike outfit called for a meeting in Danville, West Virginia on August 8. Strikers drove to Danville to see just who was responsible for the leaflet and (according to one miner) to "whup their damn heads." No anti-strikers appeared, but one worker claimed to have learned about the meeting from his local president.

A militant strike committee would also have sought to extend the struggle to other industries. The Chesapeake and Ohio and the Norfolk and Western railroads have each laid off hundreds of workers due to lack of cargo. The railroad unions should have shut down these lines entirely in sympathy with the miners. This action would have stopped the flow of stockpiled coal out of the fields.

Similarly, appeals should have been directed toward the steel plants. Some steelworkers, in fact, were anxious to demonstrate inter-union solidarity. Militants in United Steelworkers (USWA) Local 1014 in Gary, Indiana issued a leaflet entitled "No Government Intervention against the Unions! Hands Off the UMW!"

These militants call for an industry-wide sympathy strike in steel. Their leaflet concluded by stating, "required is an opposition committed to a program of class struggle, committed to unconditional opposition to government intervention, and fully committed to the principle of working-class solidarity which today demands concerted and decisive action by the USWA on behalf of the striking miners."

### ...Bureaucrats Confront Strikers

Lacking an organized leadership consciously prepared to spread the strike and to counter the bureaucracy's treachery, the wildcat was battered down. The UMW's IEB met in Washington on August 9 and threatened to place Local 1759 under an administrator if the strike there didn't end. The Board also threatened expulsions for disobedience. On Tuesday, August 10 Miller and the IEB met an estimated 500 angry miners in Charleston and attempted to get them back to work.

Earlier in the strike a Miller supporter had stated that the union president really sympathized with the strike but couldn't state it openly for legal reasons. Having already rejected even this fig leaf as a lie, Miller announced "If your goals are to fire the federal judges, and destroy the union, I'm not behind it. I don't back any unrealistic demands" (*Associated Press*, 11 August).

Miller knew perfectly well that the miners were not out to destroy the union. It is Miller and his pro-capitalist cronies that are dangerous to the union. To underscore his contempt for the ranks Miller and the IEB eventually walked out of the meeting.

That same day 10,000 miners in Alabama joined the strike but workers were reported returning to the job in Ohio, west Kentucky, Illinois and Tennessee. On Wednesday Local 1759 voted 75-25 to return to work. Simultaneously the overwhelming majority of local presidents in District 17 voted to return to work. The local bureaucrats could tell which way the wind was blowing by then and gave Miller a standing ovation at a meeting in Charleston (*Charleston Gazette*, 12 August). Miller promised to seek a limited right to strike in the next contract so that the strike issue can be decided by "...51 percent of the membership, not by 2 or 3" (*Charleston Gazette*, 12 August).

And now that the miners are returning to the pits, Miller promises to seek a meeting with the BCOA—a promise he has been making for a long time. Even the original job-posting grievance at Cedar Coal remains unresolved. Finally, 213 strikers from Local 1759 must still appear in court on August 17 on contempt of court charges. In short, the miners achieved not one of their demands. And Miller's promises to the contrary, they are not likely to win them now. For it is precisely by mobilizing the membership in strike action, not in toothless negotiations with the companies and union-hating courts, that the UMW can make gains.

### Miller Comes Home to Roost

In 1972 Miller was elected UMW president on a platform of "democratic" rhetoric and by appealing to the courts and the Labor Department to supervise his election. Miller's appeals to the capitalist courts against the union underscored his reliability to the bourgeoisie. He was hailed by the bourgeois media as a suitable replacement for the corrupt and discredited regime of Tony Boyle. Unlike every other major tendency on the American left, the Spartacist League refused to support Miller however critically. The SL insisted Miller was merely another "democratic" pro-capitalist labor faker.

Having been betrayed repeatedly over the past four years, militant miners are still looking for an effective leadership. (The available candidates are not very attractive.) UMW vice president Mike Trbovich, whom Miller suspended (though this suspension was not upheld by the IEB) and whom Miller denounced as a liar and "divisive" (Interview: *Charleston Gazette*, 22 June), proved his usefulness by joining the

anti-strike chorus along with the rest of the IEB.

With Miller & Co. discredited in the eyes of the most militant miners, new "honest" leaders can be expected to appear. At a strike rally in Charleston, one Eugene Conn from Tornado, West Virginia announced his candidacy for UMW president. Conn was not well received by the strikers, who correctly saw him as a careerist. "He couldn't get elected as dog catcher," *WV* was told.

At about the same time a group called District 17 and 29 Miners to Stop the Injunctions made an appearance and led pickets in front of District 17 headquarters. Unfortunately this group had nothing to offer beyond the demands already posed by the strikers. Spokesmen for the group denied being allied with the Right to Strike Committee (RSC) though the perspectives of the two groups are restricted to similar-sounding economist reforms.

The Right to Strike Committee, whose actions are generally endorsed by the so-called Revolutionary Communist Party, has taken a dive in this struggle. The Committee is currently unpopular among the ranks because of its history of maneuvering during the 1975 wildcat. Bruce Miller, an RSC spokesman who is under a one-year bureaucratic suspension from the union, stated explicitly that the RSC was not playing a leading role in the wildcat. The RSC thus made it easier for the traitorous UMW officials to do their dirty work.

### For A Class-Struggle Program

American coal miners have a long history of combativity. They do not shrink from taking on the bosses and, as the recent strike demonstrates, the state. Simple trade-union militancy, however, cannot stand up to the pressure of sustained bourgeois propaganda, not to mention state power. The mountains and hollows of Appalachia are isolated, and hostility toward outsiders can be directed at socialists as well as judges.

Reactionaries and Klansmen led the "dirty book" campaign in 1975. At the Cedar Grove rally on August 8 a preacher was asked to close the meeting with a prayer. He called on the miners to repent for their sins, beware of communists and unite behind Arnold Miller.

It is essential that the tradition of struggle and enormous social power of the miners be directed politically against all the backwardness fostered by the politicians, the courts, the bible-beaters and the kept servants of the bourgeoisie—the labor bureaucrats. The current wildcat is ending. But there will be more strikes as the coal operators and capitalist government step up their determined assaults to break the back of the UMW.

Yesterday's darling of the left, Arnold Miller, has once again and in the clearest way shown himself to be the coal bosses' top strikebreaker. Just as we warned against the reformist Miller in 1972, so we warn against today's "honest trade union militants"—such as the leaders of the District 17 and 29 Miners to Stop the Injunctions—who are the candidates for strikebreaking bureaucrats tomorrow. ■

# Imperialist Moralism and Madman Amin

The bourgeois press of late has been filled with vivid and graphic accounts of the atrocities of Idi Amin, the dictatorial boss of Uganda. Story after story is churned out documenting Amin's megalomaniacal cruelty which has increased in direct proportion to the instability of his regime.

Following the successful Israeli raid on Entebbe airport Amin's dictatorship has visibly begun to totter. Attempts to avert the crisis by hurling threats of war against neighboring Kenya have failed. While the recent attack on the presidential palaces launched by mutinous Ugandan troops was crushed, Amin's support within the military continues to drain away. If recent reports are accurate roughly one-fourth of the Ugandan military is under detention along with almost all of the country's top military commanders.

In a desperate bid to retain power Amin has escalated his campaign of terror and intimidation, a staggering accomplishment, considering that his chief claim to fame has always been his seemingly limitless capacity to engage in capricious and wanton acts of the most cruel nature.

On August 3 and 4 Amin sent his troops onto the Makerere University campus in Kampala where more than 1500 students were rounded up. Thirty were summarily shot near the campus, another 80 killed in prison, and a house-to-house manhunt was unleashed against those students who had managed to escape to the countryside.

The reason for this grim bloodbath was that some Makerere students had called for Amin's ouster and had offended his son Taban, also a student at the university. Students had the temerity to suggest that Taban, whom they regarded as a spy and who has only a gradeschool education, was not qualified to be a college student. Makerere University had awarded Amin an honorary degree in 1972...after he had ordered the execution of the university chancellor!

Makerere students were not the only ones to feel the lash of Amin's post-Entebbe rage. The entire air traffic control staff at Entebbe was executed along with 245 Kenyan nationals—a retaliation for Kenyan collaboration in the raid. The one hostage left behind following the Israeli commando raid was dragged from her hospital bed and murdered by Amin's goons.

Following Entebbe Amin ranted that "the Israelis would not have been successful at Entebbe except for the fact that their nuclear hand grenades[!] had put Amin's valiant soldiers to sleep." Such "dirty tricks" did not surprise him, he added, "because it was the Israelis who murdered Jesus Christ." (quoted in *Newsweek*, 9 August).

The slaughter of Ugandan students at Makerere, the Entebbe air controllers and the 245 Kenyan nationals has received scant attention in the bourgeois press in comparison to Amin's murder of the ill skyjack hostage or his humiliation of the two British military officers who went to Uganda to appeal for a pardon for a hapless British author who had referred to Amin as a "village tyrant" while in Uganda. The fact that

Argus Africa/Photo Trends

**Idi Amin**

the British bourgeoisie was horrified that two of "her majesty's" officers had to go down on their knees before this deranged tyrant reflected above all wounded British colonial arrogance. The thousands of Uganda residents who have simply disappeared because they managed to offend Amin's mercurial sensibilities are of minor concern for these imperialist moralisers.

For the moment Amin has muffled his war-mongering rhetoric against Kenya as substantial sections of the Ugandan military have balked and Kenya's economic blockade cut off Uganda's supply of fuel for its tanks and military vehicles. The blockade has thrown Uganda into an economic crisis. Amin, in his turn, has imposed a blockade on already impoverished Rwanda.

Now Amin is demanding that the entire western third of Kenya be "returned" to Uganda. Amin, who only last month bellowed that Israel had violated "Ugandan sovereignty," pushes annexationist claims based on borders established by the imperialists in 1894! (In fact, western Kenya originally was included in the Ugandan "protectorate," but in 1902 was transferred to British East Africa, now called Kenya). The "national sovereignty" of Uganda, like that of many African states, is simply a direct legacy of colonial boundaries.

Faced with the opposition of most of his officer corps and the flight not only of much of Uganda's small petty bourgeois elite but also of large sections of the country's urban population (Kampala, Uganda's capital, is down to a population of 40,000 from the original 100,000) the days of Idi Amin are clearly numbered. The clamor in the imperialist bourgeois press against Amin is a clear appeal to "patriotic forces" in the Ugandan military to stage yet another coup.

But if Amin's days indeed are numbered and his regime is revolting and barbaric, even more revolting is the sanctimonious hypocrisy of the imperialist bourgeoisie. The bourgeois pundits shake their heads and wag their fingers at "The Dictator Idi Amin." But where Amin has butchered thousands the moralists of London, Paris and Washington have murdered millions of Asian and African workers and peasants.

Idi Amin is simply an extreme and unsavory example of the neo-colonial satraps trained by the imperialists to police their domains and keep Africa safe for capitalism.

For five years the imperialists managed to coexist with their Frankenstein monster. Now Amin has become a liability and a source of irritation and embarrassment to his capitalist masters. They would much prefer to deal with the more respectable and less capricious petty-bourgeois nationalist despotisms that hold sway over much of Africa.

Imperialism's only use for Amin now is to shamefacedly justify its past colonial practices by holding Amin up as the horrible example of what happens when the colonial slaves are "permitted to run their own affairs."

It is not the slaughter of thousands of Ugandans that those who terror bombed the Vietnamese find reprehensible. Mobutu, their man in Zaïre, has far surpassed Amin in this field. Amin's days are numbered because he is too flamboyant, capricious and ignorant of his place in the imperialist scheme of things—having the temerity to humiliate and terrorize a few white Europeans in addition to thousands of his own subjects. Neo-colonialist exploitation of Uganda's resources and markets requires a more stable regime.

Certainly the African proletariat must sweep Idi Amin and all the other petty bourgeois nationalist servants of imperialism into the dust bin of history. But even more importantly the workers of the imperialist countries must relentlessly struggle to put an end to capitalist rule, destroying the decayed social order of which the Idi Amins are simply the pathological excrescence. ■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**PDC STATEMENT**

# Mario Muñoz Is Safe!

## Free All Victims of Right-Wing Repression in Argentina

On August 4, Mario Muñoz Salas, the Chilean miners' leader who had been the victim of a four-month police manhunt in Argentina, arrived safely in Vienna, Austria. The saving of this valiant, class-struggle unionist from the murderous Videla junta is a victory for the international working class and a beacon of hope for the tens of thousands of refugees from right-wing terror still trapped in Argentina.

At the Vienna airport, Muñoz was met by a delegation including representatives of the Committee To Save Mario Muñoz and the Committee's European co-sponsor, the Committee to Defend Worker and Sailor Prisoners in Chile; the international Spartacist tendency and its sympathizing section, the Austrian Bolshevik-Leninists; Albrecht Konecny, chairman of the Young Generation of Socialists of Austria; and representatives of the Austrian press. Upon arrival, Muñoz thanked the Austrian government for having granted him a visa and expressed appreciation to all those who had rallied to his defense. He expressed concern for the fate of his compañera and their children who have not yet been able to leave Argentina and for all the victims of right-wing repression still trapped in Argentina.

Only when Mario Muñoz is reunited with his family will the work of the Committee To Save Mario Muñoz be completed. But on behalf of the Committee, its U.S. co-sponsor, the Partisan Defense Committee (PDC), would like to express its deepest gratitude to the individuals and organizations who have generously contributed their time, energy, thoughtful advice and financial support to saving the life of this exemplary workers' leader.

The international campaign to save the life of Mario Muñoz was instrumental in winning his safe conduct from Argentina under United Nations' auspices and agreement by the Austrian government to receive this persecuted Chilean union leader and his family. This victory is testimony to the effectiveness of international protest in the spirit of working-class solidarity, the same solidarity to which Muñoz dedicated his life. A defense campaign can often be built on already acquired international reputations for prominent intellectuals and artists who fall victim to reactionary terror. But workers' leaders and militants like Mario Muñoz, though widely respected in their own countries, are not widely known abroad and are often overlooked. Defense campaigns on their behalf can only be built through mass protest and publicity which focuses on the labor movement, on an anti-sectarian basis, and also enlists the broadest support of all those concerned for human rights.

Hubert Schatzl

**Muñoz addressing Vienna press conference.**

The Committee To Save Mario Muñoz was able to enlist the support of hundreds of labor and socialist organizations, leaders of workers' organizations, civil liberties and defense organizations and prominent individuals on four continents. Countless resolutions were passed, letters written, inquiries made, and telegrams sent on Muñoz' behalf. Articles and letters regarding the plight of Muñoz, along with other endangered political refugees in Argentina, appeared in *Le Monde*, the *New York Times*, the *New York Review of Books*, the Toronto *Globe and Mail* and *Star*, the *Australian Tribune*, the Sydney *Morning Herald*, and many labor and socialist publications. Over $20,000 was collected, $10,000 in the last two weeks of the campaign when it became known that the Austrian government was willing to receive Muñoz and his family. An international delegation organized by the Committee To Save Mario Muñoz met with the United Nations High Commissioner For Refugees, Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan, in Geneva on 16 July 1976. Comprising the delegation were representatives of the Young Generation of Socialists of Austria, the International Association of Catholic Jurists, the World Confederation of Labor, the Swiss Progressive Jurists Association, the Society of Friends of France, the Committee to Defend Worker and Sailor Prisoners in Chile, and the Committee To Save Mario Muñoz. The High Commissioner pledged the cooperation of the UN in ensuring Muñoz safe conduct out of Argentina.

Even before the Videla coup the PDC mobilized against the escalating right-wing repression in Argentina. On 5 December 1975 the PDC called a demonstration in front of the Argentine mission to the UN to protest the arrest of 13 accused of gun-running for the Chilean resistance, including ten Chilean refugees and Richard and Cristina Whitecross. Only the Whitecrosses have been released and the PDC will continue its efforts on behalf of the other 11 until they are also free.

Only 48 hours after the Videla junta took power making the mendacious claim to respect democratic liberties, the Argentine police were hunting down Mario Muñoz with orders to shoot him on sight. On March 25 they raided his home, beat his family and threatened to take his two-month-old child as hostage. Muñoz, a miner from the age of 14, was a widely respected workers' leader in Chile. After the bloody Pinochet coup in September 1973, Muñoz and his family were forced to flee across the Andes to seek refuge in Argentina along with thousands of Chilean workers and peasants. Muñoz continued to aid his class brothers during the difficult years of exile. The brutal police raid of March 25 not only meant Muñoz was a hunted man in two countries. It also showed that Videla would follow in the footsteps of Pinochet. The attack on the family of Mario Muñoz was the opening shot in the savage repression that was to pour down upon the Argentine labor movement and the thousands of political refugees who had fled the reactionary terror of neighboring countries only to see the dark shadow of that terror stalk them into their insecure refuge.

The democratic facade of the "bloodless," "gentlemen's" general's coup was at first accepted and perpetuated by such respected journals as the *New York Times*. Initially, many people approached by the Committee To Save Mario Muñoz were unaware of, or denied the extent of, the terror in Argentina. But the danger to refugees in Argentina was again demonstrated by the April 10 arrest and April 27 extradition to Chile of MIR leader Edgardo Enríquez. The PDC took part in the international protest against this naked violation of the conventions regarding asylum by the Videla junta. Later, liberal opponent of the Uruguayan dictatorship, Zelmar Michelini and Hector Guiterrez Ruiz were kidnapped and murdered by AAA gangsters in collaboration with the Argentine authorities. On July 2 Mario Muñoz along with 12 other Chilean refugees were violently taken from their UN-assigned place of refuge and beaten and tortured by Argentine police. Muñoz was threatened with deportation back to Chile but on the following day all were released. Only the support mobilized by the campaign to save Muñoz prevented his deportation and murder by the Chilean secret police.

As the reality of the junta's vicious and all-sided suppression of human rights became too blatant to disguise behind democratic rhetoric and as the mounds of corpses, victims of police and AAA assassinations could no longer be hidden, the campaign to save Mario Muñoz intersected the international revulsion with Videla's terror, a revulsion compounded by the witnessing of the aftermath of the murderous Pinochet coup. The campaign to save Muñoz, even with its modest resources,

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# and Chile!

bears substantial responsibility for tearing away the democratic facade of the "gentlemen's coup," and for giving focus to the international protest against Videla's terror. The Committee To Save Mario Muñoz sounded the alarm not only for this imperiled workers' leader but also for the thousands of Argentine leftists, labor leaders, militants and political refugees threatened with deportation, imprisonment and assassination by the Argentine military dictatorship and its para-police anti-communist death squads. Mario Muñoz is a symbol of the plight of these thousands of victims of right-wing repression in South America. The victorious outcome of this campaign enhances the struggle for their freedom. Already, on Friday, August 6, the UN High Commission for Refugees announced that Austria, Britain, Canada, France, Norway and Switzerland had agreed to receive almost 2,000 Latin American refugees from Argentina. ■

## Forum:

# For International Working-Class Defense

**A discussion of the class-struggle, anti-sectarian defense policies of the Partisan Defense Committee upon which the campaign to save Mario Muñoz was based.**

**CLEVELAND**
Fri., Aug. 20 7:30
Univ. Center, Rm. 109
Cleveland State Univ.

**CHICAGO**
Sat., Aug. 21 7:30
The Quaker House
5615 S. Woodlawn Ave.

**DETROIT**
Sun., Aug. 22 7:30
Trinity Meth. Church
13100 Woodward Ave., H.P.

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Sat., Aug. 28
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WV Photo

Picket at Chilean torture ship Esmeralda last month. The Committee to Save Mario Muñoz initiated demonstrations internationally.

*Speaker:* REUBEN SHIFFMAN
Co-Chairman of the PDC

On August 4, Chilean miners leader, Mario Muñoz Salas, victim of a 4-month police manhunt in Argentina, arrived in Vienna, Austria. The saving of this valiant class-struggle unionist from the butchers of the Videla junta is a victory for the international working class and a beacon of hope for the tens of thousands of refugees from right-wing terror still trapped in Argentina.

The Partisan Defense Committee (PDC) was co-sponsor of the Committee to Save Mario Muñoz along with the European-based Committee to Defend Worker and Sailor Prisoners in Chile. The PDC is a class-struggle, anti-sectarian defense organization which is in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League. The PDC stands in defense of the whole of the working people without sectarian or factional regard in the tradition of the International Labor Defense under the leadership of its founder and first secretary, James P. Cannon (1925-28)

SPONSORED BY THE PDC

## Desperate Racists Lash Out

# Rhodesian Terror Raid on Mozambique

AUGUST 16—Rhodesia's terror raid into Mozambique early this week was an act of desperation by the doomed racist regime. With its back to the wall, the government of Ian Smith has flung down the gauntlet and is digging in to defend the ramparts of white supremacy.

Champagne corks popped in Salisbury as jubilant racists celebrated the destruction of a black Rhodesian camp 25 miles over the Mozambique border, labeling it "Rhodesia's Entebbe." A closer parallel than the commando raid which freed 106 hostages held by Palestinian gunmen in Uganda is the brutal massacres which Israeli forces regularly perpetrate in Palestinian refugee camps.

While Salisbury gloated over its great "victory" and claimed to have killed 300 black "terrorists" and 40 Mozambique soldiers and civilians, Maputo Radio announced that at least 618 "completely defenseless" black "refugees," men, women and children, were cut down by the armored car assault on the village of Nhagomia. The fact that the racist forces suffered not a single casualty in the foray suggests that they did not win a battle so much as stage an ambush, carrying out a cold-blooded act of mass murder.

On June 26, the Mozambique village of Mapai was razed to the ground in an attack that left 16 civilians dead. The raid was carried out by armored cars backed up by jets and helicopters and, as at Nhagomia, spearheaded by black Rhodesians disguised as Frelimo soldiers.

Darquennes/Sygma

Bodies of guerrillas killed by Rhodesian troops.

In recent weeks, the Smith government has shown absolute intransigence, attempting to smash the seven-month-long guerrilla offensive and cow the neighboring countries into cutting off all aid to the nationalist forces.

In early July, Smith announced that he had no intention of holding further talks with the moderate wing of the African National Congress (ANC) led by Joshua Nkomo. He also rejected reforms proposed by a government commission that would permit Africans to buy farmland in white areas and would eliminate separate voting rolls. Besides the murder raids in Mozambique, Rhodesian soldiers crossed into

*continued on page 11*

# S.F. Demo Protests South Africa Massacres

**SAN FRANCISCO—In response to the brutal repression and slaughter of black militants in South Africa, the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League initiated a demonstration here on Friday August 13 in front of the South African consulate, demanding "Avenge Soweto, Smash Apartheid!" Militants participating included representatives from the Namibian Action Group and Workers and Oppressed Unite. Spartacist banners reading "Smash Apartheid Through Workers Revolution," "Sharpeville, Soweto—Avenge the Martyred Militants," "For a Trotskyist Party in South Africa" and "For a Socialist Federation of Southern Africa," attracted considerable attention and congratulations from passers-by, many of whom stayed to hear the rally speakers.**

**SL speaker Donald Pompii addressed the demonstrators, outlining the background of the Soweto uprising. He expressed outrage at the massacre and solidarized with the struggle against apartheid. He explained the strategic importance of the powerful black proletariat in South Africa, which will be "the gravediggers of apartheid." Pompii demanded abolition of the color ban in all industries, multiracial trade unions, destruction of Bantustan relocation schemes and the abolition of all anti-labor and anti-communist legislation, concluding that the battles against apartheid and for workers revolution are inextricably bound together and can only be won by a Trotskyist party fighting for proletarian revolution.**

**Upon being informed of a simultaneous ZANU (Zimbabwe African National Union) demonstration against Kenneth Towsey, secretary of the Rhodesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Spartacist-initiated demonstration joined the ZANU forces, where it was greeted with chants of "Long Live Solidarity!" ZANU spokesman Taka Wila pointed out that Towsey was in the U.S. to recruit mercenaries and capital needed to prop up the increasingly isolated Ian Smith regime of Rhodesia. The joint demonstration chanted "Down with Ian Smith" and "Down with Racist Pretoria, Workers to Power!" as police escorted representatives of the U.S. bourgeoisie past the picket lines into the Hyatt Regency Hotel.**

**Following the picketing, a ZANU spokesman and Pompii addressed the demonstrators. A spokesman from an oppositional grouping within the longshoremen's union, Stan Gow, told the crowd that his union had a motion on the books calling for a boycott of South African goods. Gow's group, which publishes the *Longshore Militant*, has called for a total *military* boycott of South Africa, an effective and sharply directed means to hurt the repressive state apparatus. While a temporary boycott in the wake of an outrage like Soweto would be an effective protest measure if carried out, a permanent and total boycott such as advocated by the reformists and liberals is merely a gesture of moral protest which may even harm those it seeks to support.**

**The Spartacist League held a forum the following night on South Africa which attracted over 75 people to hear an analysis of the racist, capitalist South African state and the strategy to overthrow it through proletarian revolution. ■**

WV Photo

## South Africa...

*(continued from page 1)*

release of imprisoned militants and to protest the rampant inequalities of "Bantu education," the system of retribalization and ersatz education designed to prevent blacks from ever attaining the technical and cultural skills to advance economically and politically. The first police attacks occurred as students marched from school to school spreading the walkout through the three townships.

The youths answered these assaults by burning government buildings and organizing "stay at home" strikes to cut off the city's supply of black labor. Eruptions of anger spilled over as cars and trucks driven by whites along a highway bordering Langa were repeatedly stoned. In one clash police opened fire with automatic rifles on a crowd of a thousand demonstrators, leaving four dead and dozens seriously wounded.

The revolt has begun to spread to Cape Town's 600,000 "coloureds" (mulattoes), who live in wretched shanty towns hemmed in between the African townships and all-white areas. Police broke up a march of coloured students at the University of the Western Cape who demanded an end to racially segregated education and the release of Ben Palmer Louw, a leader in the South African Students Organization (SASO). Seventy-six protesters were arrested following the fire bombing of campus buildings.

Fearful of a powerful alliance among the blacks and other non-white groups, prime minister Balthazar Vorster announced on August 9 that representatives of the 2.9 million coloureds and Indians would be invited into the cabinet in an advisory capacity. Vorster had rejected the same proposal from a government commission only a few weeks earlier.

### Soweto Once Again

The struggle in Soweto, the prison-like township which serves as a vast labor compound (population is estimated at a million) for the mines and industries of the Witwatersrand has continued almost without stop since June when 174 blacks were butchered by government forces. On August 4 a 20,000-strong demonstration made repeated attempts to march on police headquarters in Johannesburg, nine miles away, to protest the indefinite detention of scores of black youths.

The angry crowd massed outside Soweto's Orlando Stadium and began the march behind banners and signs denouncing the repression. One large banner read: "There will be unrest in schools till detained black students are released." Three times they were dispersed and then regrouped, smashing through one police line and surging forward with raised placards and clenched fists. They were finally stopped by a burst of gunfire from heavily armed riot squads reinforced with a fleet of "Hippo" armored cars.

The number of anti-apartheid fighters held incommunicado under the Draconian preventive detention laws has swelled since mid-July. Exactly a month after the first outburst in Soweto, large contingents of police swept through the township, making arrests and staging a show of force. Other units were placed on standby alert at 20 Witwatersrand townships that had been wracked by anti-government protests sparked by the imposition of Afrikaans, language of the hated Boers as the instructional language in secondary schools.

The power play backfired within a few days when the reopening of schools, a government "concession" to sugar-coat the repression, provided a local point for new demonstrations and boycotts. In the Withank area, a coal mining center, students from six schools converged in a mass march, shouting anti-apartheid slogans and attacking

symbols of racist rule. Offices of the Highveld Bantu Administration Board, the agency which supervises the townships around Witbank, were attacked. Several buildings were put to the torch at Khutsong, a township near Carletonville, scene of the infamous massacre of striking gold miners in September 1973.

Despite arrests, savage baton assaults and killings, the upsurge in the townships shows an increasing level of organization and combativity, especially among black youths. Roadblocks and pickets at Soweto railroad stations calling for a "stay at home" general strike were responsible for massive absenteeism (60 percent according to the *Star*, Johannesburg, 7 August) in area factories and offices last week. Small groups organized roadblocks, positioning abandoned cars across the main bus routes to Johannesburg. One public bus was commandeered by a hand of youths and used to set up a street barricade. Stonings and tire slashings forced the bus company to interrupt transportation to the city. Students showed their contempt for the government's concession on school reopening by shutting them down through a successful week-long boycott.

The coterie of quislings who officially "represent" the black masses have not escaped unscathed. Alongside the 100,000 ramshackle government bungalows crammed side by side in Soweto are a few substantial houses with lawns, television aerials and carports. These homes of black merchants, professionals and officials of the advisory Urban Bantu Council were targets of attack last week. The home of hat-in-hand mayor T. J. Makhaya was hit by stones and gasoline bombs and had to be placed under police protection.

In the so-called "tribal homeland" of Bophuthatswana, the building housing the puppet black parliament was burnt to the ground. Of the chief ministers of the nine "homelands" set up under the apartheid scheme, only Bophuthatswana's Lucas Mangope and the despotic Kaiser Mantanzima of the Transkei have endorsed Pretoria's Bantustan "independence" fraud. Thus their administrations are particularly hated by black militants.

The government's hopes of using a layer of collaborationist tribal chiefs and urban petty bourgeois to stifle the upheaval were underscored in an interview with Minister of "Justice" James Kruger. The head stormtrooper assured reporters: "The Government will not turn a deaf ear to black grievances." His only specific proposal was: "I hope the stage will be reached fairly soon when all the policing of black townships will be done by blacks themselves" (*New York Times*, 9 August).

## Crisis of Apartheid

It is evident that the fighting spirits of the black youth were buoyed by their victory last month on the question of Afrikaans instruction in schools just as their anger was fueled by the arrest and murder of their comrades. What emerges with equal clarity is the generalized character of the rebellion, directed at the very structure of apartheid: the police, the Bantu administration boards, the discriminatory school system, the hated pass books, the quislings and traitors.

The racist pipedream of "separate development" of blacks on the Bantustans is no more than a rationalization for the military garrisoning of urban black workers into segregated and tightly controlled townships and the relegation of mine and agricultural laborers to the status of interchangeable, migrant workers. As a means of pacifying the black population, the Bantustan scheme is taken seriously only by the self-deluded architects of *Herrenvolk*ism and a handful of ultra-reactionary tribal chiefs.

While the white overlords continue to enjoy lives of affluence, they daily read the writing on the wall: apartheid is doomed. Black youths and workers are ready to lay down their lives to fight the system. From 1973 to 1975 the five-million-strong black proletariat struck again and again against starvation wages and the industrial color bar and for the right to organize trade unions. Even conservative tribal leaders like chief Gatsha Buthelezi of Kwazulu have been compelled to denounce the phony offer of "independence" for the Bantustans, dispersed pockets of non-productive scrubland, totally surrounded by and economically dependent on "white South Africa."

Lately, spokesmen for white capitalist interests, including supporters of the Nationalist Party, have protested the economic irrationality of the color bar which leaves South African industry starved for skilled labor, while black workers suffer increased unemployment. Bourgeois spokesmen are also fearful that any flight of foreign capital like that which followed the 1960 Sharpeville massacre will deal a body blow to the economy which is already shaken by plunging gold prices. They have called for greater concessions to urban non-whites as an alternative to the massive repression traditionally employed to squelch black resistance.

In mid-July the journal of the Afrikaans chamber of commerce, *Volkshandel*, pleaded with Pretoria to abandon its treatment of the majority of the black population, which lives and works outside the Bantustans, as "temporary sojourners." It argued that "Development and urbanization go hand in hand" and called for "more skilled and responsible jobs for our black and brown partners in the economy to keep its wheels turning" (quoted in the *Guardian*, London, 15 July).

Of course what these "moderate" racists have in mind is the development of a stable, contented black petty bourgeoisie as a bulwark against the aspirations of the plebeian masses. That they want to alter certain glaringly oppressive and economically costly facets of white supremacist rule is testimony to the growing recognition by a section of the bourgeoisie that the ideology of apartheid is a fetter upon their ambition to be a major imperialist power. Their desire for a legal trade-union system only reflects the broad awareness of the economic inefficiency and irrationality of the present system and underlines the manifest crisis of the apartheid system.

Sections of the white trade-union movement, which has long collaborated, with few exceptions, in building and defending the structure of white supremacy, have made overtures to the unrecognized black unions. Fearful that black workers will be used to hammer down their privileges, many white unions have made concessions on job reservation agreements, demanding that the "rate for the job" be paid to Africans.

## Destroy Apartheid! Open the Road to Workers Revolution!

The key task in South Africa today is the forging of a revolutionary leadership that can link the immediate democratic demands of the black masses and other racially oppressed groups to the struggle for a workers and peasants government centered on the black proletariat. The black workers must reassert their leadership in the struggle against police-state rule. They must employ their strategic position at the heart of the economy to back the youths' demands for free and equal public education and release of political prisoners with determined strike action.

The demands which were at the center of the mighty 1973-75 strike wave—abolition of the color bar for all jobs, trade-union rights for Africans and a decent standard of living—must be brought forward to break down the labor aristocratic status of the white workers. The non-white workers must demand equality with the whites at the highest levels of pay and working conditions.

The militant youth in the townships, some of whose leaders are members of SASO or its secondary school affiliate, South African Students Movement, have shown extraordinary courage in the face of police bullets and batons. They have yet to develop a coherent strategy to smash apartheid rule. Their attempts to organize "stay at home" strikes indicate an understanding of the critical position of black labor. But reports of confrontations between groups of youths and workers at roadblocks and waning support for the strike movement demonstrate a failure to articulate the class demands of the workers and to weld them to the specifically democratic and *national* aspects of the black struggle in South Africa.

Even in the face of the developed state of the South African economy and the size and overwhelming social weight of the black proletariat, the South African Communist Party (SACP) clings to its reformist credo of a "national democratic" (i.e., bourgeois) stage of the revolution prior to the workers' seizure of power. The Stalinists hail the ANC as leader of "the national liberation movement."

Just as the SACP would subordinate the workers movement to the petty-bourgeois nationalists of the ANC, so the ANC in turn subordinates the action of the proletariat to the organization of declassed and dispersed guerrilla armies. In an underground newsletter, *Amandla-Matla* (Power), distributed in early March, the ANC writes:

> "That youth, organized, must now be activated and taken out into the streets in demand of their day-to-day needs like higher wages, an end to victimization, subsidised bus fares, free, compulsory and proper education, integrated sport at all levels, etc. Small-scale actions (whether they are in downing of tools, picketing, demonstrations, protest meetings, go-slows, work-to-rule, sit-down strikes, boycotts, stays-at-home, defiance, etc.) are important and lead to higher revolutionary activities (sabotage, guerilla action and the seizure of power)."
>
> —quoted in *Sechaba*, Third Quarter 1976

With its huge black working class, South Africa will play the key role in carrying the socialist revolution throughout sub-Saharan Africa, simultaneously wiping out every vestige of imperialism and white supremacy, toppling the venal and repressive military dictatorships which reign over much of the continent and eliminating the left-talking bourgeois nationalist regimes (Tanzania, Guinea, Angola, Mozambique) which veil their capitalist exploitation with the rhetoric of "anti-imperialism" and "people's power."

The resolution of the crisis of leadership of the South African proletariat is thus a task of world importance. Liberation of the exploited and racially oppressed working masses requires the forging of a Trotskyist party, armed with the program of permanent revolution and built through political struggle against the Stalinists and petty-bourgeois nationalists. Only such a party can unlock the awesome power of the black proletarians and lead to a workers and peasants government in South Africa. ■

Goetzer/Sygma

**Police patrol in Soweto**

**Black rebellions have swept South Africa from the industrial and mining centers of Pretoria and Johannesburg to the ports of Durban and Cape Town. The offer of phony independence to the Transkei Bantustan has done nothing to pacify black workers and youth. Frenzied racists in Rhodesia launched a terror raid into Mozambique this weekend (indicated by arrow), hoping to deflect the escalating guerrilla offensive.**


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pour toute correspondance Bruno Porquier, B P 57, 95120 Ermont, France

# Steelworkers ...

*(continued from page 12)*

Such would be the role of Sadlowski as head of the USWA.

### Tailing Sadlowski

Backing Sadlowski are virtually all the "rank-and-file" oppositional groupings in the USWA. Largest and most influential mong them is the National Steelworkers Rank and File Committee (NSRFC), which is supported by the Communist Party (CP). The NSRFC has several delegates to the convention and its members and close supporters won important positions in local union elections this spring.

While the NSRFC attempts to retain a fig leaf of independence by maintaining such paper positions as opposition to ENA, it is firmly tied to Sadlowski's coattails. Both it and the CP-endorsed trade-union publication *Labor Today* are virtually uncritical of Sadlowski. And during a recent nationwide leafleting campaign at plant gates, NSRFC members joined members of Sadlowski's Steelworkers Fightback in distributing not only petitions for membership ratification, but literature boosting Sadlowski as well.

One of the major ostensible concerns of the NSRFC is racial and sexual oppression. This is a key question in the USWA, given the union's notorious toleration of discriminatory practices. Militants must steadfastly defend the rights of minorities and women by fighting for a plantwide seniority system and a union hiring hall to administer hiring and upgrading.

Rather than waging such a struggle within the union, NSRFC has relied on government remedies. NSRFC members were party to the lawsuit which led to the Consent Decree, a plan which provides only token benefits to minorities while maintaining the discriminatory departmental seniority system. While the Consent Decree has done little for blacks, it has wreaked havoc within the union by giving the government free rein to tamper with the union's seniority system and pitting black workers against white workers.

The NSRFC has recently demanded that the Consent Decree be extended to provide "retroactive seniority to victims of 'last hired, first fired' discrimination" (*NSRFC Report*, August 1976). This means that white workers with greater seniority will be laid off in preference to lower seniority blacks, a program which in fact represents the logical conclusion of government "affirmative action" plans. Thus the NSRFC holds white workers, rather than the bosses, responsible for discrimination against blacks—and seeks to make them pay for it. Justice for minority workers will not be attained through court-ordered plans that operate at the expense of white workers, but only as part of a joint struggle of all workers directed at the capitalist system.

Although the CP, which is currently ballyhooing its "independent communist" electoral campaign, is a strong supporter of the NSRFC, members of the latter regularly campaign for Democratic Party candidates. In Chicago they supported Mayor Daley's liberal opponent Bill Singer, who only a year later acted as Illinois governor Walker's hatchet man in trying to defeat the Chicago teachers strike. In Gary, Indiana NSRFC members campaign for William Todd, an NAACP leader and vice president of Local 1014 (who had voted for ENA the previous year at the union's Wage Policy Conference), who was running for city council as an independent Democrat. Supporting local Democrats is a common practice for the NSRFC in the steel communities of South Chicago, East Chicago (Indiana) and Lorain, Ohio. And needless to say, the NSRFC has refused to consider supporting CP presidential candidate Gus Hall against Carter and the Republicans. Such a decision would compromise its ability to maneuver with bureaucrats like Sadlowski.

In its fundamentals, the NSRFC shares Sadlowski's program of support to the Democrats, reliance on the capitalist government, and court cases against the union. When it counts, the NSRFC regularly drops the more controversial aspects of its paper program (such as opposition to racism) so as not to embarrass its bigtime allies. At the 1974 convention the NSRFC liquidated its entire program into a single-issue opposition to the dues increase, a sub-reformist issue. This year it can be expected to drop most of its demands in order to support Sadlowski's floor maneuvers.

Backing for Sadlowski is also found in the pages of *Revolution*, newspaper of the Maoist Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP). It reports favorably that the Breakout Caucus at Local 65 (South Chicago) supported some "Sadlowski men" for local office. Of course, "He is regarded with suspicion by many workers because of his failure to take any forthright public stand on the ENA or other critical issues. Nonetheless, he enjoys considerable support..." This is the infamous Maoist "mass line"; forget program, support popularity—the methodology of classic opportunism. The RCP covers itself by stating that it is "...not giving out blank checks to anyone, Abel or Sadlowski." Not, at least, until next February.

The "Rank and File Program" of the Breakout Caucus, published in *The Steel Worker*, is essentially no different from that of the NSRFC. *Revolution* tries to justify the policies of Breakout by arguing that the CP "see the elections as an end in themselves," while it sees elections as only part of the struggle. Nonetheless, "The idea was that the workers could not just stand by and let [the pro-Abel] Mirocha get elected again." And so Breakout joined the local branch of the NSRFC in supporting Sadlowski candidate John Chico.

The labor fakers—Abel and Sadlowski alike—and their fake-left hangers-on are the primary obstacle to the waging of a militant struggle against the steel companies. They must be relentlessly exposed for their subservience to the bourgeoisie which binds them hand and foot to a policy of retreat and sellout. The Abels and Sadlowskis must be dumped and a new class-struggle leadership forged around the principle of independence from the capitalists and their government.

A class-struggle USWA would fight for the real interests of the steelworkers: jobs for all through a shorter workweek with no loss in pay; no government interference in the labor movement—against all anti-labor legislation; for the right to strike—abolish the ENA; against all forms of racial and sexual discrimination—for union control of hiring and upgrading; for international labor solidarity—against protectionism and American chauvinist policies; against the capitalist Democrats and Republicans—for a workers party to fight for a workers government and an end to the capitalist system of exploitation. ■


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# Muñoz ...

*(continued from page 1)*

in downtown Vienna. Present were representatives and correspondents of *Le Monde*, the Vienna *Kurier*, Austrian Press Agency, *Workers Vanguard*, CISNU (an Iranian student group), *Rot Front* (of the Austrian GRM), *Permanente Revolution* (of the IKL), and *Rearme*, a Chilean exile publication. Muñoz began by thanking the hundreds of left and labor militants and prominent individuals whose support for the campaign had brought him to Vienna to tell the true story of the vicious reactionary terror regime in Argentina.

In his presentation Muñoz spoke of the bloody repression which still endangers tens of thousands of Chilean political refugees trapped in Argentina. "It is necessary to develop an even bigger campaign to save the workers leaders," he said, stressing the need for international protest and pressure on behalf of those threatened and victimized by junta terror.

Tracing his own history, Muñoz described his perilous escape from Chile following the September 1973 coup. "My exit to Argentina was decided by a plenary meeting of miners' leaders because my name was being announced on television and the radio." "They sent airplanes to bomb the mining camps, even killing the miners' pets," he reported. "When I crossed the *cordillera* of the Andes into Argentina, I saw a camp of the miners' cooperative 'Maquis de Pedernales' which had been completely destroyed by bombs." It took six days on foot to cross through the snow-bound mountain passes until Muñoz was able to reach the first refugee site in Argentina.

Turning to the misery of the Chilean masses under the terror of the Pinochet junta, Muñoz pointed out that the unemployment rate (officially listed at an already catastrophic 20 percent) would be shown to be twice as high by an accurate count which included the well over 100,000 refugees most of them concentrated in the western Argentina border provinces, where Muñoz settled among other workers and peasants who had fled Chile after the Pinochet coup.

> "Since 1973 Chile has experienced one of the greatest cataclysms that has ever befallen our country. I say this because the country's economy is practically destroyed and it has lost an entire generation. Thousands and thousands of girls between 12 and 14 years of age are forced into prostitution in the streets of Santiago, Valparaiso, Concepción and Antofagasta as their only means of livelihood. Hundreds of thousands of families have been destroyed."

On the other side of the border, Muñoz pointed out, things were little better. In the Argentine province of Mendoza, the 3,000 Chilean refugees officially under UN responsibility receive only lodging and one meal a day. They have no medical care or medicines. With the constant raids on refugee sites by the military and para-police anti-communist death squads, he said, the UN is unable to protect Chilean political refugees in Argentina.

The abysmal reality of the "protection" afforded refugees from rightist terror was illustrated by Muñoz' own arrest by Mendoza police on July 2, along with a dozen other men from a Catholic refuge in the city:

> "They arrested us at 5 p.m. and took us to be interrogated and tortured. Of the 13 who were arrested, I was singled out within five minutes as the one to be interrogated.... I refused to answer anything and so was told that, since you won't tell us, we'll tell you who you are. Everything that I had stated at the refugee center to the Mendoza committee [administering the refugee sites] and the lawyer appeared in the police commissioner's files. The interrogator quoted verbatim from my deposition to the UN committee in Mendoza."

The Muñoz campaign took the lead in mobilizing vocal protest against the rightist repression in Argentina. With slender resources, the Committee to Save Mario Muñoz had to publicize not only the plight of Muñoz but also the reality of the situation in Videla's Argentina, while the bourgeois press—abetted by liberals and Stalinists—sought to whitewash the reactionary terror regime. With the exception of MIR leader Edgardo Enriquez (turned over to Pinochet in April) no other Chilean leftist in Argentina received so much publicity. The UN office in Buenos Aires told Muñoz it had been swamped with telegrams pleading for aid in obtaining safe conduct for him out of Argentina.

Hubert Schatzl

**Mario Muñoz Salas being greeted at the Vienna airport.**

The campaign drew attention to the desperate situation facing Argentine leftists and trade unionists as well as Chilean and other refugees. The Muñoz campaign significantly contributed to building the international pressure which led to the UNHCR's announcement Friday that several countries had agreed to accept a total of nearly 2,000 Latin American refugees from Argentina.

On the same day as Muñoz' press conference, the Austrian government announced a quota of 250 visas for refugees from Argentina. The Chilean miners' leader was the first such refugee to be accepted. The *Arbeiter-Zeitung* (7 August), organ of the ruling Socialist Party (SPÖ), began its page 2 story by emphasizing this aspect:

> "Austria is currently participating in an international campaign to save the roughly 8,000 refugees from other Latin American countries living in Argentina where they are threatened by the right-wing death squads. In addition to Austria, Canada, France, England, Switzerland and Norway have declared their willingness to accept refugees since

> Argentina is already well on its way to becoming a second Chile. The first victory was the success of a worldwide trade-union campaign in obtaining safe conduct from Argentina to Austria for former Chilean miners leader Mario Muñoz."

The same point was made in a shorter Austrian Press Agency dispatch in Vienna's leading bourgeois paper, *Die Presse* (7 August). On Saturday night the news program on Italy's national television carried an announcement about Muñoz' arrival in Vienna.

The *Arbeiter-Zeitung* felt it necessary to attack Muñoz for breaking with Allende's popular front, going so far as to state that the repression he subsequently suffered was "his own fault." But Muñoz had offered the military support of the miners to defend the Allende regime against a right-wing coup. He warned that it was Allende, through conciliating reaction and collaborating with the bourgeoisie, who was paving the road to the coup.

Today, the *Kurier* (10 August), a leading Vienna bourgeois paper, published a feature article on Muñoz on page 3. The article stressed the importance of the international campaign in saving Muñoz:

> "Mario Muñoz went underground for more than three months. But the New York-based Partisan Defense Committee took up this spectacular case and mounted a campaign throughout the western world to save Mario Muñoz...."

The *Kurier* article noted the intervention of top Austrian trade-union and Socialist Party leaders on Muñoz' behalf.

The vicious manhunt for Muñoz spanned two countries. The campaign to save this Chilean workers' leader spanned five continents; it has dramatized the desperate peril facing leftists and labor leaders throughout Latin America. The broad-based defense effort demonstrates the power of international working-class solidarity, illuminating the continuing need for anti-sectarian, class-struggle defense efforts on behalf of all victims of reactionary terror. This important victory offers renewed hope for all the class brothers and sisters of Mario Muñoz persecuted by the vindictive junta butchers for their struggles against reactionary dictatorship in Latin America and throughout the world. ■


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# Rhodesia

*(continued from page 8)*

Botswana three times last week and questioned villagers at gunpoint.

### Frenzied Racists Under Siege

The minority regime's frenzy stems directly from its deteriorating military and economic position. Rhodesia is encircled by black-ruled countries, and the guerrillas have struck at will on all fronts. The economy is grinding down following the closure of the Zambian and Mozambique borders to Rhodesian goods and constant sabotage of the vital Rutenga rail link with South Africa. The country's white settlers live in a state of permanent siege. After a recent visit, the editor of the Johannesburg *Star* (7 August) described his impressions:

> "Forts have sprung up in the countryside. Small towns now look like garrisons. Camouflaged military vehicles, which are not that numerous in so small a country, often outnumber private vehicles.... You cannot stand on a street corner in central Salisbury for two minutes without noticing signs of the Security Forces. You may even see a young man going to his office to work—routinely except for the uniform and gun."

Salisbury's military forces are stretched increasingly thin. Its regular army of 4,700 men (half of them black) is backed up by 16,400 "territorial forces" (reservists) who have been put on continuous call-up since May 1 and another 27,000 police and police reservists. The military has taken to re-examining men previously rejected as medically unfit, has lowered the call-up age to 16 and is recruiting mercenaries in Europe and North America.

Already outnumbered 20 to 1, whites are beginning to flee this fortress society in significant numbers. Despite a trickle of immigration, the country experienced a net loss of 2,280—or nearly one percent of the white population—in the first six months of the year. The government's response was to drastically slash the amount of currency that emigrating families can take with them.

### Escalating Struggle

While the army and police rely heavily on well-paid black volunteers for their counter-insurgency operations, the black masses have demonstrated increasing support for the guerrillas, calling down savage repression reminiscent of tactics employed during the imperialist rape of Indochina. Rural Africans are herded into barbed-wire-enclosed "protected villages" which recall the "strategic hamlet" program in Vietnam. Late last month, 56 black farmworkers were sentenced to ten years in jail for "failing to report terrorists." Dozens of peasants have been shot for curfew violations.

Torn apart by political differences, tribal and personal rivalries, the political leadership of the ANC (both Nkomo's ZAPU wing and the "militant" ZANU wing led by Bishop Abel Muzorewa) retreated into the background after the "frontline states" (Zambia, Botswana, Mozambique and Tanzania) threw their support behind a joint military High Command formed last November. The guerrilla offensive has grown steadily since January, spurring Salisbury's murderous reprisal raids.

Henry Kissinger's appeals for a "peaceful settlement" and some form of majority rule within two years have fallen on deaf ears in Salisbury. The spokesman for imperialist genocide, like the representatives of the apartheid regime in Pretoria, is banking on a deal with the most moderate of the petty-bourgeois black nationalists in order to better defend white supremacy from the more secure redoubts of South Africa. Smith, however, is relying on well-equipped and highly trained armed forces, including a fleet of 46 jet strike aircraft and an estimated 40 helicopters.

The racial arrogance and colonial outpost mentality of the Salisbury regime precludes a peaceful transition to black rule. Furthermore, Smith refuses to believe that South Africa will permit the military victory of the guerrillas. In response to Kissinger's June meeting with South African prime minister Balthazar Vorster, Smith defiantly crowed:

> "There is an understanding between South Africa and ourselves that we are fighting for the same thing in Southern Africa, the preservation of Western democracy, which the white man has brought to this part of the world. Accordingly, I don't think Dr. Kissinger, if this was his intent, would succeed in convincing South Africa that Rhodesia would be pressurized into giving way, giving way to the Russian advance."
>
> —*New York Times*, 29 June

Smith may well be deluded. Vorster knows that a major South African intervention into Rhodesia would only deepen the extreme crisis of South African society.

In the sharpening battles in Rhodesia, revolutionaries stand in solidarity with the military struggle to smash racist rule. Should Smith's brazen provocations lead to war with the surrounding black-ruled countries, Marxists would call for the defeat of Rhodesia. Although we place no political confidence in the pseudo-socialist Frelimo regime in Maputo, in Zambia's discredited Kenneth Kaunda or in the nationalist guerrillas, we recognize that Smith's settler colony stands in essentially the same relation to the black Rhodesian masses and the black-ruled states today as it did prior to the 1965 Unilateral Declaration of Independence, i.e., as an extension of British imperialism.

In calling for military victory to the ZANU/ZAPU guerrillas, we point out that the burning social and economic problems of the downtrodden black masses will not be resolved through that victory but only through the creation of a black workers and peasants government to expropriate the mines and plantations and link the Rhodesian proletariat to their class brothers and sisters in South Africa. ■

# San Quentin Six

*(continued from page 2)*

Although Willie Tate may be out of reach of the sadistic and vengeful prison authorities for the moment, Hugo Pinell, David Johnson, Johnny Spain, and the two acquitted defendants, Fleeta Drumgo and Luis Talamantez remain in prison to face their tormentors.

Spain is already serving a life sentence on a murder conviction. Pinell has served 11 years of a three-years-to-life sentence and has already been given two more life sentences for assault while in prison! Johnson has served eight years on a six-months-to-15-year sentence for burglary. Both Pinell and Johnson now face possible life sentences. Fleeta Drumgo and Luis Talamantez are both presently serving indeterminate sentences for burglary. Talamantez' sentence is from five years to life, and he has already served 11. Drumgo has been in prison for 10 years, on a six-months-to-15-year sentence.

### Free the San Quentin Six!

We demand the release of the San Quentin Six! Whether convicted or acquitted in this trial, all the defendants still in prison are marked men. The victims of this racist frame-up must be freed. The murder of George Jackson and the slaughter of prisoners in Attica in 1971 are gruesome reminders of the fate of those who rebel against the hellholes of "correction" and "rehabilitation" of the bourgeois state. Those who are not simply gunned down face years of solitary confinement, degradation and sadistic revenge by guards, designed to reduce them to desperation and insanity.

The history of the San Quentin Six is a searing indictment of bourgeois society and its prison system. Prisons are the concentrated essence of the repressive power of the state, which upholds capitalism with its enforced poverty and inequality, driving many lumpenized elements to crime to survive. But once in prison, "rehabilitation" and "correction" become sick and empty lies, as harassment and torture of those seeking to maintain even a minimum of human dignity lead to ever longer sentences and deepening repression. Sporadic flashes of revolt, like the Attica rebellion, end in bloody slaughter by the state.

The severe dehumanization and oppression of prison life, directed against an already largely declassed and demoralized population, prevent prisoners, no matter how heroic their individual efforts, from playing a sustained revolutionary role. Only the working class, led by a revolutionary party, can finally smash the bourgeois state and the grim prisons upon which it rests and end forever the vicious cycle of crime, punishment and torture which leads to cases like the San Quentin Six.

Free the San Quentin Six! Jail the murderers of George Jackson! Smash the bourgeois prisons and state through proletarian revolution! ■

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# Hospital Strike...

*(continued from page 3)*

settlement, the Communist Labor Party (CLP), like the bureaucrats, called it "a real victory." Workers can predict what having the CLP in union leadership would mean if, for it, a "victory" is a deal in which the COLA increase is traded off for a few hundred jobs while thousands are axed later!

In Mao's Little Red Book defeats may miraculously turn into their opposites, but in real life struggles of the working class, defeats will remain exactly that and will continue as long as the class-betraying labor bureaucracy remains in power in the unions. There are no shortcuts. Hospital workers must struggle to oust the labor bureaucracy in favor of a class-struggle leadership.

At the present time there is an urgent need for city labor unions to take the lead in linking the struggle of workers, students, and the city's poor in a citywide strike against layoffs. This cannot happen while the union leaderships are politically tied to the Democratic Party, which across the country not only supports a program of cutbacks but is actively carrying them out! Labor must break with the Democratic Party to build a workers party based on the trade unions to fight for a workers government. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

## USWA Convention Opens in Las Vegas

# Dump Abel, Sadlowski, ENA! For A Class-Struggle Steelworkers Union!

Village Voice

Ed Sadlowski

Village Voice

I. W. Abel

The 18th Constitutional Convention of the United Steelworkers of America (USWA) convenes August 30 in Las Vegas. The USWA is unique among major unions in that there exists within it a major opposition to the incumbent bureaucracy.

The challenge by Edward Sadlowski has so unnerved the machine of I. W. Abel that a rift has developed over who will succeed the outgoing international president. Two separate slates claiming loyalty to Abel, one headed up by Lloyd McBride, St. Louis district director, the other by vice president John Johns, have been formed for the elections of international union officers scheduled for next February.

In pre-convention jockeying one Abel loyalist, Joseph Kender, director of Cleveland-based District 28, has called on union staff representatives to get locals to pass resolutions postponing USWA elections to the fall of 1977. This would enable Abel to stay in office until after the contracts in basic steel are negotiated next summer. District 31 head Sadlowski, whose Steelworkers Fightback Committee has been busy distributing petitions nationwide calling for membership ratification of contracts, responded characteristically by threatening government intervention against any attempts to tinker with union elections.

The schisms within the USWA leadership provide an excellent opportunity for militants to counterpose a class-struggle program to the pro-capitalist policies of the Abel gang and the reformist Sadlowski. However, little in this direction can be expected at the convention. Almost all the existing "rank-and-file" oppositional groupings have made it clear that they will subordinate themselves to Sadlowski and his program of reliance on the courts and the Democratic Party.

### Abel

Unemployment in the metal industries has ranged from 10 to 20 percent for most of the last 15 months, with layoff rates running higher at many plants. In May total employment in steel was 459,000, down significantly from a five-year high of 512,000 in 1974. The increased level of unemployment has already begun to eat into the industry's Supplementary Unemployment Benefits (SUB) plan: at Bethlehem, for example, SUB benefits have already been cut to less than two-thirds of the regular weekly payments.

Although there has been a modest upturn in the steel industry this year this has not led to significant callbacks and new hiring. Under Abel's "productivity bargaining," thousands of workers are being forced out of the industry permanently. Through May 1976 U.S. steelmakers had shipped 6 percent more finished steel than last year with 7.2 percent fewer workers! Meanwhile, U.S. Steel, the nation's largest steel producer, has just announced its second major price increase in three months. While the companies claim greater profits, steelworkers are saddled with layoffs, speed-up, overwork and increased safety violations.

Key to maintenance of this situation is Abel's notorious Experimental Negotiating Agreement (ENA), under which the union gave up the right to call nationwide strikes until 1980 in exchange for extremely minimal wage increases. Abel regards the ENA as his most important achievement.

However, the discontent among steelworkers with the results of ENA is widespread. Abel has no real achievements to show for this policy and he has been reduced to arguing cynically that a no-strike policy cuts down on steel imports. And *both* of the pro-Abel tickets are stressing the "experimental" character of ENA!

Having renounced a strategy of striking against layoffs, Abel's only program for jobs is to steal them from foreign steelworkers. To this end the USWA was instrumental this spring in supporting the Ford administration's enactment of three-year quotas on imports of European specialty steel, while the Japanese agreed to voluntary restrictions. The ultimate result of this trade rivalry will not be more jobs for steelworkers but worse conditions for all workers—as unions in all countries sacrifice to make their respective steel industries "more competitive"—and the prospect of a third world war waged to resolve the competing market claims of various capitalist states.

Not the least of the results of Abel's fundamentally chauvinist viewpoint has been the willingness to sell out the Canadian section of the USWA. At the 1974 union convention, Canadian delegations had demanded removal of the red clause as a concession to their membership, which is increasingly restive under the domination of the conservative U.S. International. Abel apparently agreed to modify the existing red clause and his Constitution Committee submitted a resolution which would delete specific references to the Communist Party from the union's sweeping anti-communist membership clause. However, the International made no effort to get delegates to support its official position and the proposal was voted down with the assistance of large numbers of the International's staff representatives. This act of treachery outraged the Canadian delegations.

### Sadlowski

Challenger Sadlowski likes to harp about returning the union to membership control, but his enormous contempt for the rank and file is revealed by his use of the capitalist government against his bureaucratic opponents. Sadlowski's election as head of the pivotal Chicago-area District 31 was spearheaded by the Department of Labor. Rather than fighting within the union he has threatened to use Landrum-Griffin if Abel extends his term. And when his supporters were recently assaulted in Houston (see *WV* No. 121) he appealed to the Ku Klux Klan-infested Houston cops to protect his backers, demanding that they police the plants.

Sadlowski has not even openly opposed the ENA, and he is careful to assert that it is "legal." His intimate ties with the courts and government officials make it clear that he would enforce the highly unpopular ENA—which does not expire until 1980. In this he is not different from Arnold Miller of the Mine Workers, who similarly enforced Boyle's sellout contract after he replaced Boyle as union president.

Sadlowski's support to membership ratification is similarly suspect. Steelworkers have never had the right to vote on their contracts. While this demand is certainly supportable, in the hands of a bureaucratic leadership it means little. The Teamsters, for example, have membership ratification. In practice, this means that contracts are approved without discussion in undemocratic mail referendums supervised by the Labor Department!

Sadlowski has certainly given no indication that he would act any differently from the heavy-handed Abel if he ran the USWA. As director of District 31 Sadlowski has done nothing to combat layoffs and contract violations by the companies. Although his speeches are filled with a lot of cheap sniping at Abel's "tuxedo unionism," on the most important issues facing the union productivity bargaining, unemployment, protectionism, racial and sexual discrimination, let alone the ENA Sadlowski has said little that distinguishes him from Abel. And like Abel, Sadlowski is committed to supporting capitalist politicians, most recently Governor Daniel Walker in the Illinois Democratic primary.

Sadlowski bills himself as the "Arnold Miller of the Steelworkers." This is accurate. And one need only glimpse Miller today to see how unfortunate Sadlowski's election would be for steelworkers. The two massive wildcats by miners within one year testify to the distance that separates Miller from the rank and file of his union. Miller, who ran as a "reformer" and supporter of "democracy," now calls for strict obedience to anti-labor courts, for crossing picket lines and expelling dissidents.

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WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

No. 123 3 September 1976

## U.S. Out of Korea!

# American Imperialism Rattles Sabre in Korea

AUGUST 31—On August 18, two U.S. military officers were killed by North Korean soldiers using the very axes which the Americans had dragged into the "Demilitarized Zone" in order to prune a tree that "obstructed the line of sight" of a U.S.-South Korean command post. Three days later the Pentagon mobilized a "show of force": B-52 bombers, F-4 Phantom jets, F-111 fighters and helicopter gunships were readied; the USS Midway steamed into Korean waters from Japan as the spearhead of a naval task force; and 300 armed soldiers of the South Korean and U.S. armies which compose the imperialist "United Nations Command" cut down the offending 40-foot poplar.

Immediately, the bourgeois yellow press began grinding out accusations of "Communist aggression." The State Department announced that North Korean leader Kim Il Sung's message of "regret" was insufficient. What incredible hypocrisy! The U.S. imperialists have maintained an expeditionary force of 41,000 troops in place for 23 years since the Korean War armistice. This is a permanent act of aggression against the workers and peasants of that divided nation. American imperialism must be forced to pack up its troops, its land mines and tanks, its 1,000 nuclear missiles, its axes, command posts and spy ships and *get out of Korea now!*

The sabre-rattling that followed the recent clash in the DMZ mirrored the equally hypocritical outrage and massive U.S. military build-up after North Korea's seizure of the American spy ship Pueblo in 1968. Dozens of war planes were then flown from Okinawa to South Korean bases and aircraft carriers were stationed off the Korean coast. U.S. spokesmen thundered for the release of the ship and crew, while blithely ignoring the fact that they were part of the continual imperialist surveilance/harassment of the North.

The last 23 years have registered well over 1,000 deaths, mainly Koreans, due to skirmishes in the DMZ which snakes 151 miles across the peninsula. The "Demilitarized Zone" is still officially categorized as a "combat zone" by the U.S. military, and hardly a day goes by without some kind of incident. But the issue is not who may prune a tree. The DMZ, the cease-fire line established at the end of the Korean War, is a battle line in the class war. The South Korean and American forces who patrol it are the front line of imperialist attempts to encircle the Soviet Union and China. The North Korean forces are armed defenders of the collectivized economy of a deformed workers state. Revolutionaries unconditionally militarily defend the deformed workers states against imperialism, regardless of who wields the first axe or launches the first missile.

President Ford may believe that his dangerous show of force in Korea can annoint him the super cold warrior in the current election campaign, and perhaps spur some electoral activity out of disgruntled anti-"détente" Reagan supporters. But it won't work. Carter is right in line with a foreign policy no less anti-communist and no less warmongering that Ford's. And he is reminding everyone that the cold war was the Democratic Party's baby.

Time

**North Korean soldiers disperse U.S. and South Korean soldiers who refused to stop the pruning of a tree. The ensuing fight resulted in two deaths and over a dozen injuries.**

The U.S ruling class, while supporting Ford's martial provocations, is embarrassed by its puppet regime of Pak Chung Hi (generally referred to in the Western press as General Park), one of the worst in a string of U.S.-bankrolled right-wing dictatorships. Currently the Park regime is winding up a show trial of 18 leading dissidents who dared to suggest that life in South Korea is not "free" by any stretch of the imagination. The victims have been sentenced to long prison terms for violating Park's presidential decree of 1972, which according to the *New York Times* (29 August) bans "all forms of dissent including criticism of the decree itself."

The convicted victims of this latest anti-communist witchhunt include, besides professors, priests and other clergy, a 79-year-old former president of South Korea and the country's first woman lawyer. They were all found guilty of sedition for asking the dictator to resign. A three-judge panel charged that the defendants had "slandered the Constitution" and "distorted the political situation by claiming that there was no freedom in this country." These victims of an arbitrary, thought-control kangaroo court must be freed, along with the thousands of other victims of the Park dictatorship's anti-communist repression! The hundreds of millions of dollars of U.S. aid to this miserable rightist dictatorship must be stopped!

The whole business might seem an ironic joke on imperialism's pretensions of representing a "free world," but behind it lie the executions and savage tortures by the vicious South Korean police and army, propping up a regime which causes immense misery for the workers and peasants (dreadfully low wages, widespread prostitution, etc.). But it is difficult to discover all that is going on in South Korea, because "any South Korean faces seven years imprisonment for criticizing his government to a foreigner" (*New York Times*, 23 August).

Bourgeois support for Ford's military mobilization in Korea was given with a warning against another land war in Asia, as the U.S. continues to lick its wounds sustained over imperialism's loss of Vietnam. The American public is in no mood for another Korean War. Despite Ronald Reagan and other crazed anti-communist ideologues, the opinion of the majority of the world bourgeoisie was best summed up by the cover of the influential British conservative magazine, the *Economist* (28 August), which reproduced a 1950's vintage war-mongering racist Marvel comic book cover above the title, "Oh no, not Korea again."

### Korean War and Cold War

The Korean War, which left two million dead (four-fifths of them civilians) was essentially the attempt of U.S. imperialism to "roll back" the sphere of influence of the USSR, then closely allied with China. It was also a civil war in which the U.S. and its puppet tyrants in Seoul sought to crush the struggle of the Korean masses, North and South, to reunify their country and rip it from the rapacious grasp of the capitalist/landlord clique around dictator Syngman Rhee.

Having "lost China," U.S. rulers were itching not only to "contain" the Soviet Union but to "liberate" the former realm of Chiang Kai-shek for capitalist exploitation. This was surely the intention behind the massive U.S. invasion across

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**The National Question in the Marxist Movement, 1848-1914 .....6**

# Gabriel Salinas Free!

Gabriel Salinas Alvarez, 28-year-old Chilean victim of right-wing repression in Argentina, was released from Villa Devoto prison in Buenos Aires August 17 and arrived safely in Belgium the same day. One of a group of 13 rounded up last November in the Argentine capital, Salinas was held in jail for nine months. During four months the prisoners were held incommunicado, unable to contact families or lawyers. Salinas is a former teacher and a Latin American folksinger who has recorded two albums in Barcelona, "Canto a Mi America" and "Yo Defiendo Mi Tierra."

WV Photo

**December 5 NYC demonstration demanded freedom for 13 arrested in Argentina.**

Upon learning of the arrest of the 13 early last December, the Partisan Defense Committee (PDC) immediately sent telegrams of protest to the Argentine embassy in Washington, D.C., and organized a demonstration on December 5 outside the Argentine mission to the UN in New York City, involving 70 people. The PDC continued to draw attention to the case, contacting individuals, organizations and official bodies who could be of assistance and publicizing it at demonstrations and in appeals (see "Mario Muñoz Is Safe!" *WV* No. 122, 20 August). Thus the release of Salinas, coming shortly after the safe exit of Chilean miners leader Mario Muñoz from Argentina, is another victory for the anti-sectarian class-struggle defense championed by the PDC.

The original police report on the arrest of the 13, published in the 3 December *La Nación* (Buenos Aires), accused them of membership in a "Chilean Revolutionary Coordinating Committee," which supposedly ran guns and money across the border for Chilean resistance groups, and charged one of them with attending a "Rolando Guerrilla School" in Europe. Naturally, no one has ever heard of either group. The propaganda bombast around their arrest was simply an attempt to turn the arbitrary detention of a large number of Chileans into a publicity coup for the shaky Peronist regime. Significantly, no formal charges were ever brought against Salinas or any of the others.

Of the 12 arrested with Salinas, only three have been set free so far: British citizen Richard Whitecross and his wife Cristina, whose case was widely publicized in the British press, and Dr. Juan José Bustos Ramirez, a former professor at the University of Chile. All the others still remain in Villa Devoto. They are eight Chileans (Guillermina Alicia Gavilán de Pizarro, Roberto Pizarro Hofer, Sergio Muñoz Martinez, Ernesto Bernardo Rejovitzky, Luis Bravo Moreno, Ximena Závala San Martín, Sergio Letelier Sotomayor, Catarina Palma Herrera) and Argentine citizen Rafael Mario Toer.

**Gabriel Salinas**

In a phone conversation with the Partisan Defense Committee the day after his arrival in Brussels, Salinas reported that Toer (author of the book *La "via chilena": Un balance necesario*) is in grave danger of losing his eyesight. In an interview with Richard and Cristina Whitecross ("Life in Videla's Jails," *WV* No. 115, 25 June) it was reported that Toer had developed conjunctivitis because of the tight blindfold police had placed on him for several days. He still has not received proper medical treatment. Salinas himself is partially blind and was on his way to Barcelona for a delicate operation when he was arrested. He told the PDC that despite brutal mistreatment by the police his eyesight was still intact.

Salinas reported that the Argentine government has issued decrees of expulsion against Letelier, Palma and Závala, as they had in his case, and that visas are available to them, yet they remain in Videla's prison. As long as they are in the hands of the murderous Argentina junta, they are in grave danger of torture, legal murder, execution by the notorious AAA death squads or being sent back to Chile where they would face Pinochet's butchers.

In the phone conversation Salinas thanked the PDC for publicizing and pursuing his case, emphasizing the key role of international protests on behalf of the political prisoners being held by the Argentine junta. The Videla regime is extremely sensitive to its international image, he said, and it was international protest and pressure which obtained the

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## How International Working-Class Defense Was Built

# PDC Forum Hails Victory of Muñoz Campaign

NEW YORK, August 29—A hundred people attended a forum here last night on class-struggle defense work and the successful campaign to save Mario Muñoz, the Chilean miners leader whose safe exit from Argentina was brought about by a broad international campaign of protest and pressure. The talk by Reuben Shiffman—co-chairman of the Partisan Defense Committee (PDC) which initiated the campaign for Muñoz in the U.S. wrapped up a PDC victory tour which included forums in Chicago, Cleveland and Detroit.

The Committee to Save Mario Muñoz was sponsored jointly by the PDC and the Europe-based Committee to Defend Worker and Sailor Prisoners in Chile. Shiffman explained that the campaign was a prodigious undertaking for an organization with the PDC's limited resources. The impressive international solidarity and generous financial support mobilized by the campaign testifies to the deep revulsion among trade unionists, liberal intellectuals and civil liberties exponents against the Latin American junta butchers.

The obstacles were immense. Although known in Chile as a militant miners leader, Mario Muñoz is not a figure of the sort who would be familiar to the liberal and radical intelligentsia and labor movement activists in Europe and the U.S. His case and political history had to be widely publicized. The Committee's task was to make Muñoz a symbol of the thousands of political refugees in Argentina, for whom international protest is the only hope of escape from imprisonment, deportation, torture and murder.

The Committee had to contest the giant whitewash attempted by the Videla government, which sought to portray itself as "moderate" and even "democratic" and the coup as "bloodless." Initially, the Committee was faced with a bourgeois press which blacked out or downplayed the escalating rightist terror. As reports began to filter through of arrests of Argentine leftists and unionists, raids on refugee centers and summary executions of "terrorists" by the extra-legal "AAA" death squads, the Committee's own publicity efforts played a significant role in exposing the whitewash and drawing attention to the mortal danger faced by Argentine left and labor militants and political refugees.

WV Photo

**Reuben Shiffman of the PDC reviewing work of the Committee to Save Mario Muñoz at forum in NYC. Broad international support obtained Muñoz' safety and was factor in forcing several governments to accept Latin American refugees from Argentina.**

Bourgeois efforts to lend the Argentine junta a "respectable" image were abetted by the Communist Party (CP) Stalinists, Shiffman explained. The Argentine CP had acclaimed the democratic hypocrisy of the Videla junta, echoing the junta's lies and welcoming the generals' "respect for representative democracy, social justice, the reaffirmation of the State's role in controlling society, and defense of the capacity for national decisiveness" (quoted in *Militant*, 23 April). As the murderous junta increasingly displayed "national decisiveness" in suppressing the Argentine CP, the Stalinist movement began to interrupt its silence with an occasional tepid protest.

The Stalinists' traditional sectarianism toward any campaign which includes Trotskyists was reinforced in the case of Muñoz by the Chilean miners leader's record of criticism of the betrayals of the Allende government in Chile. The Chilean Stalinists and their counterparts internationally were the foremost proponents of the Allende popular front, which physically and politically disarmed the workers as the reactionary forces massed for the coup. To cover their crimes in Chile—crimes which they now repeat in Argentina—the Stalinists and their apologists resorted to suppression and slander against the Muñoz campaign.

The goal of the reactionary Videla regime, Shiffman explained, is the total destruction of all democratic liberties and of all organizations outside the military and government apparatus. The direct danger facing Muñoz from the Argentine central government—which showed no hesitation in deporting MIR leader Edgardo Enriquez back

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**WORKERS VANGUARD**

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## USLA Redbaiting: Sectarian Sabotage Fails

# Class-Struggle Defense Saved Mario Muñoz

The safe exit from Argentina of Chilean miners' leader Mario Muñoz Salas in early August was a victory for the international workers movement. The broad support mobilized behind the international campaign to defend Muñoz against the four-month police manhunt in General Videla's Argentina transformed the campaign into a symbol of the plight of all victims of right-wing repression in Argentina and Chile. Labor, socialist and civil-libertarian organizations and prominent individuals on five continents endorsed and contributed to the campaign to save this courageous workers leader and his family. Coinciding with Muñoz' safe arrival in Western Europe, the United Nations High Commission on Refugees announced that six countries were now willing to grant asylum to 2,000 South American political refugees from Argentina, reflecting the impact of this exemplary militant protest campaign based on anti-sectarian, class-struggle defense policies.

Against the backdrop of this impressive victory for international workers solidarity, those groups which placed narrow factionalism above the defense of this imperiled workers leader stand out with special infamy. Criminal sectarianism could be expected from the Stalinists since the Communist Party of Argentina actually acclaimed the "democratic" hypocrisy of the Videla junta following the Argentine coup. But the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) demonstrated that it is second to nobody in its willingness to sacrifice elementary proletarian solidarity to the pursuit of reformist respectability and narrow factional considerations.

The SWP did more than bloc with the Stalinist sycophants and apologists for Videla in refusing to endorse the campaign: it consciously attempted to sabotage the defense of Muñoz. The SWP in its own name simply refused to endorse the campaign and left the dirty work to the Latin American defense organization it dominates, the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA).

USLA claims to defend victims of political repression in Latin America. In a mimeographed letter dated April 1976, USLA even claimed it was launching a special campaign on behalf of victims of repression in Argentina. Not very much has been seen of this "campaign." In regard, however, to the particular campaign to save the life of Mario Muñoz—a campaign which focused international attention on repression in Argentina and was a real factor in pressuring several countries into accepting political refugees currently in Argentina USLA's role was that of wrecker and saboteur.

At first USLA simply refused to endorse or support the campaign to save Muñoz. But the impressive and growing support for the campaign finally forced a reluctant verbal endorsement out of USLA. Then on May 17 USLA spokesman Mike Kelly informed the Committee to Save Mario Muñoz that USLA was withdrawing its endorsement because the campaign was "sectarian." Kelly's consummately anti-communist circular reasoning is perfect McCarthyite "logic": the campaign is closely associated with the Partisan Defense Committee (PDC), the PDC is closely associated with the Spartacist League (SL), the SL is "sectarian" (as every SWP supporter has been taught to repeat like a "Hail Mary" to ward off the evil spirit of the SL's revolutionary politics), therefore the campaign must be "sectarian."

WV Photo

**April demonstration in front of Argentine consulate in New York demanded end to manhunt for Mario Muñoz.**

WV Photo

**SWP refused to endorse Muñoz campaign because of class partisanship of PDC. Above: demonstrators sing Internationale at NYC demonstration to save Mario Muñoz.**

The only concrete example of the campaign's "sectarianism" that Kelly could conjure up was the singing of the "Internationale" at the conclusion of the April 22 New York demonstration. What USLA and the SWP really object to about the "Internationale," the song of international labor solidarity, is its class partisanship on the side of the international proletariat.

USLA knew before it endorsed the Committee to Save Mario Muñoz that the PDC was the U.S. co-sponsor of the campaign and that the PDC explicitly describes itself as in accordance with the political views of the SL. Thus the red-baiting "sectarianophobic" departure of USLA was nothing but a calculated attempt to disrupt the campaign and drive away supporters. USLA's narrow factionalism was underlined by Kelly's proposal that the Committee to Save Mario Muñoz liquidate into USLA's non-existent "campaign" against repression in Argentina.

When the SWP hypocrites wished to feign concern for the victims of reactionary terror in Argentina, they were very willing to exploit propaganda and protest carried out by the Committee to Save Mario Muñoz. The SWP's *Intercontinental Press* (3 May) quoted extensively from the "Urgent Appeal for Solidarity to Save the Life of Mario Muñoz" in an article on repression in Argentina and also reported on the April 22 demonstration at the Argentine Consulate. The demonstration report listed several liberal endorsers of the Committee who did not attend the march, while omitting the PDC and SL, both of which had prominent contingents present. Thus the alleged "sectarian domination" of the campaign—which is supposed to bear the blame for the SWP's criminally sectarian willingness to abandon Mario Muñoz to the tender mercies of the Argentine assassination squads is conveniently disappeared so that the SWP can implicitly share credit for the defense work when it suits.

### USLA's Sectarian Record

This is not the first time that USLA's sectarianism has marred the defense of the victims of reactionary terror in Latin America. In early 1974 the SL initiated the Committee to Save Van Schouwen and Romero, two leaders of the Chilean MIR imprisoned and subjected to brutal torture by the Chilean secret police. As part of the defense of all victims of the Chilean junta's rightist terror, it was particularly important to underline the cases of far-left militants, who are often ignored while support is mobilized around the defense of liberal-bourgeois opponents of the military juntas. These efforts were endorsed by the Chile Solidarity Committee, North American Congress on Latin America, Puerto Rican Socialist Party—but not by USLA. Claiming it was too busy with activities around the "respectable" Chile 7 (of whom only two were leftist political leaders), USLA from the beginning refused to campaign in defense of Van Schouwen and Romero.

Last year, USLA announced it was launching a campaign of its own against the State Department's barring from the U.S. of Hugo Blanco, a Peruvian peasant leader and spokesman for the United Secretariat of the Fourth International (where he is a member of the same international faction which the SWP supports). USLA deliberately restricted its "campaign" for Blanco to telegrams to the American government, refusing to organize militant protest activities.

On 3 October 1975 the PDC addressed a letter to USLA proposing a demonstration on behalf of Blanco and pointing out:

> "It was just such broad public, united front demonstrations combined with other forms of publicity and protest which galvanized international support behind Blanco when he was imprisoned on the Peruvian prison island of El Fronton and saved him from execution, eventually winning him his freedom...."

But the legalistic USLA would have none of it, explaining by telephone that it intended to rely on other channels.

When the PDC took the initiative in calling a demonstration on behalf of Blanco in San Francisco on October 16, USLA and the SWP openly worked to sabotage it, proclaiming they would contact sponsoring organizations and urge them to withdraw their backing. An SWP supporter intervened into a meeting on the Berkeley campus to insist that Blanco wanted only telegrams to Kissinger and that people should not participate in activities in defense of Blanco unless they were initiated by USLA.

USLA adamantly opposes militant protests because of its exclusive reliance on "different" channels. What this policy means is clarified by a set of correspondence involving USLA, Congressman Edward Koch and the State Department. USLA wrote to Koch asking him to intervene on Blanco's behalf (backed up by a personal letter to Koch from prominent pacifist liberal Dr. Benjamin Spock). When the State Department responded to Koch's solicitations by informing him that Blanco had been accused of terrorist activities in Peru, Koch backed off in a hurry—and submitted the entire correspondence to the 1 March *Congressional*

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# ILWU Longshoremen Must Enforce Strike Vote!

SAN FRANCISCO, August 28 – Hard-pressed by an employer job-cutting offensive, longshoremen of Local 10 of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) here passed a strike motion at the August 19 membership meeting. Included in the motion was a militant program for the fight for jobs:

> "... we reject all deregistrations or further cuts in gangs and boards and we will take strike action to prevent them. We commit ourselves to a fight for jobs for all longshoremen through a strike for a shorter workshift at no loss in pay."

This motion, introduced by supporters of "Longshore Militant," a class-struggle opposition newsletter in Local 10, represents a significant step toward mounting a counterattack against the maritime bosses. Along with the membership's recent two-to-one rejection of a dues increase, the passage of this motion represents a sharp rebuff to the leadership's defeatist policies.

But although the Local bureaucrats did not dare to obstruct the motion at the membership meeting, they managed to derail it at the next executive board meeting on August 26. Local president Cleophus Williams abruptly adjourned the meeting before implementation of the strike motion could be discussed. The Local leadership cannot be trusted to enforce the membership vote. "Longshore Militant" supporters are calling for elected strike committees.

The new wave of employer attacks began in July when the Pacific Maritime Association (PMA) started a campaign of deregistration of longshoremen who have allegedly violated Section 8.35 of the contract, which forbids holding a second job outside the union. Of course, the fact that many longshoremen have sought outside jobs is due to the job-cutting attacks of the companies, which have been fully supported by the International leadership under Harry Bridges (who doubles as S.F. Port Commissioner). Indeed, to bolster the employer attacks, Bridges has launched a campaign against "chiselers" i.e., those who misreport their hours worked in order to get dispatched to a job. The result is a joint union management drive to further attack the victims of the job cuts!

At an earlier Local 10 meeting, on July 15, the membership had passed a motion to strike against any deregistrations under Section 8.35, a motion also put forward by "Longshore Militant" supporters. Needless to say, the Local leadership has been sitting on this one, too. Meanwhile, the companies' PMA responded by proposing *new* cuts, slashing the day gangs from 43 to 20, and the night gangs from 24 to 12! The weak-kneed Local bureaucracy's response to this was to agree to take the issue to arbitration, while evidently avoiding any mention of the upcoming arbitration to the membership.

Even the inadequate Pay Guarantee Plan (PGP), which was supposed to compensate for the loss in jobs, has been undermined by the PMA with the collusion of Bridges. Recent payments have been far below what is owed, and money is already being taken from *next year's* PGP fund.

As the struggle has heated up in Local 10, supporters of the reformist Communist Party (CP) have once again emerged as hatchet men for the bureaucracy, just as they did in the recent northern California ILWU warehouse strike. Well-known CP supporter Archie Brown, for instance, has been vociferously calling for enforcement of the International's anti-"chiseler" campaign. He attached an amendment to the August 19 strike motion calling for a "delegation to the Coast Committee on these issues." Brown later explained, in the Local 10 "Longshore Bulletin" (26 August) which he edits, that part of the intention of his amendment was "forcing the employers to carry out their responsibility in enforcing the rules against the chiselers." With this kind of talk, we wouldn't be surprised to see Brown join reactionaries like Reagan in blaming unemployment on "welfare cheats"!

In the same issue of the Local 10 bulletin, Brown abused his post as member of the Publicity Committee in order to launch a red-baiting attack against unnamed persons (obviously the "Longshore Militant") who advocate a strike.

> "There is a lot of confusion around many of the issues, and there are people who are making it their business to confuse things as much as possible. They fall into three groups: those who don't give a damn about the union and would just as soon see it go down the drain rather than pay dues; they just don't understand that without a union they have no weapon to give them some protection against a very powerful employer. There are others who place their own political interests and ambitions within the union as more important than the union itself. They are willing to gamble with the future of the union in order to feather their own nests. The last group is very small indeed – so small that the word 'group' is an exaggeration. The solution for everything according to these people is to strike, calling the other guy (which is everybody else) sellout artists. Only they have the correct answers from on high and advocate adventurist policies that would destroy the local and isolate it from the rest of the coast and labor movement. All this in the name of 'revolution' (they never lead any revolution themselves but are critical of all other revolutionaries as they are of various leaders of this union)."

In his efforts to write off class-struggle militants as a "small group" who attack "everybody else," Brown neglects to mention that *the membership has twice supported "Longshore Militant" motions calling for strike action against job cuts and victimizations*, motions which Brown and his friends ("various leaders of this union") have done their best to sabotage. In any case there should be no doubt in anyone's mind any longer that Brown, along with Harry Bridges, is dead set against a strike.

In warehouse, similar bureaucratic repression has been going on in Local 6, where the ranks are also getting fed up with the leadership's defeatist policies. In response to the recent killing of an ILWU picket by a scab truck driver in the Handyman strike, a Militant Caucus motion was raised at the August 19 Oakland warehousemen's meeting calling for a solidarity stop-work action, but the motion was bureaucratically ruled out of order. (A similar motion by "Longshore Militant" supporters was voted down by the Local 10 executive board.)

But despite hostility from the bureaucrats, another Militant Caucus motion was passed, calling for giving union black hooks to the remaining strikers at Automated Plastic Molding (APM). The four-month-old APM strike, which was hit by mass police arrests in June, has been dragged down in isolation because of the bureaucracy's fear of mobilizing the ranks.

For the same reason, other ILWU members are still facing court sentences and charges stemming from the warehouse strike. In San Francisco, in fact, one union member faces charges of attempted murder of a scab. Meanwhile, the gnoms who heat up Militant Caucus leader Bob Mandel at a Local 6 executive board meeting during the strike have once again been seen at a meeting. Clearly the bureaucracy is determined to block any attempts to mount a working-class offensive against the bosses' attacks.

The votes by the Local 10 members show there is deep and generalized discontent with the sellout policies of the Bridges regime. At the same time, the base of support of class-struggle militants within the ILWU remains both very limited and episodic. The most immediate, continuing and difficult task of militant oppositionists within the ILWU is to overcome this weakness, in the process forging a broadly based leadership tested in struggle and able to rescue the embattled union from the dead end into which it has been led by the class-collaborationist Bridges bureaucracy. ■

# Stalinists Scuttle ILWU South Africa Boycott

SAN FRANCISCO – At the July 15 membership meeting of Local 10 of the ILWU, the Longshore ranks passed a motion "that ILWU Local 10 will and does call for a boycott of all cargo, dock or shipside, bound for or from South Africa or Rhodesia." In light of the recent brutal repression of the black working class by the South African government, such an act of international working-class solidarity at this time could concretely aid in restraining the brutality of the apartheid regime.

But unfortunately for the suffering South African masses, this Local 10 motion was in the hands of people who were interested only in polishing their "progressive" images, not international working-class solidarity. According to a boastful letter from Longshoreman Bill Proctor in the Communist Party's *People's World* (7 August), the motion was originated by Local member Leo Robinson and brought to the International Executive Board (IEB) in early July by Local 10 president Cleophus Williams. The *PW* letter explains that the IEB decided to "hold up any action until there have been response on this question from all Longshore locals."

After the Local 10 membership adopted the resolution on July 15, the Executive Board refused to adopt a subsequent motion by "Longshore Militant" supporter Stan Gow to immediately implement the boycott. Instead the Executive Board decided to put the question of immediate implementation up to a referendum vote on August 20, and a cautionary hint appeared in the Local 10 "Longshore Bulletin" of 13 August:

> "RECOGNIZING THAT YOU MAY LOSE PGP, DIVERT CARGO FROM THE PORT AND BE SUBJECT TO A LOCKOUT, ARE YOU IN FAVOR OF *IMMEDIATELY* IMPLEMENTING OUR MOTION TO BOYCOTT CARGO TO AND FROM RHODESIA AND SOUTH AFRICA?" [emphasis in original]

Not even trusting the membership to get this hint, Leo Robinson got up at the August 19 membership meeting and moved to put off any action indefinitely, kicking the matter back to the IEB for more "study"! This piece of treachery was passed with the support of well-known CP supporter Archie Brown.

The 21 August issue of *People's World* again boasts proudly of the Local 10 boycott motion, which is printed in full. No doubt serious South African revolutionaries will want to see *PW* explain the sudden reversal by Robinson and Brown. Indeed a recent electoral leaflet of the Communist Party itself hypocritically complains that in the ILWU the "good and progressive policies seem only to remain on paper ..." At this point the boycott motion is just so much *PW* paper, thanks to the class treason of "brothers" like Robinson and Brown. ■


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# S.F. Muni Workers Sold Out

SAN FRANCISCO, August 25 By a vote of 790 to 564 the members of Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 250-A accepted the final contract offer of the city's notoriously anti-labor Board of Supervisors. The close vote reflected wide dissatisfaction with the settlement and registered the mistrust of the Muni workers in the ability of the present union leadership to lead a successful strike.

During last spring's 38-day S.F. craft workers strike the transit workers watched angrily as the Central Labor Council (CLC) along with their own leaders refused to implement a general strike call which had been issued by the CLC and which was repeatedly endorsed by TWU membership votes. Muni drivers instead were limited to respecting the craft workers picket lines. During the July-August negotiations for the TWU contract the union was again caught between the ongoing wage-cutting offensive of the Board of Supervisors and a vacuum of leadership in the labor movement.

### Statistics as Politics

Essentially, the final Muni package amounts to a small wage increase accompanied by massive cuts in important fringe benefits. The incredible size of the cuts was virtually buried by the bourgeois media, which centered on deliberately misleading talk of a "10 percent pay hike" no doubt designed to feed the anti-labor fires of the anonymous "taxpayers." The confusion was facilitated by the complications of city budgeting and civil service formulas.

As the union entered negotiations in July, when the new city budget for 1976-77 went into effect, Muni workers "automatically" suffered an actual *cut* in wages, from $7.135 per hour to $6.89 per hour, as a result of the tighter budget drawn up by "friend of labor" Mayor Moscone. According to the TWU's printed summary of the negotiations, the city's first "offer" was to cut last year's cost-of-living allowance (COLA) from $900,000 to *zero*, to cut the city-paid union trust fund (used for health benefits) from $3.1 million to *zero*, and to permanently eliminate the city-paid industrial compensation allowance of $350,000! (The last item is particularly important to drivers of the antique cable cars in fact, cable car operators voted against the final contract by 93 to 31.)

As for wages, the city's initial offer was $7.15 per hour a 1.5 cent raise! The traditional civil service formula would have allowed a maximum raise to $7.56. (The formula allows the city to pay up to the average of the two highest municipal transit systems in the country, although it can legally pay less.) During the negotiations, the capitalist media blared that the union and the Board were "millions of dollars apart," because the union was demanding *restoration* of approximately $5 million in cuts along with a modest pay increase!

Predictably the reformist union leadership ended up negotiating over the *amount* of the cuts, and the final package only represented a reduction in the cuts. Even the trumpeted pay hike fell short of the civil service formula ($7.46 instead of $7.56). Local 250-A president Larry Martin apologized lamely that, "I'm not pleased with the offer, but it is the best offer we could squeeze out before walking out" (*San Francisco Progress*, 25 August).

### CLC Postures for Smaller Cuts

Given the incredible arrogance of the Board's "offer," it was no surprise that Martin was able to pass a routine strike authorization motion at a union membership meeting August 15. What startled the supervisors was that the TWU leader continued to go through the motions of preparing for a strike. On August 18, Martin obtained strike sanction from CLC head John Crowley, who set a strike deadline of 12:01 a.m. August 20. Militant-sounding support came from Vince Courtney, a leader of the Service Employees union who had done nothing to stop SEIU scabbing on the city workers' strike. Stan Smith, secretary of the Building Trades Council, warned of "total chaos" and remarked that the craft workers "don't feel that they owe the City anything" (*San Francisco Examiner*, 19 August).

Taken aback by this unexpected sabre-rattling, Board of Supervisors spokesman John Molinari suddenly became more polite, indicating that there might be room for bargaining, unlike during the earlier craft workers dispute. Mayor Moscone, trying to refurbish his "friend of labor" image, even went in person to CLC headquarters to appeal to Crowley not to grant strike sanction. Meanwhile, hard-line supervisor Dianne Feinstein accused Moscone of trying to "appease labor" (*San Francisco Examiner*, 18 August). The CLC decided to grant strike sanction anyway, although Crowley carefully retained the power to withdraw it at his discretion

The sudden change in the Board's negotiating style indicated that its intransigence could be broken by a determined working-class counteroffensive. But this was not the intention of Crowley, Martin, et al Just after the Board announced its final offer (less than an hour before the strike deadline), Martin went into caucus and returned to announce that the strike was postponed... allegedly so that the membership could vote on the Board's final offer To the press Martin asserted that the union executive board was making no recommendation to the membership. However, the tape recording at TWU headquarters stated: "The executive board voted to recommend the new package to the membership for ratification."

At any rate, the mere fact that Martin postponed the strike for three days was a signal that he would not fight for anything more. No doubt supervisor Feinstein's arrogant warning was heard by many: "If there is a strike, all bets are off" (*San Francisco Examiner*, 20 August). In a final bureaucratic maneuver, Martin did not call another membership meeting to discuss and vote on the pact, instead the voting took place at the various car barns.

### Collapse of the "Left"

The bureaucracy's militant posture was cheap and easy because it knew it could kill a strike at any time with very little likelihood of serious opposition. The ostensible "left" opponents of Martin within the union had been completely disoriented by the 38-day near-general strike in April-May, which exposed their lack of a program to mobilize the ranks against the bureaucracy. For instance, none of the fake-left groups consistently pushed for an elected strike committee to implement the membership's call for a general strike. In the post-strike period the opportunists, who always seek short-cuts by tailoring their program to temporary moods, emerged confused and demoralized

Thus at the August 15 general membership meeting—the only general membership meeting held during the heated negotiations leaflets given out by two "left" opponents of the union leadership did not even call directly for a strike

Gary Fong/S F Examiner

**Muni drivers president Larry Martin (top, second from right) at TWU meeting during May strike.**

The Concerned Muni Drivers, supported politically by the Revolutionary Communist Party, were distributing a resolution which tried to dodge the strike question by proposing to "strike if necessary" and calling in the meantime for all drivers to attend the Board of Supervisors meeting the next day and to "systematically *slow down* in accordance with the Rule Book and traffic laws." As for program, the Concerned Muni Drivers' newsletter, "Draggin' the Line" (12 August) simply demanded: "No Cuts in Pay, Benefits or Jobs!"

This was precisely Martin's program! The necessary demands for *more* jobs, for a *shorter* workweek at no loss in pay, for reopening *all* city workers contracts and for a political strike against the new anti-labor ballot propositions are unthinkable to the reformists. Yet it is just such demands which could mobilize the entire Bay Area labor movement

Even more outrageous was the 15 August issue of the "Muni Defender," published by the "Muni Unit, Communist Labor Party," which *opposed* a strike in a lead article entitled "Supes Plot Strike":

> "Behind the locked doors of the Chamber of Commerce, financiers and politicians conspire together to put Muni drivers out of work. Their basic scheme is dangerously simple: force drivers to strike and then stir up the working public against us....
> "This is *not* the year for strike-weary drivers to rush blindly into another walkout.... Instead of a walkout why not build those vital alliances with a FARE STRIKE?... A FARE STRIKE is simply when the passengers don't pay ..." [emphasis in original]

Besides capitulating to defeatist sentiments, such a tactic would also be criminally stupid. Given the reformist leadership of the union, it would simply set up individual militants (who let passengers ride for free) for persecution. Thus, simply by seeking strike authorization on August 15, Martin easily outflanked his "left" opponents, who by their political cowardice reinforced Martin's undeserved "militant" image.

The potential for a powerful strike was indicated by a brief post-contract flare-up. As soon as the pact had been ratified, the Board of Supervisors cynically moved to put on the November ballot a proposition which would alter the civil service formula for Muni wages by basing the calculation on the average of the *seven* highest-paying city transit systems (instead of the top two). Naturally this would significantly lower the resulting calculation. In response to this, Martin threatened to "close it down," prompting the supervisors to withdraw their proposal for now and reconsider it in December.

But Martin has not said a word against the other anti-labor propositions scheduled for November, including one which would outlaw city workers strikes! The entire Muni struggle has revealed once again the need to oust the labor bureaucracy and replace it with a leadership to fight in the interests of the Muni drivers. Both the transit workers struggle and the city craft strike expose the total bankruptcy of the union misleaders, with their policy of support to "lesser-evil" capitalist politicians.

The Barbagelatas, Feinsteins and Moscones are hoping that a series of anti-labor amendments to the city charter will pass this fall. The entire labor movement must not only conduct a vigorous campaign to smash these reactionary referenda in the elections, but must prepare now for militant labor action, up to and including a general strike, in defense of basic trade-union rights. ■


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Part 1 of 2

# The National Question in the Marxist Movement, 1848-1914

by Joseph Seymour

*The following two-part article is the text of a talk given at last month's European summer camp of the international Spartacist tendency.*

As you are aware, our views on the national question, particularly concerning the near East, are one of the most distinctive and controversial aspects of "Spartacism." Very often this question is the most obvious and sharpest difference when we first encounter tendencies that appear to be close to us.

This talk is designed as a contribution to understanding the theoretical underpinning of our current positions. In polemics against the Spartacist tendency and within the ostensibly Trotskyist movement, there are often references to the position Marx or Lenin took on this or that aspect of the national question. Without a thorough knowledge of the evolution of the Marxist position, in its historical context, it is impossible to determine whether or not, and how, these references are relevant.

I believe that an understanding of the evolution of the Marxist position on the national question from 1848 to 1914—i.e., from the origins of Marxism to the collapse of the Second International—bears on the Spartacist position in two significant ways. First, there is no Marxist program for the national question as such. The Marxist position has always had a predominantly strategic character, aimed at creating the conditions for a successful proletarian revolution. In this sense, I think that one can draw a contrast with the Marxist position on the woman question. The position in favor of abolition of the family and for the equality of women is a fundamental element of a communist society, and therefore is not subordinate to changing political conjunctures.

The Marxist position on the national question has a much more conjunctural character historically, and is much more determined by changing empirical circumstances. Thus, it is not only legitimate, but very often obligatory, to change a specific position on a specific national question in a very short period of time. Today we are opposed to the independence of Quebec, while of course recognizing the right of self-determination. But it is certainly possible that in a couple of years, if the national polarization in Canada hardens and the working people of Quebec decisively opt for separatism, we may reverse that policy and come out for independence. Such determinations have a conjunctural and a strategic character.

The second reason I believe a knowledge of pre-Leninist Marxism is important in this question is that our position involves opposition to the notion (which is a resurrection of the earliest Marxist position) that there exist progressive nations and reactionary nations within the colonial world. We do not regard the Palestinians or the Lebanese Muslims as inherently progressive, or the Hebrews and Lebanese Maronite Christians as inherently reactionary, as outposts of imperialism. Many of our disputes with various ostensibly Trotskyist tendencies—for example, over the India-Pakistan war in 1972, over Angola and over Lebanon—involve our rejection of the notion of progressive nationalities and progressive bourgeois state-building in this epoch.

### "Progressive Nations" in the Revolutions of 1848

Marxism as a political tendency begins in early 1846 with the organization of the Communist Corresponding Society in Brussels. What distinguished Marx from other German communists was his belief that it was necessary to have an alliance with the bourgeois democrats, and that the road to socialism in Germany ran through an imminent bourgeois-democratic revolution. As such, he became committed to the program of the unification of Germany as an inherent and important component of that revolution.

The unification of Germany was organically linked to the radical redrawing of boundaries throughout Eastern Europe. Marx was committed to the restoration of an independent Poland, which would serve as a democratic buffer against tsarist Russia. Russia was the strongest military power in Europe, and was considered by Marx as the bulwark of reaction in which a bourgeois-democratic revolution was *not possible*—a position he maintained until the late 1870's. One cannot understand the Marxist position on the national question unless one realizes that for a Central European revolutionary in the mid-19th century, Russia was analogous to the United States for a South American revolutionary today. Radical democracy in Central Europe was linked to the liberation of Poland and a revolutionary war against tsarist Russia.

A more complex aspect of the unification of Germany arose from the fact that part of the German nation was in the Hapsburg or Austro-Hungarian empire. The majority population of that empire consisted of the various Slavic nations, who were mainly peasant peoples. The most important and advanced of these Slavic nations were the Czechs, and Bohemia was about 40 percent German (concentrated among the urban population) and 60 percent Czech, with virtually all of the peasants being Czech.

Marx and Engels maintained that, with the exception of Poland, the Slavic peoples of the Austro-Hungarian empire were too backward to have a bourgeois-democratic revolution. From that premise, they drew the program of dividing Central and East Europe into three great states—Greater Poland, Greater Germany and Greater Hungary—in which the western and southern Slavs would be expected to assimilate to the higher national cultures.

When the revolution of 1848 broke out, the Slavs—not unnaturally—did not go along with this program. The Czech liberals, led by Ferdinand Palacky, proposed instead a federated Austro-Hungarian state allied to a democratic Germany. Thus there was a genuine conflict between the national-democratic movement in Germany and Hungary on the one hand, and the Slavs in the Austro-Hungarian empire, who in part looked to Russia to preserve the Austro-Hungarian status quo.

This situation came to a head in early 1849, when the Russian army crushed the Hungarian national movement of Lajos Kossuth and the Croat national minority maintained a neutral position at best. At that point, Marx and Engels developed a program which amounted to the national, if not physical, genocide of the western and southern Slavs in the interests of the democratic or progressive peoples.

In "Hungary and Panslavism" (1849) Engels writes:

> "Everywhere the forward-looking class, the carrier of progress, the bourgeoisie, was German or Magyar. The Slavs found it difficult to develop a bourgeoisie, the South Slavs were only very partially able to do so. Along with the bourgeoisie, industrial strength, capital, was in German or Magyar hands. As German education developed, the Slavs also came under the intellectual tutelage of the Germans, even deep in Croatia. The same thing took place, only later and therefore on a smaller scale in Hungary, where the Magyars together with the Germans assumed intellectual and commercial leadership. .."

And in another article, "Democratic Panslavism" (1849), he concluded:

> "We repeat: Except for the Poles, the Russians and at best the Slavs in Turkey, no Slavic people has a future, for the simple reason that all other Slavs lack the most basic historic, geographic, political and industrial prerequisites for independence and vitality."

Referring to the Russian-Slav counter-revolutionary movement, he wrote:

> "Then for a moment the Slavic counterrevolution with all its barbarism will engulf the Austrian monarchy and

Czech rebels barricade Prague bridge during 1848 revolution. UDS

the camarilla will find out what kind of allies it has. But with the first victorious uprising of the French proletariat... the Germans and Magyars in Austria will become free and will take bloody revenge on the Slavic barbarians. The general war which will then break out will explode this Slavic league and these petty, bull-headed nations will be destroyed so that nothing is left of them but their names.

"The next world war will cause not only reactionary classes and dynasties but also entire reactionary peoples to disappear from the earth. And that too would be progress."

There was, in the Revolution of 1848, a prominent leftist who did adhere to the doctrine of national self-determination as a principle. This was Mikhail Bakunin, who wrote in his 1848 "Appeal to the Slavs":

"Down with the artificial boundaries which have been forcibly erected by despotic congresses according to so-called historical, geographical, strategic necessities! There should no longer be any other barriers between the nations but those corresponding to nature, to justice and those drawn in a democratic sense which the sovereign will of the people themselves denotes on the basis of their national qualities. The welfare of the nations is never assured as long as anywhere in Europe one single people is living in oppression."

translated in Horace B. Davis, *Nationalism and Socialism*

At the general theoretical level, Marx and Engels denounced Bakunin for utopian egalitarianism applied to nations, which anticipates their later conflict with Bakuninite anarchism where the same principles are applied to individuals. Thus, Engels polemicized against Bakunin in February 1849:

"There is no mention of the very real obstacles in the way of such universal liberation, of the completely different levels of civilization of the various peoples, of their equally different political needs conditioned by them. The word 'freedom' takes the place of everything. There is no mention of reality, or insofar as it is considered at all, it is represented as something entirely reprehensible, something arbitrarily produced by 'congresses of despots' and by 'diplomats'."

"Democratic Panslavism"

On a more concrete level, Marx and Engels regarded so-called democratic pan-Slavism as utopian, which in practice would only serve tsarist Russian expansionism.

Marx's position on the Slav question in 1848 has drawn very considerable criticism, not least from within the later Marxist movement itself. The purpose of this talk is not to second-guess Marx and Engels' empirical judgments, but rather to focus on their methodology. I will, however, indicate the two criticisms of their position on the Slav question which I consider to be the strongest.

First, there is a too-close identification of political dominance with cultural development. The Czechs of Bohemia certainly had the economic and cultural level equal, if not greater, to the Hungarians and the Poles. Secondly, there is an overestimation of the attractiveness of pan-Slavism, and therefore the alliance of all Slavic peoples under Russian dominance. Consequently, there was a corresponding underestimation of the nationalism of the particular Slav nations.

## Bourgeois Reaction and Bourgeois Progress

As a result of the defeat of radical democracy in the revolutions of 1848, Marx substantially modified his program. He blamed the defeat of radical democracy and the proletarian vanguard on objective economic backwardness, not only in Germany and Austria, but also in France. Therefore, classic post-1848 Marxism placed a heavy programmatic emphasis on creating the objective conditions which would enable the proletariat to take power.

This consisted in furthering economic development, in which the unification of Germany and of Italy was considered extremely important. Only economic development would lay the basis for the organization of the proletariat and the expansion of democratic rights to provide the conditions for proletarian power.

An important component of the post-1848 program continued to be the advocacy of the destruction of tsarist Russia's military power... by anybody. Marx supported the British and French in the Crimean War and always supported Turkey against Russia, on the grounds that Russia was *the* great reactionary power in Europe.

The next major historical event after 1848 that bears on the national question was the Austro-Italian war of 1859. Here, Marx reaffirmed his fundamental commitment to the unification of Germany as the most progressive national development in continental Europe. He did not support the Italians even though he favored Italian unification because the anti-German Napoleon III of France was an ally of Italy. Marx believed that a victory for the Italian-Napoleonic alliance would threaten the unification of Germany. Believing he had to choose which was more progressive the unification of Italy or of Germany he chose that of Germany.

From 1848 onward, Marx and Engels were often accused by their opponents within the left of being German chauvinists. They denied that, arguing that their position on the unification of Germany was objective, and that it did not reflect subjective nationalist prejudice. A united Germany would give an enormous impetus to the economic development of Europe, and would produce the most advanced workers movement in Europe. They were proved objectively correct in that sense. However, it was only in 1870 that they got a chance to prove demonstrably that they were not German chauvinists.

In the 1850's and 1860's, Marx and Engels had the following model of what Europe should look like: it was a Europe of multi-national states grouped around the great progressive nations Greater Poland, Greater Hungary, Greater Germany, Greater France and Great Britain (Greater England). The other peoples, which they called the ruins of peoples *die Völkerträmmer* were expected to assimilate. Among these ruined peoples they counted the Scots, the Welsh, the Basques and the Czechs.

In his 1859 pamphlet on the Austro-Italian war, "Rhine and Po," Engels spells out this conception:

"No one will assert that the map of Europe is definitely settled. All changes, however, if they are to be lasting, must be of such a nature as to bring the great and vital nations ever closer to their *true* natural borders as determined by speech and sympathies, while at the same time the ruins of peoples, which are still to be found here and there, and are no longer capable of leading an independent national existence, must be incorporated into the larger nations, and either dissolve in them or else remain as ethnographic monuments of no political significance." [emphasis in original]

## Irish Independence and English Proletarian Revolution

The first major change in this schema occurred in the late 1860's in Britain, where Marx changed his position on the Irish question from the assimilation of the Irish, who were certainly not a great historic people, to independence for Ireland.

The failure of organized Marxism in England obscures the fact that classical Marxism regarded the English revolution as central. Marx devoted much of his energy to the English workers movement. If in the 1850's Marx considered Germany and Italy underripe for proletarian revolution, he considered Britain overripe. All of the things that Marx was fighting for in Germany were realized in Britain—a large, well-organized industrial proletariat, a stable bourgeois legality and freedom from Russian invasion.

Yet politically, the British working class in this period moved backward; they were less advanced in 1865 than in 1845. So the English question was important for Marx, not only because the English revolution was strategically important, but because the contradiction between the advanced character of English society and the political backwardness of the proletariat put a question mark over Marx's entire world view.

In the late 1860's Marx believed he had found a partial key to this problem in an unresolved national question—namely, the Irish question. In England, Marx ran up against the problem of a divided working class in a multi-national state. In 1870, he wrote to two of his American followers:

"Every industrial and commercial center in England now possesses a working class *divided* into two *hostile* camps, English proletarians and Irish proletarians. The ordinary English worker hates the Irish worker as a competitor who lowers his standard of life. In relation to the Irish worker he feels himself a member of the *ruling* nation and so turns himself into a tool of the aristocrats and capitalists of his country *against Ireland*... The Irishman pays him back with interest in his own money. He sees in the English worker at once the accomplice and the stupid tool of the *English rule in Ireland*.

"This antagonism is artificially kept alive and intensified by the press, the pulpit, the comic papers, in short, by all the means at the disposal of the ruling class. This *antagonism* is the *secret of the impotence of the English working class*, despite its organization. It is the secret by which the capitalist class maintains its power. And that class is fully aware of it...

"England, being the metropolis of capital, the power which has hitherto ruled the world market, is for the present the most important country for the workers' revolution, and moreover, the *only* country in which the material conditions for this revolution have developed up to a certain degree of maturity. Therefore to hasten the social revolution in England is the most important object of the International Workingmen's Association. The sole means of hastening it is to make Ireland independent." [emphasis in original]

Marx to S. Meyer and A. Vogt, 9 April 1870

It was precisely the advanced nature of English society that caused Marx to anticipate the later problems of the workers movement in a multi-national state. I should point out that Marx's position on the Irish question anticipated, but was not identical with, the orthodox Leninist position. Marx expected that an independent Ireland would draw the Irish out of England—that the economic development of Ireland would lead to the repatriation of the Irish working class from England. He looked for the physical separation of the English and Irish working classes as a precondition to political unity. It was not simply the *advocacy* of independence that was important, but its *realization in fact*. As we shall see, it is with Lenin that the advocacy of the right of self-determination becomes key.

## Franco-Prussian War: End of an Epoch

The next major change which rendered what could be called the 1848 program obsolete was the Franco-Prussian War of 1870. Marx initially supported the Prussians on the grounds that the war was for the defense of the precarious unity of Germany. When the Prussians defeated Napoleon III and determined to conquer Alsace-Lorraine and crush the Paris proletariat, Marx shifted sides, supporting the French. And in fact, Engels, who was a capable military critic, apparently produced a plan for the French army to defeat the Prussians. Eduard Bernstein, who was Engels' literary executor, destroyed this plan so that it wouldn't embarrass the German Social Democracy should it fall into the government's hands.

Marx and Engels' defensism of the French against Bismark's expansionism was extremely important in terms of enhancing their moral authority as socialist leaders. After 1870, the accusation that Marx and Engels were really German chauvinists, hiding behind pseudo-scientific doctrines, was obviously untenable. The hegemony which Marxism attained in the international workers movement by the 1890's was a direct product of Marx and Engels' absolutely indisputable internationalism.

[to be continued]

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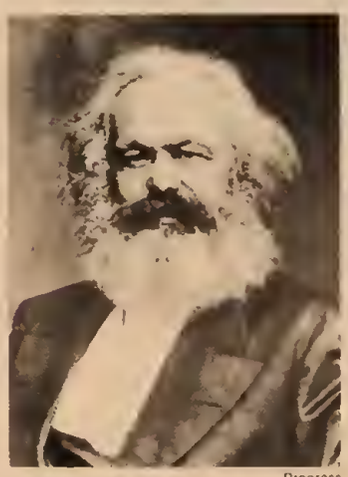
**Lajos Kossuth, leader of the 1848-49 Hungarian revolution.**

Fourth International

**Mikhail Bakunin**



Progress

**Karl Marx**

Progress

**Frederick Engels**

## Fake-Lefts Flock to Liberal-Pacifist M.L. King Movement

# Cops Attack Open Housing Marchers in Chicago

CHICAGO—Over 200 marchers led by the Martin Luther King Jr. Movement were turned back from Chicago's Marquette Park by police August 21, while being pelted with stones and bottles by hostile whites lining the march route. Marquette Park, an all-white enclave bordering Chicago's overcrowded and expanding Southwest Side black ghetto, has been the focus of escalating racial tension for the past year. The largely Lithuanian neighborhood, where the American Nazi party has established its headquarters, has become a symbol of Chicago's segregationist housing patterns.

Rock-throwing white youth, egged on by the Ku Klux Klan and the Nazis, who pass out swastika-emblazoned "White Power" T-shirts in the park, rampaged through the black West Englewood neighborhood all weekend, attacking the homes of black families. At least three blacks were arrested by the police for attempting to defend themselves against the fascist-inspired marauders.

A previous open-housing march on July 17 by the Martin Luther King Jr. Movement ended in a bloody melee in which dozens of marchers were injured and 33 sent to the hospital. At least eight off-duty cops were spotted as rock-throwing, club-wielding participants in the July 17 racist mob, and one was actually arrested.

The M.L. King Jr. Movement led by the Rev. A.J. Dunlap is a small, liberal-pacifist organization without significant support from the more "respectable" black organizations such as Jesse Jackson's Operation PUSH and the NAACP. The latter cynically admit the King Movement's "right" to march, while turning a blind eye to the massive white terror campaign against blacks in West Englewood.

Despite the undoubted physical courage, determination and justness of their cause—to integrate Chicago housing—the King Movement leadership's tactics of continual marches with a mere handful of supporters into the racially explosive, well-organized white enclave is desperate and suicidal. It is a miracle that no one has yet been murdered in Marquette Park. The racist thugs who initiate and escalate the violence are only encouraged and spurred on by the blood they spill. Yet the M.L. King Movement has sworn to continue the marches into Marquette Park by going back every weekend in September!

### Adventurists and Opportunists

In this dangerous situation the response of several left groups in Chicago has been criminally irresponsible. The International Socialists (I.S.) has plunged its small forces into the marches and into uncritical support of the religious King Movement. Its tactical advice is for "direct action" by the marchers in the face of the huge racist gangs (*Workers' Power*, 23 August). Given the tiny forces currently venturing into Marquette Park, this is a recipe for an even greater bloodbath.

The Revolutionary Socialist League (RSL), for its part, has cynically gone along with the tiny marches while arguing that they can only end in defeat. At a recent meeting of the "Trade Union Committee to Fight and Secure Democratic Rights for Blacks" (a grouping of militants who are mainly supporters of left tendencies, including the October League and Youth Against War and Fascism), RSL supporters argued that a march of such a small number would be suicidal. They quickly caved in, however, and energetically agitated for others in the black and workers movement to join them in marching. The RSL explains: "Often at the beginning of a struggle only a few are willing to march—the others are frightened. To get others to join, it is necessary to first march alone" (*Torch*, 15 August-14 September)!

But it must be said clearly: a defeat is a defeat. The bloody endings of the July 17 and August 21 marches lead to more fear, more demoralization, more encouragement to the fascist terrorists to continue their racist attacks unchecked.

Chicago Defender

**Participant in July Martin Luther King Jr. Movement march arrested after vicious attack by 10,000 racists armed with bricks and bottles.**

Despite the openly racist character of Chicago's police force, liberal black organizations such as the NAACP and reformists such as the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) continue to push their bankrupt policy of relying on the capitalist authorities to defend black people. The executive director of the NAACP's South Side Chicago branch, Rev. Fuqua, has called for a *picnic* in Marquette Park (he doesn't condone the marches), bringing together a cross-section of the black and white communities to "bring all the racism in the area out into the open" (*Chicago Defender*, 26 August).

It certainly will do that! But the fascist-led violence in Marquette Park, tacitly condoned by the racist Daley machine, will not be better exposed by this suicidal tactic: it is already clear as day. Taking tiny groups of blacks and left militants into this racist hotbed is to lead them to a potential slaughter. Yet the likes of the SWP blithely prattle on about the "duty" of the cops to protect the defenseless marchers.

On Saturday, August 28, the SWP held a forum in Chicago on the Marquette Park events, inviting two black clergymen onto a panel with Andrew Pulley, SWP congressional candidate in the first district, in a maneuver to gain community support for Pulley's campaign. In response to Spartacist criticism of SWP reliance on the capitalists' hired guns, Pulley claimed the SL only sees "one side" of the bourgeois state. To the charges of black nationalist Willie Curtis that "white, European" ideas (like communism) had no place in the black community, Pulley replied soothingly, "we can talk in private about that," while publicly insisting that "unity" with such red-baiters was all that counted.

### For Labor/Black Defense!

The Spartacist League has repeatedly pointed out that only through the organization of powerful labor/black defense can the racist terror be rooted out. Neither the irresponsible adventurism of the I.S., the RSL's opportunism nor NAACP/SWP cringing reliance on Mayor Daley's racist cops and courts will stop the violence against blacks. Mobilization of the large Chicago labor movement to defend blacks and fight for decent, integrated housing for all is the only answer to the festering racial hatred and terror racking Chicago's Southwest Side. But a successful working-class defense requires a fight against the entrenched, deeply conservative union bureaucracy.

Black workers have also recently been subjected to racist attacks while going to and from work at Republic Steel on the South Side. Steelworkers union Local 1003 president Frank Guzzo's response was a motion attacking Daley for "silence and inaction" (*Chicago Defender*, 1 August). At USWA Local 65 (U.S. Steel's Southworks plant), the Communist Party-supported Rank and File Caucus introduced a motion calling for confidence in the cops.

In contrast to these class-collaborationist policies stands a resolution introduced by the Labor Struggle Caucus of UAW Local 6 at a membership meeting last June. This militant opposition group had taken the lead in calling for and organizing a Local 6 defense guard at the home of a black union brother in a predominantly white neighborhood last year. The LSC motion called for a similar policy in Marquette Park, but it was defeated by Local 6 ex-president Norm Roth, a CP-supported reformist, who sought instead to keep the unions tied to the cops.

But the UAW defense guard was successful in halting racist nightriders last year, and an independent working-class mobilization in alliance with black organizations could quickly put a stop to the racial terrorization of blacks in West Englewood and Marquette Park. What is needed are class-struggle oppositions in the unions to dump the pro-capitalist bureaucrats who are the major obstacle to mass labor/black mobilization against the fascist scum. ■

## Korea...

*(continued from page 1)*

the 38th parallel in the summer of 1950 following initial military successes of large-scale North Korean troop movements into the South. The 38th parallel had been established as the dividing line between Russian and American forces at Potsdam in 1945 as the Japanese were disarmed in Korea. Korea was not at first considered by American military planners to be a "crucial" area to hold on the Asian mainland, but it became so with the Chinese revolution and during the course of the Korean War.

The U.S. invasion was only the most spectacular event during the summer of 1950 as Truman and Secretary of State Dean Acheson mounted the virulently anti-Soviet foreign policy offensive they had sought. During the same period the U.S. committed itself to defense of Taiwan and French Indochina, tripled its military budget and, most importantly, sent four divisions to Europe under NATO command. They began to rearm Germany and set their sights on securing the Asian "rim" with a linchpin of American bases in a strong capitalist Japan. The U.S. policy of encirclement had taken hold and would remain until American imperialism could no longer enforce its hegemony in the Asian theater more than 20 years later.

It is in this context that Truman gave General MacArthur the order to cross the 38th parallel (an action subsequently rubber-stamped by the United Nations). MacArthur promised that the Chinese would not enter the war even though Peking had publicly warned it would not share the waters of the Yalu (where there were strategic Chinese hydroelectric facilities) with the Americans. The U.S. military was surprised by the massive Chinese retaliation and could no longer hope for anything more than a stalemate. MacArthur's axiom that in war there is no substitute for victory gained him little in the fight with Truman, since the bourgeoisie well understood that a no-win policy was the most that could be achieved, and even to get that they would have to strike a bargain with the Stalinists.

The U.S. got its ceasefire in place in Korea, and the stalemate was hailed in Moscow as an action that would "not only stop the massacres now going on in Korea, but would also greatly relieve world tension and open the door for further peace moves" (*Daily World*, 3 April 1953). Yet 23 years later, the U.S. army remains in place, propping up the regime of Rhee's successor which is stained with the blood of thousands of opponents of capitalist exploitation and military terror in South Korea.

### Cold War and the Left

The Stalinists, however, are still singing the praises of "peaceful coexistence," angling for a deal with the imperialists at the expense of the Korean masses. The *Daily World* (26 August) reports a statement by the Canadian Communist Party warning only of the "danger of war in Korea," and saying not a word about the stake which the international proletariat would have in the outcome of such a war. Furthermore, "The statement called for the reunification of that

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country to be worked out by the people *and the governments involved*" (our emphasis). Thus the Stalinists couple their call for U.S. withdrawal, to be effected "through the United Nations," with backhanded recognition of the Park dictatorship.

The Stalinists have consistently sought to play the role of "peacemakers" in Korea, beginning in June 1951 when Russian spokesman Jacob Malik proposed the general outlines of the eventual armistice: a ceasefire with both sides withdrawing to either side of the 38th parallel, allowing the U.S. troops to remain indefinitely. The *Daily Worker* (25 June 1951) gave Stalin's game away with the frank admission that, "This was exactly what Secretary of

Foreign Languages Publishing House

**Kim Il Sung**

State Acheson, during his recent Senate testimony, indicated to be the condition of the U.S. for a ceasefire agreement."

In that period, the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), then a revolutionary Trotskyist party, sharply differentiated itself from the implicit pacifism of the Communist Party (CP), which parroted the Kremlin line of calling for Korea to revert to the status quo ante. Its answer to Malik's ceasefire proposal was a blistering retort demanding that the U.S., in the words of the headline, "Get Out of Asia! That Would Be a Real Ceasefire" (*Militant*, 30 June 1951).

In a series entitled, "Korean War - Its Class Origin and Nature: A Marxist Analysis," SWPer Art Preis took the Stalinists to task:

> "You will search the Worker review in vain for the words 'civil war.' Yet this phrase is a touchstone of a real Marxist analysis of the Korean War. The decisive questions regarding the nature of the Korean War are: What classes are involved? What is the social basis of the struggle? What are the real aims of the contestants? What class interests do they serve?
>
> "Why are the lips of the Stalinists sealed as to the true character of the internal struggle in Korea that led to civil war? The answer can be found in the foreign policy of the Kremlin. Stalin demands 'peaceable co-existence with capitalism.' In practice, this means he seeks deals with world imperialism that will stave off the threat of war on the Soviet Union. In return for such deals, he offers his services in betraying proletarian revolutions and colonial uprisings that threaten world capitalism. . . ."
>
> *Militant*, 21 July 1952

During the Korean War the SWP also distinguished itself from all manner of "anti-Stalinist" social chauvinism. Patriotic support for "our boys" in Korea became the touchstone of cold war loyalty and an acid test for the left. Previous sources of left and liberal opposition to Truman's policy of global anti-Communist "containment" evaporated in the flag-waving atmosphere. Norman Thomas and the Socialist Party embraced the war effort in the name of democratic socialism. The liberal Americans for Democratic Action which had been on record opposing the witchhunting HUAC backed off from that stand. With the start of the Korean War it joined the front line of anti-communist cold warriors at home and imperialist militarists abroad.

Under this pressure the Shachtmanite Independent Socialist League accelerated its motion toward State Department socialism with its analysis of Russia as an imperialist power. The "Third Camp" headline of its paper, *Labor Action* (3 July 1950) read, "The Only War Aim on Both Sides in Korea: Which Imperialist Power Will Control Asia." Declaring the "purely imperialist character of the conflict," the ISL refused to defend the proletarian property forms of North Korea against the imperialist onslaught. It even held out the possibility that "if the government of south Korea were an independent one . . . its resistance to the Northern invasion would be a defense of the sovereignty of Korea from an imperialist assault by Russia" (*Labor Action*, 10 July 1950).

It was left to the SWP to point to the class character of the Korean War. In an open letter to the U.S. president and Congress, SWP leader James Cannon labelled the "UN police action" a "brutal imperialist invasion." He added:

> "This is more than a fight for unification and national liberation. It is a civil war. On the one side are the Korean workers, peasants and student youth. On the other are the Korean landlords, usurers, capitalists and their police and political agents."

While upholding a revolutionary position, the SWP analysis tended to overemphasize the purely indigenous, Korean-centered nature of the war. U.S. imperialism sought to conquer North Korea as the most exposed and vulnerable part of the Soviet bloc. Today, the SWP has long since degenerated into reformism and no longer sees a need to take sides in the class war, seeing only a "danger to world peace" in heightened tensions between North Korea and the U.S.-South Korean forces. In the *Militant* (3 September), the SWP warns that Ford's "dangerous aggression. . . could trigger suicidal nuclear war." Not one word to suggest a policy of military defense of North Korea, which is described merely as "a small country," presumably little different than South Korea. This is not the revolutionary SWP of the Korean War years that braved McCarthyite witchhunting and stated clearly in which class camp it stood: it is, rather, the SWP of the anti-Vietnam War movement when it consistently refused to call for military victory to the NLF.

### For Revolutionary Marxism, Not "Kim Il Sung-ism"

North Korea's more powerful Stalinist allies are concerned above all with their own diplomatic maneuvers with the imperialists. Moscow, which cautiously doled out military aid while maintaining a strict policy of nonintervention during the 1950-53 Korean War, is anxious to prevent Japan from developing closer ties with Peking. Hence it is eager to prevent new hostilities with South Korea, a major

sphere for Japanese investment and political influence.

Maintenance of close military/economic ties with Japan, the key to U.S. policy in Asia, is the reason behind the continuing massive American presence in Korea. Japan regards the peninsula both as a vital link in its hopes of rebuilding an "East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere" and as a major part of its own defense perimeter. Despite growing inter-imperialist rivalry between the U.S. and Japan the Nixon and Ford administrations have taken steps to keep up an alliance, based on U.S. military supremacy. In a speech last year to the Japan Society in New York, Henry Kissinger underscored the place of Korea in U.S. foreign policy:

> "Specifically, we are resolved to maintain the peace and security of the Korean peninsula, for this is of crucial importance to Japan and to all of Asia."
>
> *New York Times*, 19 June 1975

Maoist China, for its part, is most interested in furthering its own "détente" with the U.S., and therefore also wary of upsetting the diplomatic apple cart by any precipitous move in Korea. A recent report of the British Institute for the Study of Conflict noted:

> "But Peking also seems to be exerting a restraining influence over Kim. When the North Korean leader hurried to Peking in April, 1975, as Hanoi's forces overran South Vietnam, Chinese reactions were decidedly ambiguous. During this visit, Vice-Premier Teng Hsiao-Ping stated that China supported North Korea's demand that the US withdraw its forces from Korea, but attached no time limit to such withdrawal."
>
> *Times* [London], 13 August 1976

Both Moscow and Peking call for the "peaceful reunification" of Korea, a self-serving attempt to hide the fundamental conflict between the proletarian property forms in the North and capitalist rule in the south. Trotskyists call instead for revolutionary reunification of Korea, through social revolution in the South and political revolution to overthrow the parasitic Stalinist bureaucracy in the North.

Standing on the terrain of nationalism, as do all Stalinist regimes, the regime of Kim Il Sung has consistently played off China against Russia, extracting large credits from both in the process. On the basis of pre-1945 Japanese industrialization and considerable mineral resources, North Korea has created one of the more advanced industrial economies of Asia. Extolled as the principle of "juche" (self-reliance), this has allowed Kim a certain autonomy from China and the USSR and permitted a more aggressive stance on the question of reunification, including periodic support to guerrilla campaigns in the South (as during 1965-70).

Marxists stand in solidarity with the North in any military conflict with South Korea or its imperialist backers, but give no political support to the bureaucratic Stalinist regime headed by Kim.

Kim has built up a personality cult to rival that of Stalin or Mao. A massive 65-foot statue of him dominates the Pyongyang skyline. Every institution of importance is named after him; a museum in his birthplace is annually visited by 1.2 million people, ten percent of the entire population of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. The official philosophy is not even denominated "Marxism-Leninism" but rather "Kim Il Sung-ism."

The North Korean state is not based on mass organs of workers democracy but on bureaucratic fiat which excludes the masses from decision-making at all levels. The misnamed Korean Workers Party itself is organized at the top levels around Kim's family in a highly nepotist system. To ensure his supremacy, the "iron-willed leader" repeatedly purged the party during the 1950's, summarily executing his opponents.

The interests of the Korean working people lie in opening the door to truly socialist development by toppling the bureaucracy in the North and extending the collectivized economy to the South through the establishment of democratic soviet rule throughout Korea.

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# Gabriel Salinas...

*(continued from page 2)*

release of the Whitecrosses and Bustos, as well as his own freedom.

Another factor may have been a verdict of the Argentine federal review court on July 22 holding that the constitutional right of political prisoners to leave the country cannot be suspended or sidestepped by the government. The decision came as the result of a suit brought by a teacher who was held for seven months despite the fact that no charges were brought against her and she had no police or prison record. The decision holds that the government can hold a person "suspected" of "anti-government" activity, but that after 20 days the detainee can choose to leave the country. This is the first glimmer of opposition to the junta by the judiciary since the military took power in March.

In early December, the Partisan Defense Committee contacted individuals and committees in Europe who took up the case. The Comité Belge Europe-Amérique Latine obtained a fellowship at the Free University of Brussels and a plane ticket. The PDC also contacted Amnesty International (which issued an "urgent action" appeal publicizing the plight of the 13), and went to the UN High Commission on Refugees, which instructed its Buenos Aires office to contact Argentine authorities about the case. The Committee also wrote to the well-known doctor who had performed surgery on Salinas' eyes, who in turn wrote the Argentine government describing his patient's delicate medical condition. Due to efforts by Viki Salinas, his wife, a deputy of the Belgian parliament intervened and a Belgian visa was obtained.

Salinas reports that there are at least 15 other Chilean political prisoners in Villa Devoto prison in addition to those with whom he was arrested, as well as numerous others imprisoned elsewhere in Argentina. International protest by the working-class movement is vital to freeing these class-war prisoners and to saving the tens of thousands of Latin American refugees from rightist terror. Argentine leftists and trade unionists who today live in mortal danger from the Pinochet and Videla juntas and their anti-communist death squads. Free all victims of rightist repression in Argentina and Chile!■

# Witchhunt in CWA Local 1101

Found "guilty" before a kangaroo court of appointed bureaucratic flunkies, four members of the United Action Caucus (UA) of Local 1101, Communications Workers of America (CWA), were ordered last week to return funds that 1101 officials allege were fraudulently collected or to face five years' suspension from the union. The trial stemmed from a fundraising raffle the caucus held last June to finance an observer's trip to the CWA convention in Los Angeles.

The four had sold tickets on a color television raffle outside a stewards' meeting, stating that proceeds would go to "the United Action Caucus of Local 1101." This led the 1101 leadership to accuse them of unauthorized use of the local's name, thereby "bringing the union into disrepute." The four charged were George Feldman, Ilene Winkler, Brent Kramer and George Wilson. Feldman told a phone worker at the trial that the group intends to bring the case to federal court.

The trial, which took place here August 17, is part of a witchhunt being conducted by the CWA International to drive oppositionists from the union before the start of next spring's contract period. Similar attacks in the Seattle phone local have resulted in the decertification of several UA stewards there, and in Louisville UA militant Harold Kincaid was purged from the union executive board and subsequently fired by the company. The UA is supported by the social-democratic International Socialists (I.S.).

That the New York case is a total frame-up was backhandedly admitted last week by the Local bureaucrats themselves when they offered to waive the suspensions if the UA agrees to hand over the disputed funds (for return to the members who bought the raffle tickets). The deal was offered in the hopes of keeping the UA out of the federal courts where the bureaucrats fear the trumped-up charges will be found to be politically motivated and almost certainly be thrown out. In a demonstration of the absurdity of the "false pretenses" accusation, no prosecution witnesses during the trial could testify that when approached to buy a raffle ticket they had the slightest confusion over where the money was going. At press time UA was undecided about returning the money.

The attempt of the Local 1101 bureaucracy headed by Ed Dempsey to railroad an opposition caucus out of the union is an outrage and a threat to the democratic rights of every CWA member. It must be met by a full mobilization of the ranks to reverse the decision. The decision of the local executive board to go after the opposition was sparked by the returns of the recent election for convention delegate in which UA won over 30 percent of the vote and a second "opposition" slate, headed by popular black bureaucrat Dennis Serrete won nearly half. During his first term as Local president, Dempsey managed to railroad through a series of by-law changes which, among other effects, made it extremely difficult for oppositionists to get on the ballot for Local office. Nonetheless, the large opposition vote for convention delegate signaled trouble in the upcoming period for the 1101 bureaucracy.

The delegate vote was the first mass expression of protest in several years against the systematic suppression of membership rights which has marked the Dempsey regime. Since he came to office in 1973, membership meetings have been reduced from quarterly to bi-annually, militant stewards have been systematically decertified and oppositionists physically attacked at local meetings. In the service of the company Dempsey has left no stone unturned to ensure there would be no union fight against the enormous toll automation is taking in the phone industry as new switching systems eliminate thousands of craft and traffic jobs yearly.

The Local 1101 opposition groups have been singularly ineffective in the situation. Having called in 1972 on union members to vote for Dempsey (because he stood for "democracy"!), UA was in a bad position to complain when he turned on it shortly after. And having earlier failed to mount a campaign to defeat the by-law changes which eliminated the requirement of elected trial juries, UA's cry that the jurors were bureaucratically appointed rang somewhat hollow.

Ironically the charges against UA were brought by one Tom Sites, Second Avenue chief steward and former UA supporter who had even leafletted for the group in the past. From Dempsey to Sites, UA's methodology is consistent—that of tailing after every up-and-coming office seeker in the hope of winning cheap union influence. And always UA is surprised when these anti-communists later turn on it.

UA's devotion—like that of its I.S. supporters—to get-rich-quick schemes through rotten blocs with even extreme anti-communist elements has backfired again and again. During the recent Teamster contract negotiations the I.S. brought together the disparate Teamsters for a Decent Contract (TDC)—now called Teamsters for a Democratic Union composed of everyone who hated Fitzsimmons, even including Hoffa supporters. The willingness of the I.S. sympathizers in TDC to keep such bloc partners led in San Francisco to a physical assault by their TDC "brothers" on I.S. comrades who were leafletting a TDC rally!

United Action's present plan to take the CWA to court is part of its never-ending search for shortcuts and one which places the entire union membership in jeopardy. UA may win in the short run, but in the bosses' courts it will not only be Dempsey who loses. As has been demonstrated time and again in the labor movement, most recently in the United Mine Workers strike against court injunctions, the government's only interest in intervening in the unions is to weaken and control them.

Ever since last June when UA was first charged, its entire defense strategy has been directed toward preparing a legal suit against the union rather than an attempt to rally the union ranks to its defense. Although some leaflets about the case were distributed, little attempt was made to reach the majority of the nearly 10,000 Local members scattered in hundreds of phone locations throughout the city. Only a handful of people was mobilized to attend the trial, during which the UA's overwhelming concern was the prosecution's violations of legal technicalities.

This approach stands in marked contrast to that of the West Coast Militant Action Caucus (MAC) when

New York Generator

**CWA Local 1101 president Ed Dempsey**

that group was on trial in 1973, similarly charged with "bringing the union into disrepute" as a result of campaign literature critical of the Oakland, California, CWA Local 9415 bureaucracy. A class-struggle opposition, the MAC is categorically opposed to taking the union to court. Understanding the key task of winning the working class to the concept of relying only on its own strength, no confidence in the bosses' courts, MAC worked tirelessly to mobilize the members to demand that the charges be dropped as a threat to the democratic rights of the entire union.

MAC rallied supporters to union meetings and gathered hundreds of affidavits from workers who testified that rather than bringing the union into disrepute, MAC members were among its best militants. MAC stood on its record of fighting for the smallest grievance on the shop floor, for *union* programs to end racial discrimination, for respecting all picket lines in the labor movement, for a break of the unions with the capitalist Democratic party and for a workers party to lead to a workers government. In the face of MAC's strong support within the Local, the bureaucrats soon lost their taste for the trial and shortly afterwards the charges were dropped.

MAC's approach to the trial was part of the group's perspective of commitment to the difficult task of winning the union ranks to a program of militant class struggle and working-class independence from the bosses' state and parties. Such a perspective contrasts sharply with UA's shameless appeals to the capitalist courts to interfere in the labor movement. ■

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# PDC Forum...

*(continued from page 2)*

to probable execution in Pinochet's Chile—was compounded by the virtual autonomy of official armed units of the state as well as the "AAA."

Furthermore an arbitrary military regime such as the Videla junta, Shiffman noted, might respond to efforts to publicize the case of a leftist political refugee by killing him rather than letting him go. The Committee undertook to

Hubert Schalzl

**Mario Muñoz Salas—leader of the Chilean contract miners**

secure Muñoz's release through open legal channels rather than by other possible means, recognizing the dangers this strategy implied if the protests were not forceful enough to compel the junta to release Muñoz unharmed.

As part of the pressure exerted by the Committee, approaches to the United Nations were important. Shiffman pointed out that the UN is "no different than its member states (the U.S., Chile...)"—merely more impotent. He reminded the audience that Muñoz was seized at a UN refuge and arrested, and read a section from Muñoz's European press conference speech which described how the police had quoted verbatim from Muñoz's statement to a UN refugee committee.

In order to secure asylum for Muñoz, not only the UN but also various bourgeois governments had to be approached. The Committee centered its efforts especially on countries with social-democratic governments, in the hope of exploiting the lip-service which these bureaucrats must pay to working-class solidarity in order to maintain their capacity to mislead their working-class base. It was the social-democratic government of Austria which granted Muñoz a visa out of Argentina. The speaker pointed out that at the very moment that Muñoz was arriving in Austria, the Austrian government was engaged in prosecuting the Austrian Trotskyist ÖBL in an attempt to suppress its publication.

Shiffman concluded by expressing the gratitude of the PDC toward all those who solidarized with and worked on behalf of the campaign to save Mario Muñoz. He asked all those who consider themselves partisans of the oppressed and exploited throughout the world to continue to support the PDC in its struggle for freedom for all class-war prisoners. ■

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# Muñoz...

*(continued from page 3)*

*Record* (as reprinted in *Intercontinental Press*, 15 March 1976).

To be sure, a responsible defense campaign must spare no effort to bring pressure to bear through governmental and diplomatic channels. But USLA's exclusive reliance on legalistic pressure tactics seeking to suck in liberal support by avoiding an open association with leftists and rejecting militant public protests—is a testimonial to the arid reformist bankruptcy of the SWP. In contrast, the Muñoz campaign spearheaded in this country by the openly class-partisan PDC enlisted the active support of left-wing militants and trade unionists while winning impressive backing among prominent liberals, academics and civil libertarians.

### Hypocrisy and Liberalism

The broad support mobilized by the Muñoz campaign compelled USLA to respond, albeit in the privacy of the SWP internal bulletin, "Perspectives on Latin American Defense Work" (SWP

WV Photo

**Bay Area demonstrators protest U.S. exclusion of Hugo Blanco and against anti-communist McCarran-Walter Act, October 16, 1975.**

*Internal Discussion Bulletin* Volume 34, Number 3, June 1976), co-authored by Mike Kelly and USLA head Mirta Vidal, blithely informs us that:

> "USLA was formed in 1966 in an attempt to find the best way to defend Hugo Blanco and other political prisoners in Latin America. Existing organizations, such as Amnesty International (AI) tended to turn a cold shoulder when it came to defending revolutionaries and rejected certain effective methods of defense such as teach-ins, pickets and demonstrations."

But it is USLA which turns a "cold shoulder" or red-baiting linger toward the defense of leftist militants like Mario Muñoz or Van Schouwen and Romero, while rejecting pickets and demonstrations even on behalf of the SWP's own co-thinkers such as Hugo Blanco.

From the time of its formation, USLA demonstrated that its commitment is to liberalism and not to class-struggle defense. At a founding meeting of USLA on 21 December 1966, supporters of the SL objected to the proposed "Statement of Aims" which began, "To aid in defending victims of political persecution and injustice in the countries of Latin America, regardless of their particular beliefs, affiliations or associations. ." Since this class-neutral formulation deliberately does not preclude the defense of ultra-rightist action groups and outright fascists, SL supporters proposed as an alternative formulation "victims of rightist political persecution." SWP supporters, insisting that a clear statement of class partisanship would alienate liberals, pushed through their "civil libertarian" formulation. This class neutrality now finds its logical expression in USLA's criminal abstention from the Muñoz campaign and its McCarthyite attempt to red-bait the Committee.

Returning to the Kelly Vidal document, we find the following amazing passage: "Taking the International Labor Defense (ILD) of the 1920's as a model, USLA agrees to defend victims of political repression regardless of their political persuasion and seeks support for their cases on a civil liberties basis." To claim the ILD as the model for defense on a "civil liberties basis" is like claiming that the Third International was founded by Lenin and Trotsky on the principles of "peaceful coexistence."

According to James Cannon, the founder and first Secretary of the ILD (1925-28), writing in the January 1927 issue of the ILD's monthly magazine, the *Labor Defender*

> "Our policy is the policy of the class struggle. It puts the center of gravity in the protest movement of the workers of America and the world. It puts all faith in the power of the masses and no faith whatever in the justice of the courts. While favoring all possible legal proceedings, it calls for agitation, publicity, demonstrations, organized protest on a national and international scale. It calls for the unity and solidarity of all workers on this burning issue, regardless of conflicting views on other questions."

These are the principles of anti-sectarian, class-struggle defense upon which the campaign to save Mario Muñoz was based and to which the PDC is dedicated. They are as distant from liberal-reformist "civil liberties defense" as the class struggle is from class collaboration. A "civil liberties defense" puts its faith in the justice of the capitalist state. It was "civil liberties defense" which laid the basis for that standard bearer of civil liberties, the American Civil Liberties Union, to cave in to the witchhunt paranoia of the 1950's, refusing to defend members of the Communist Party; and in 1940 expelling founding member Elizabeth Gurley Flynn from its Executive Board because she was a Communist.

The criminal sectarianism of the SWP and the Stalinists toward the campaign to save Mario Muñoz from the blood-stained butchers of the Pinochet and Videla juntas stands in sharpest contrast to the wide outpouring of sympathy and support for Muñoz mobilized by the Committee. All those whose solidarity and generous financial support contributed to the successful outcome of the campaign on behalf of Muñoz and his family must be proud of their participation in this significant victory for the cause of the victims of reactionary terror in Latin America ■


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# Rubber Strike...

*(continued from page 12)*

The settlement was arrived at after five days of continuous bargaining presided over by Secretary of Labor W. J. Usery, Jr. It is no coincidence that the government intervened as 1977 car production was to begin and the massive tire supplies finally approached exhaustion. And it was the determination of the union ranks—despite the lack of a militant leadership—to stand up to the companies in the first major national strike since the 1974-75 economic crisis that finally defeated Big Four attempts to grind down and break up the URW.

That it took the rubber workers over four months to even threaten such an impact on the economy can be attributed to the misleadership of the regime of URW president Pete Bommarito. Bommarito refused to call on the United Auto Workers (UAW) for a solidarity strike, which would quickly have brought the bosses to heel. As for federal mediation, Bommarito told a *WV* reporter, "I have to complement Mr. Usery" for doing a "tremendous job for both sides."

Due to lack of a class-struggle leadership, the strike dragged on for months, courting disaster. A number of non-Big Four tire locals deserted, including the General Tire local located in Akron, the heart of the industry and the union's stronghold. Yielding to the courts and refusing to build mass picket lines, the URW leadership permitted supervisory and non-union personnel to enter the plants. Thus, even at struck plants, production continued at a 25 percent level. Adding to this production at non-union and non-striking URW plants, overall tiremaking capacity did not fall below 60 percent throughout the strike!

Thus, despite the relatively favorable monetary settlement, a number of the stated goals of the strike—such as the $1.65 first-year catch-up raise and the 30-and-out pension provision—were not met. Moreover, the settlement will not in itself halt the continued deterioration of the bargaining position of the relatively small and vulnerable URW. Increased labor costs will undoubtedly spur the further construction of non-union plants by the tire companies. This process has reached considerable proportions in recent years. There are now significant numbers of such plants, most of them located in the South and thus far the union has made only the most feeble attempts to organize them.

In addition, the pay differential between tire and non-tire plants continues and in many cases will be widened, thus further undermining the tenuous cohesiveness of the URW. Under the current settlement, for example, certain "distressed plants" have been given permission to settle for lower wages. These are concentrated in non-tire plants which produce hoses, golf balls, etc. At one such URW-organized plant in Windsor, Ontario, the wage settlement was trimmed to $1.00, while a New Bedford, Mass. URW local got only a 40 cent raise (a full $1.00 below the tire settlement!). Rather than demanding more jobs through a shorter workweek at no cut in pay, Bommarito begs for jobs by giving up wages and other benefits.

In announcing the rubber settlement, Usery explained its relative expensiveness by pointing to the fact that the rubber workers had lost considerable ground under their 1973 contract, which contained no c-o-l clause. The clear message to other unions was that the rubber settlement is not to be a model.

This warning was directed above all at the United Auto Workers, whose contracts with car manufacturers expire in two weeks. There has historically been a close relationship between the URW and the UAW. Both the government and the auto companies were clearly worried about the effect a large settlement in rubber would have on the auto negotiations. Bommarito told *WV* that the auto manufacturers exerted some of the strongest pressure against the c-o-l formula.

Had the URW struck only one company of the Big Four, the contract struggle would undoubtedly have ended in disaster. This, unfortunately, is precisely what UAW chief Leonard Woodcock is "threatening." By announcing that it will strike only Ford Motor Co., the UAW is voluntarily renouncing its most important weapon: the power to shut down the entire auto industry, which would have a massive impact on the economy. Auto workers must demand instead an industry-wide strike, encompassing auto and agricultural implements production throughout the United States and Canada. ■

# Wilmington 10...

*(continued from page 12)*

the Communist Party (CP)-dominated NAARPR, has unfortunately been seriously weakened by the sectarian maneuvering which is a hallmark of all varieties of Stalinism.

The debilitating effects of such an approach to defense work were clearly illustrated at the August 13-15 conference of the National Executive Board of the National Lawyers Guild (NLG), where the Peking-loyal October League (OL) scrambled for influence against the traditional hegemony of the pro-Moscow CP.

Debate centered around NAARPR's resolution calling on the Guild to endorse the Labor Day march in Raleigh. Seeking to test their strength against the influence of the CP, supporters of the OL attempted to mobilize delegates to oppose the march on the sole basis that it had been organized by NAARPR.

Supporters of the resolution correctly argued that the question at issue should be not which tendency was organizing the event, but whether the demands and the struggle were worthy of support. This correct argument rang hollow, however, in the face of the fact that there was no way of endorsing the NAARPR march without also endorsing the politics of NAARPR, including the classless demand to "free all political prisoners."

Just as the CP was willing to abandon its defense of Ruchell Magee in order to save its own member, Angela Davis, so it was willing to undermine a strong united defense effort of the Wilmington 10 and the Charlotte 3 for narrow sectarian advantage. The Partisan Defense Committee, which was represented at the conference, pointed out that by refusing to organize the demonstration on a principled united-front basis, enlisting all sections of the labor movement, left-wing organizations and allies of the working class regardless of political viewpoint and with full freedom of political expression, NAARPR was sacrificing the broadest possible defense effort.

The PDC has contributed financially to the defense of the Wilmington 10 and the Charlotte 3 and has sent telegrams protesting the frame-ups, demanding immediate release of the prisoners. While opposing the NAARPR resolution, the PDC expressed its continued commitment to struggle to free these victims of right-wing repression ■


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WORKERS VANGUARD

## Smash the Racist Frame-Up!

# For United-Front Protest to Free Wilmington 10/Charlotte 3!

Raleigh, North Carolina will be the scene on September 6 of the Labor Day March for Human and Labor Rights, organized by the National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression (NAARPR), which has as its focus a protest against the frame-ups of the civil rights activists known as the Wilmington 10 and the Charlotte 3.

The Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League and the Partisan Defense Committee (PDC) demand that all charges against the Wilmington 10 and the Charlotte 3 be dropped and that these victims of right-wing racist repression be released at once.

### Bourgeois "Justice" and Klan Terror

The state's "case" against both the Charlotte 3 and the Wilmington 10 is rooted in the wave of KKK terror which erupted in North Carolina shortly after federal district judge James MacMillan ruled in 1969 that the Charlotte-Mecklenberg County school system, the largest in North Carolina, must desegregate, through busing if necessary. When Klansmen were allowed to go free after murdering a black man in Oxford, North Carolina, the black community exploded in anger and the National Guard was called in.

Federal authorities made use of this situation to frame up and convict two of the most prominent black activists in the area, Rev. Ben Chavis and Dr. James E. Grant. The feds were aided in their dirty work by David Washington and Al Hood, men with long records of narcotics dealing and assault, who had recently been rearrested. Newspaper reporters uncovered the fact that federal and state officials promised Washington and Hood that all charges against them would be dropped and that they would be given at least $17,000 in return for testifying against Chavis and Grant. Chavis was subsequently acquitted, but Grant was convicted and sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment solely on the testimony of these bribed witnesses.

In 1972 North Carolina brought yet another case against Grant, as well as against black poet T.J. Reddy and Charles Parker, a mental health worker—now known collectively as the Charlotte 3. These men were charged with burning down a riding stable near Charlotte *four years earlier!* Once again, the only witnesses for the prosecution were the ubiquitous Washington and Hood. On the basis of their testimony the Charlotte 3 were sentenced to a total of 55 years.

Despite the fact that the *Charlotte Observer* exposed the government's bribery of the witnesses in 1972, superior court judge Sam Ervin III, who heard their appeal, ruled in September 1975 that the three were *not* entitled to a new trial. The secret payoffs, he said, were merely a "harmless error."

### The "Siege of Wilmington"

Meanwhile, government authorities had not abandoned their vendetta aimed at putting Chavis behind bars.

Daily World

**Rev. Ben Chavis**

Between 1968 and 1972, 78 separate charges—ranging from accessory after the fact of murder to traffic violations—were brought against him. All of these phony charges had to be dropped except for one growing out of four days of police and vigilante terror in 1971 known as the "siege of Wilmington."

During this racist frenzy, Klansmen fired shots into the Gregory Congregational Church, in which black people had barricaded themselves, wounding at least ten. When a young black student attempted to leave the church, he was shot and killed; no one has ever been charged with the murder.

That same night a white-owned grocery store caught fire, and during intense crossfire from the vigilantes the next morning a racist who had driven his truck right up to the church barricades was killed. Only after *this* death did the city enforce a curfew (which blacks had repeatedly requested) and call for the National Guard, which immediately stormed the church.

Almost a year later, Chavis and nine others—the Wilmington 10—were charged with and convicted of conspiracy to burn the grocery. They were given a total of 282 years' imprisonment. The only evidence against them was the testimony of two men who were facing long prison sentences. Like Washington and Hood, these scum were housed at government expense at a resort hotel.

### Sectarian Maneuvering Undermines Defense

The defense of the Wilmington 10 and the Charlotte 3, which has been led by

*continued on page 11*

## Despite Bureaucratic Do-Nothingism in the Face of Union-Busting Drive

# Four-Month Big Four Rubber Strike Wins 36 Percent Pay Boost

AUGUST 28—After more than 140 days on strike members of the United Rubber Workers (URW) at Goodyear plants began returning to work yesterday with locals around the country accepting a new contract. Seven of eight locals voting yesterday approved the pact with the seven remaining Goodyear locals voting today. URW locals at Firestone are scheduled to vote tomorrow on a similar pact. And while agreements have not been reached between union and company negotiators at the other Big Four rubber companies, Uniroyal and B.F. Goodrich, it is expected that they will follow suit.

The wages agreement, termed "1976's fattest" by *Business Week* (August 30) was in fact substantial. The entire package is estimated at a 36 percent increase over three years, which exceeds the Teamsters' settlement of 32 percent. A key concession made by the companies was an uncapped cost-of-living (c-o-l) clause, which in the third year of the contract will yield a 1-cent increase for each 0.3 rise in the Consumer Price Index.

The Big Four proved unable to starve the rubber workers out over the long and bitter strike, the first nationwide strike in the industry since 1967. A number of URW tire locals representing smaller companies did refuse to join the strike. However, attempts by company bargainers to break the workers' unity by enticing URW locals to sign separate agreements proved a failure.

*continued on page 11*

WV Photo

**Peter Bommarito speaking to URW members at the beginning of the strike in Akron.**

# Weekly WV a year old!

WORKERS VANGUARD 25c

No. 124 10 September 1976

## Ford Motor Co. Offer: An Attack on All Auto Workers

# For An Industry-Wide Auto Strike!

September 14 should be the date to launch a well-prepared industry-wide strike of all North American auto workers against the giant and profit-bloated auto industry. Such a strike would very quickly smash the schemes of the auto capitalists to take back many of the hard-won gains of United Auto Workers (UAW) members, and would just as quickly compel the companies to grant substantial improvements in wages, benefits and working conditions.

### "Pattern Bargaining"—Recipe for Defeat

The present UAW leadership however has no intention of waging such a strike. UAW president Leonard Woodcock and the rest of the union's tops are instead committed to a defeatist policy of "pattern bargaining." This year Woodcock and his bureaucratic cronies have designated Ford as the union's target company. If the union is unable to come to a new agreement with management by September 14 Ford operations will be struck. Meanwhile UAW members at General Motors, Chrysler and American Motors, whose contracts also expire on September 14, will be forced to work, in effect, with no contracts.

According to the Woodcock/Reuther school of trade unionism "pattern bargaining" permits the union to apply maximum pressure on the struck company by allowing its competitors to continue to produce and sell cars. It is abundantly clear, however, that so far as the UAW is concerned the auto giants approach the union with a united face.

It is no accident that General Motors, Ford and Chrysler all complain in unison that fringe benefits costs have risen "too swiftly" and demand that in the future increases in fringe benefits must either come out of the auto workers' pockets directly (in the case of medical care insurance) or out of the cost-of-living allowance (COLA).

### More Speed-Up—More Profits

The 1976 model year ended with the auto companies raking in enormous profits. GM, Ford and Chrysler all amassed record or near-record earnings. In the case of GM these totalled approximately $1.7 billion in the first two quarters of 1976.

These huge returns were not merely the result of high sales or of a policy of monopolistic price-gouging. Since Woodcock's last sellout in 1973, the companies have been systematically speeding up the assembly lines and intensifying the rate of exploitation. GM's sales during the second quarter of 1976 totaled 2.37 million units worldwide, slightly below the record 2.39 million units it sold during the same period in 1973. But this production was achieved with tens of thousands fewer workers.

Over 25,000 auto workers still remain on indefinite layoff. An even greater number have lost both their union membership and their recall rights and will likely never be rehired. Yet by scheduling grueling overtime and engaging in systematic practics of speed-up, cutting corners on health and safety and resorting to widespread harassment the auto companies have managed to jack productivity up to the point that they are making the same number of cars with a substantially smaller workforce.

UPI

Striking auto workers outside GM plant in Detroit at the beginning of 1970 UAW walkout.

Instead of combatting this all-out offensive on working conditions, the treacherous Woodcock bureaucracy has actively abetted the companies in their criminal activities. In every auto plant in the country thousands of grievances against management harassment, safety violations, health hazards and speed-up are permitted to gather dust while Woodcock and his local hangers-on turn their backs on victimization of the union's militants.

Such bureaucratic treachery is not new. The UAW brass has traditionally capitulated to management, giving it a free hand in setting shop-floor conditions in exchange for relatively high wages and benefits.

### Unemployment Looms

While some bourgeois commentators have optimistically forecast strong sales in auto, predicting 1977 sales to rival the record sales of 1973, it is more likely that the industry will experience another slump in the near future. In the U.S. capital spending remains low. According to statistics compiled by the magazine *Business Week* (13 September) capital spending is making its slowest comeback from any recession in the postwar period. At the same time new orders for consumer goods, for goods-

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## Abel Whips Reformer Sadlowski at Steelworkers Convention

PAGE 6

The Sunday Press (Dublin)

"Peace" march in Dublin August 28.

## Down with the Emergency Measures, North and South!

## What's Behind Anti-Violence Marches in Ireland?

PAGE 5

## Pre-Contract Harassment Campaign at Mahwah

# Militant Black Auto Worker Victimized by Ford Motor Co.

### Interview with Richard Bradley

**Richard Bradley works at Ford Motor Company's Mahwah assembly plant in New Jersey and is a member of the Militant Solidarity Caucus (MSC) of UAW Local 906. For the last six months Bradley and other MSC members have been the target of a company harassment campaign that has reached a crescendo during recent weeks.**

***WV:* How has Ford management been victimizing you and why does this harassment campaign come just at this point?**

*Bradley:* It started when the job I did for five and a half years was taken away from me in the last week of February. Since that time I have done a total of something like 40 different jobs, a lot of which were in violation of my contractual rights and classification. The latest incident was a couple of weeks ago when Labor Relations suspended me for not doing a job my doctor stated was dangerous to my health. After the company realized they didn't have a case, the company dropped the suspension, but they want me out bad

Why now? Because we have a contract coming up September 14. Ford has a history of getting rid of all the militants before the contract period or just before union elections. They go about this by trying to set people up like they did to Dave Gardner in '73. He was a vice president of Local 906 and before that a plant committeeman. They terminated Dave Gardner because of a wildcat the company said he started that summer. Now it's another contract period and they would like to get rid of militants like me.

***WV:* Could you spell out just how the company has been harassing you?**

*Bradley:* They are violating the contract on a day-to-day basis such as by assigning me to a rated job and not paying me the rate, by refusing to give me a permanent job, by loaning me out of my department. And especially by disregarding my medical restriction. My bronchial tubes are swollen from the fumes and smoke and exhaustion that comes from working in the pits. I developed a case of bronchitis and went to my physician, who sent a letter back to the company doctor saying I should no longer work in the pit, it's a danger to my health, and that I should be given another job. But the company continued to harass me with jobs like under the front fender and so forth, and the foreman refused to let me have medical treatment.

What they're trying to do is build up a case of disciplinary offenses so the company can fire me, terminate me on the basis of my work record. There's also a rumor going around the plant that the company is trying to frame-up me and Lisa Diamond [another MSC member] by implicating us in someone trying to steal something out of the plant.

***WV:* Why were you removed from your steady job after holding it so long?**

*Bradley:* Because starting last October I had filed grievances on the industrial engineer, Mike Peterman, for turning the line speed up two to three hundred fast. This continued from October right through February when they pulled me off the job.

The line speed, you know, should be set at a certain amount, but then the company just turns up the line speed any time they fall behind. When you're working on the line, when your line speed is running two to three hundred fast, it's just hell. All of a sudden you're running after the cars on the assembly line. Ford Motor Company is continually violating our contractual rights just so they can keep up their profits. For that they'll run the line speed up so high it physically destroys you.

***WV:* What does this attempt to drive you out of the plant mean for other workers at Mahwah?**

*Bradley:* I've been an outspoken militant and oppositionist for more than six years. If the company can fire me it will demoralize the whole plant. Everybody knows I stand up for union rights and for a tough fight against the company. If they're successful in knocking me out of the plant it'll take some of the fight out of all the ranks at contract time.

I'm known as a spokesman for the Militant Solidarity Caucus and last September it was the MSC that was pushing to get the plant and 906 geared up for a strike over speed-up. Management noticed this and they would like to go into this contract without any militants around. That's why other members of the MSC like Lisa Diamond have also been targets of company harassment.

***WV:* How long have you been a member of the Militant Solidarity Caucus?**

*Bradley:* I have been a member of the MSC since it was founded in 1973, September or October I think. Before that I was in the Rank and File Coalition, but after a while I could see that while the Rank and File criticized the bureaucracy it also caved in to it a lot. It didn't call for a completely new working-class-struggle leadership of the union, either in the Local or the International.

The MSC started up after some of us were kicked out of a United Action Caucus meeting that fall where they were supposedly going to discuss a program. I stood up and made the point that they should call for a labor party and a workers government. But they opposed it and kicked out those of us who had come to put forward that program. So then we formed the MSC.

Besides calling for a workers party to fight for a workers government, the Militant Solidarity Caucus raises other demands like nationalization of industry without compensation, and a shorter workweek with no loss in pay to create more jobs and fight unemployment. Also our program calls for union-controlled hiring on a first-come, first-serve basis, free 24-hour child care paid for by the company or the government, for opening up the skilled trades with special training programs for women and minorities, and that there should be no discrimination in hiring or job bidding, and so on. Also, the line speed should be fixed in the contract: that's one of the things we were fighting for last fall.

WV Photo

***WV:* What about racism at Mahwah, and what is the MSC program to fight it?**

*Bradley:* I've been working here for over six years and I've seen plenty of examples of racism, in the hiring, for instance. There are people who work in the plant for ten, fifteen years, but the jobs in places like quality control, the freight department, maintenance and so on go to somebody who knows someone in management. That's all wrong, these jobs should be assigned by seniority.

The MSC has a program that calls for a union hiring hall on a first-come, first-serve basis which would eliminate the favoritism and the discrimination against blacks in hiring. There are other opposition groups in the Local who do not have this demand. Their program is preferential hiring—going through the courts and the Labor Department, letting them rip up the contract, and sometimes taking jobs away from the workers who are already employed. This undercuts the whole class struggle for all workers.

Also there have been many incidents of racism in the plant. There was a wildcat in 1969 by the UBW [United Black Workers] protesting an incident when the general foreman, Richie Ziegler, called a black worker a "nigger." Wilbur Haddock, one of the UBW leaders, was fired during that wildcat. That was in the days of DRUM [Dodge Revolutionary Union Movement] when the nationalists were big and a lot of black workers thought they could fight racism without uniting with white workers.

The program of the MSC is that there must be a united class-struggle fight against racial oppression. Not just in the plant but in the whole society, wherever it exists. So the MSC has done a lot around the busing issue. We are for busing and we say that it should be extended to the suburbs, that black kids should be able to get out of the ghetto schools and there should be quality integrated education for all.

We are *against* federal troops being involved, in Boston or anywhere. The MSC calls for labor/black defense to stop the racists from attacking black students. In Chicago, UAW Local 6 set up this kind of union defense guard last year to protect the house of a black member against some nightriders who were trying to firebomb it. That stopped the racists in their tracks.

***WV:* A lot of people say demands for a workers party are "too advanced" and "irrelevant." What's your answer?**

*Bradley:* Irrelevant? Look, the UAW International is supporting Jimmy Carter for president. This seems to be one of Woodcock's favorite lines this year: support the Democrats, get the Republicans out. If there's a strike, Woodcock more than likely would end it after four or five days; if it continued any longer it would be an embarrassment to the Democratic Party and Leonard Woodcock, who was the first labor leader to endorse Carter. So then what do we get? A peanut boss who runs an open shop—no union—and pays his workers $2.50 an hour!

***WV:* What has the union done to fight this victimization of you and other militants? And what is the MSC doing?**

*Bradley:* The union has done absolutely nothing. Since this whole harassment campaign was started by Ford Motor Company, I've filed something like

*continued on page 10*

WV Photo

# Fremont Bureaucrats Flout Call for UAW-Wide Strike

FREMONT, California—Several hundred members of United Auto Workers (UAW) Local 1364 met on August 22 to pass a strike authorization motion in preparation for the upcoming auto contract battle. But the pro-Woodcock Local bureaucrats under shop chairman Earlie Mays received more than they wanted when the workers overwhelmingly passed a motion put forward by the Committee for a Militant UAW (CMUAW):

> "In order to prevent the weakening and division of the union's power as has happened in previous contracts, the position of UAW Local 1364 is:
> 1) No stockpiling—no overtime;
> 2) No contract extension—no contract, no work;
> 3) For a union-wide strike September 14th.
> 4) For elected strike committees to enforce this policy."

According to a spokesman for CMUAW interviewed by *WV*, the worried bureaucrats began lining up votes after the above resolution passed. Thus another CMUAW motion—to inform the International of the Local's position and to set a date for electing strike committees—was defeated. However, a separate motion against working overtime, co-sponsored by two reformist opposition groups ("Standup" and "Resistance"), was then passed despite the opposition of Mays and his flunkies. One bureaucrat proposed a special membership meeting for August 26, and a motion to this effect was passed.

But Mays & Co., along with Woodcock's International, are clearly afraid of *any* mobilization of the rank and file. Thus the very next day after the strike vote meeting, the executive board met and simply decided to ignore all the motions passed by the membership. In a disgusting bureaucratic leaflet, the executive board denounced the no-overtime proposal as the work of "irresponsible people in this membership who are attempting to violate our UAW-GM contract by encouraging our members to walk off their jobs after 8 hours."

Having denounced the 8-hour day, the leaflet proceeded to repeat the warnings of UAW International representative Joe Alvarez that "it is illegal for this local union to encourage its membership to slow down or stop production ... we abide by and support the International contract and the position of the International union that any motions contrary to International policy procedure are illegal and not valid.... We, as responsible elected union officers cannot stand by and allow you to be misled...." And just to make sure the membership would not be "misled," the executive board summarily canceled the special membership meeting!

Despite the cancellation of this special membership meeting, the Standup/Resistance coalition attempted to bypass the obstacle of the executive board by holding a rally on August 26. Only about 30 people showed up, and a desperate Resistance spokesman called for working with anybody who is for more union democracy and against overtime. However the speaker had no proposals for further action.

Ironically it was the Standup group, politically supported by the Maoist October League (OL), which had enthusiastically joined with Mays & Co. in the June 1973 Local elections through a lash-up called the Brotherhood Caucus. The Brotherhood ran on a lot of empty "people power" rhetoric but no program. The July 1973 issue of the *Call*, newspaper of the OL, boasted that the election of the Brotherhood "should break the stranglehold of the International UAW leadership..." In contrast, militant oppositionists who later formed the CMUAW warned against voting for the opportunist Brotherhood slate.

Having spawned nothing but a new bureaucracy, Standup now threatens to repeat the experience by joining forces

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**WORKERS VANGUARD**

**Marxist Working-Class Weekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.**

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## Militant Phone Worker Fired

# "Standing Up Has Been Outlawed, Miss Martinson"

SAN FRANCISCO—In an incredible display of the arrogance toward women employees for which it is notorious, Pacific Telephone on September 7 fired militant operator Margaret Martinson for the "crime" of standing up while she worked at her position! Martinson, a directory assistance operator at the Sloat II office in S.F., is a member of the Militant Action Caucus (MAC) of Local 9410, Communications Workers of America (CWA).

Martinson told *WV* that she was flabbergasted when service assistant John Johnson peremptorily announced that "standing is now outlawed" and ordered her to sit down forthwith. For failing to do so immediately, she was charged with insubordination, and suspended and finally fired at a hearing September 7!

The phone company still thinks it is running a 19th-century sweatshop with

WV Photo

**Margaret Martinson**

its reform school norms of labor discipline. The only thing missing is the birch rod and corporal punishment. Such outrageous harassment must be stopped once and for all by strong union action! Margaret Martinson must be rehired!

Martinson's case is part of what MAC has labeled a "management firing binge" in Sloat II which has resulted in recent months in the firing of four other operators on equally ludicrous charges and in the suspensions of several more. Many of the cases were instigated by Johnson, a former steward, who as a service assistant is not management and still remains a union member!

Johnson's recent escapades as company fink have been somewhat bizarre if not downright perverted. Martinson was "caught" standing up by Johnson just as he emerged from under the operators' positions where he had been crawling around to catch workers whose feet were resting on the garbage cans, another practice recently "outlawed"!

In Martinson's case management is contending that the night before she was initially suspended the previous practice of allowing operators to stand up for brief periods while continuing to work was abolished. Conveniently, management neglected to tell anyone about the change. The phone company is notorious for such irrational harassment—for example the practice has only recently been ended of sneaking up behind an operator at the switchboard and holding a ruler behind her ear. If the operator saw the ruler with her peripheral vision, she was reprimanded for not having her eyes to the switchboard!

Nonetheless as a grudging concession to the fact that operators are human beings, they have traditionally been allowed to occasionally stand up while working. But when the Sloat offices opened recently, management in Sloat I decided to outlaw standing, sparking a series of protests against the rule. When the last case was grieved on the grounds that the rule was discriminatory, it was decided to end the discrimination... by outlawing standing up in Sloat II as well!

At press time MAC members in Sloat were circulating a petition in Martinson's defense and gathering affidavits from operators who testified they had stood without being disciplined on the very evening the rule was allegedly changed.

The Sloat II crackdown is a graphic illustration of the process the phone company euphemistically refers to as "loss of jobs through attrition," which has become particularly severe since the automation of thousands of jobs through introduction of electronic switching systems. Now, since its request to the Public Utilities Commission to charge for directory assistance calls has been turned down in California, Pacific Telephone is attempting to step up "attrition" even further through speed-up and harassment in order to get rid of militants and further sabotage service. A tape recording which advises customers to hang up and first check their phone books for telephone numbers has also significantly cut down on directory assistance calls.

According to MAC, force reductions have resulted in the loss of more than 61,000 jobs in 1975 alone. However, the CWA International has refused to fight this loss, maintaining its shrinking dues base by demanding dues increases and even taking a cut out of the strike funds! While a MAC leaflet distributed at Sloat in July pointed to the increased urgency to fight every case of harassment, the Local bureaucrats have simply caved in to the company onslaught. In Sloat I chief steward and executive board representative Ester Larson sided with the company in contending that operators should not be allowed to stand!

As Martinson's firing demonstrates, despite the anti-union "affirmative action" programs so touted by feminists, the phone company's outrageous treatment of women employees has not abated one whit in recent years. Through constant harassment and humiliation tactics, and use of the barbaric "absence control" plan under

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## Court Finds Massive Segregation

# Integrate Cleveland Schools Now!

CLEVELAND—On August 31, the Ohio state department of education and the Cleveland school board were found guilty of deliberate segregation of schools here in an NAACP-initiated suit. Federal judge Frank J. Battisti's decision calls for submitting a desegregation plan to the court within 90 days. Busing is the expected outcome of this suit.

The controversy over busing is the current focal point of a racist mobilization against integration and equality for black people in the U.S., and events in Cleveland may well play an important role in this battle. For the city's large black population the judge's decision has only codified what they already know: that Cleveland is one of the most segregated cities in the U.S.

Cleveland is sharply racially divided by the Cuyahoga River, with blacks living on the East Side and whites on the West. The city itself is surrounded by 19 suburbs whose population is overwhelmingly white. Eighty-five percent of the black residents of Cuyahoga County live within the city limits of Cleveland.

The Cleveland school situation is a good indicator of the conditions blacks generally face in this city. While 57 percent of Cleveland's 125,000 students are black, *92 percent attend schools that are 90 percent black or more*. The figures are comparable for white students. Only 24 schools, out of 175, have a racial balance less than either 90 percent black or white.

### The NAACP Suit

During Cleveland's desegregation trial, which began last November, the NAACP cited 350 deliberate acts of segregation. The suit unveiled numerous devices used by the school board to separate white and black students. Construction of new schools, drawing of boundary lines and creation of optional school zones were all done to reinforce racial segregation. Faculty assignments were allocated along racial lines and white students have been given special transfer rights to escape predominantly black schools.

The school board set up portable classrooms, devised "relay" classes and even rented facilities to house black students to keep them away from white schools. In the few cases where school administrators were forced to bus blacks from overcrowded ghetto schools to underutilized white schools, the black students were herded into separate classrooms.

The school board defends these actions and sees these as maintaining the "neighborhood school" concept. But this is precisely the issue! The school board's utilization of the neighborhood school principle means that their decisions on construction, zoning, faculty assignments, etc., were all made to conform to Cleveland's racially segregated housing patterns.

The voluminous evidence presented by the NAACP was conclusive enough for the court to rule, even before defense testimony was presented, that a prima facie case had been established that state and local officials had committed deliberate acts of segregation. With the decision now in, barring legal delays due to school board appeals, remedy hearings should begin soon and it is expected that a court-ordered busing plan will be the result.

The scope of the plan and reaction to it are crucial questions facing this racially polarized city. Not only is the question of busing itself posed, but the NAACP suit was designed in part to show that only a metropolitan solution (busing to the suburbs) will be viable. The Spartacist League (SL) has always pointed this out and called for extension of the Boston busing plan to the suburbs. At the same time the SL has warned that busing is not enough. Full integration and equality for oppressed racial minorities in the U.S. is possible only following a proletarian revolution sweeping away the racist capitalist order that produces the segregated housing patterns and massive black unemployment which give rise to prison-like ghetto schools.

### The Array of Forces

With the public announcement of the judge's decision, anti-busing forces which kept a low profile during the trial will now become more visible. This opposition has already emerged in Cleveland's suburbs.

The Euclid-based (East Side suburb) Citizens for Neighborhood Schools (CNS) is attempting to organize a county-wide movement to stop busing and has chapters in several suburbs. This group has coalesced around support for a constitutional amendment that would prohibit forcing a student to attend a public school other than one near his home. This amendment is being sponsored by Ohio Congressman Ronald Mottl whose constituency is based in Parma, a white southwest suburb.

This group held rallies in Euclid and Parma and collected over 50,000 signatures in support of Mottl's resolution. Unfortunately the Parma rally was held at the UAW Local 1005 hall. This is the same local that organized a goon squad to prevent *WV* sales teams and other left newspapers from distributing literature during the 1973 auto contract period (See *WV* No. 30, 12 October 1973).

Unlike Boston, where two-faced liberal mayor White abstractly favors busing, here the anti-busing forces will have open support from the mayor, Ralph Perk. Perk's recent re-election victory over a black challenger has been attributed to getting out the "white vote" on Cleveland's West Side.

In April, Cleveland city government attempted to intervene on the side of the racist Boston School Committee in the latter's Supreme Court appeal of their busing order. Perk also requested U.S. Attorney General Levi to enter the Boston case to challenge court-ordered busing. In May, after Levi declined to enter the Boston case, Perk invited the attorney general's office to intervene in the suit here.

If and when these legal challenges fail, and racist opponents of busing move to violently confront any implementation order, the stage will be set for fascistic vermin to crawl out of their holes. With the Ohio Ku Klux Klan relatively strong, Cleveland may prove to be an excellent breeding ground for a large right-wing mobilization.

Of course any terror unleashed against blacks will have the thinly veiled support of Cleveland's notoriously racist police department. Blacks have always been subjected to "shoot first, ask questions later" cop-justice. The local gendarmes gun down black youths at will, confident that prosecutors will routinely rule "justifiable homicide" when challenged.

During the administration of Carl Stokes, the first black mayor of a major U.S. city, Cleveland cops went on a bonapartist rampage, loading up with automatic weapons. Refusing to give up this over-kill armory even when ordered to do so by civilian authorities, the racist cops claimed their lives were in danger from black militants. When the long suppressed outrage of blacks erupted, as in 1966 and 1968, the National Guard was quickly brought in to militarily quarantine the East Side ghettos.

### The Working Class and Left

All the ingredients of Boston are here: growing racist sentiment, an organized right wing and anti-busing school/city officials backed by racist cops. But there is a significant difference between Boston and Cleveland, and that is the social weight of Cleveland's working class.

Cleveland, unlike Boston, is a heavily industrialized city with a large proletariat. An estimated 30-40 percent of the work force is black and the AFL-CIO, UAW and Teamsters have altogether 210,000 workers organized into unions here. The objective basis upon which the SL has continually called for labor/black defense guards can be readily seen in Cleveland. Given the array of forces only an integrated defense guard organized by the unions and black organizations can guarantee peaceful desegrega-

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# Victory to L.A. Transit Strike!

LOS ANGELES, September 6—Faced with a hard line from the Board of Supervisors of the Southern California Rapid Transit Division (RTD), the strike of 5,000 bus drivers and 1,100 transit mechanics here today went into its third week with no end in sight. Negotiations with drivers of the United Transportation Union (UTU) and mechanics of the Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU) are not scheduled to resume until the end of the week.

The unions' wage and cost-of-living demands are no longer the main point of contention, since UTU head Earl Clark and ATU's Jerry Long have both given up their original demands leaving management and the unions now less than two percentage points apart on the money. Rather, the strike has become a political football as the Board of Supervisors is consciously trying to break the unions. As the *Los Angeles Times* reported September 4, "many of the RTD directors have pointed out that the San Francisco Board of Supervisors last spring adopted a hard line with craft workers and forced pay cuts, thereby appealing to tax payers."

There are indications, however, that this bald electoral ploy may backfire as public opinion even in this rabidly anti-union town seems to have tilted away from the supervisors. Federal mediators have been quoted in the local press to the effect that they hold the Board responsible for the impasse in negotiations which tied up transportation over the Labor Day weekend for an estimated 750,000 daily passengers in the country's fourth largest mass transit system.

On September 1, a compromise 21 percent wage increase between the mechanics union and the negotiation committee was reached with the support of L.A. mayor Bradley, only to have the Board of Supervisors turn it down the next day with president Bryon Cook stating that the Board would oppose a compromise "even if the buses don't run till Christmas." To show "good faith," the mechanics union went ahead the following day, September 3, and voted to accept the 21 percent offer, even though the vote is moot in face of the Board's intransigence.

Negotiations with the drivers broke down at the same time although the UTU was reported ready to accept a 22 percent compromise offer earlier in the week. Now the Board says it is sticking to its original 19.5 percent offer, which the drivers have refused to vote on since the beginning. Now even the notoriously anti-union *Los Angeles Times* seems to be siding with the unions by implying that while in its point of view San Francisco's fight saved the capitalists thousands of dollars per man, the local supervisors' squabble over a couple of bucks a week is simply not worth it.

This is the second strike in three years for the transit workers. In 1974 Mayor Bradley threatened to call in the National Guard to break the 68-day strike of the drivers, who were facing the same hard-line RTD management backed up by the press in its attempts to mount a "tax payers" revolt against a wage hike for the drivers.

Since the recent negotiations began, the RTD management has been arrogantly provocative. Flatly turning down the UTU's first offer, Governor Jerry Brown engineered a 70-day "cooling-off" period, allowing for a state fact-finding commission to intervene. The commission, appointed by the "neutral" governor, came back recommending withholding of any immediate cost-of-living adjustment, a wage increase the unions could not accept and a clause reclassifying ATU "utility men" jobs to "bus service attendant," meaning a whopping pay cut from $6.99 to $5.00 starting wage.

After the drivers had worked 70 days without a contract, management waited until after the midnight August 23 deadline of the cooling-off period to offer to go into arbitration. This provocation left the union tops with no alternative but to call the strike. Then, two days after the strike began, the RTD reversed itself, rejected a compromise settlement and demanded immediate acceptance of its original insulting offer.

On August 27 RTD management announced it was withholding the last pre-strike paychecks of the drivers and mechanics and had the gall to blame the delay on the payroll clerks who were honoring the lines! RTD clerks had been *de-unionized* as a concession to management by the UTU bureaucrats in the 1974 contract sellout, but their show of elemental class solidarity remains to the clerks' credit. This vicious and slanderous attempt of management to divide the workers further enraged the drivers, who knew the checks had already been prepared and were simply being held by RTD management.

Later that afternoon, 120 driver militants marched into the meeting of the L.A. County Board of Supervisors to confront supervisor Baxter Ward

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## Down with the Emergency Measures, North and South!

# What's Behind Anti-Violence Marches in Ireland?

SEPTEMBER 6—After witnessing the demise of its second attempt at "power-sharing" in Northern Ireland (the ill-starred Constitutional Convention) last spring, the British government has mounted a new offensive in Ulster primarily directed against the "Provisional" wing of the Irish Republican Army (IRA). A vital adjunct to stepped-up repression in the North was the passage last week in Dublin of a package of "emergency measures" aimed at suppressing the Provos in the southern republic as well.

At the same time, the ruling parties and bourgeois media, both in Ireland and Britain, have enthusiastically greeted a campaign of mass anti-violence marches by Catholic and Protestant housewives and clergy in Northern Ireland as evidence that the paramilitary groups are increasingly isolated. Although the founders of the "Women's Peace Movement" have sought to keep it apolitical, their refusal to demand the removal of British troops has given the anti-violence marches a one-sidedly anti-Provo slant. Thus a healthy mass revulsion at the unending cycle of sectarian murder and retaliation is being manipulated by British authorities and the church hierarchies into support for strengthened "security forces" and yet another experiment in sharing out provincial executive posts among a handful of self-serving politicians.

### The Republic Suppresses the Republicans

The immediate pretext for the state of emergency in the South was a recent series of bombings. On July 15 the Special Criminal Court of Dublin was blown open by bombs in an escape attempt by five Republican prisoners, one of whom successfully avoided recapture by making off in a taxi (the rest got caught in rush-hour traffic!). Six days later the British ambassador, Christopher Ewart-Biggs, was killed when a land mine was detonated under his limousine. Simultaneously an IRA-linked bombing campaign in Britain threatened to sour relations between the Republic and its major trade partner.

Prime Minister Liam Cosgrave warned the Dail (Ireland's parliament) that the two bombings challenged fundamental powers of his government: "the conduct of our international relations" and "the administration of justice." Bourgeois "justice" in the South already provided up to two-year prison terms for membership in the outlawed IRA, and some 600 persons have been sentenced on no more than the testimony of a police chief.

Now, following declaration of the state of emergency, measures have been passed by the Dail extending "preventive" detention from two days to seven, establishing longer sentences for IRA membership (including up to ten years for "incitement to join") and authorizing use of the army for police functions. The *gardai* (police) were particularly eager to extend the detention period to allow them longer time to brutalize and break down suspected Provos.

It is ironic the Irish Republic should unleash such draconian repression against the Repuhlicans, whose aim is to "recuperate" the six counties of Ulster for the fatherland. Despite a certain degree of pseudo-socialist rhetoric, the Provos have always been for forced reunification of the "six counties" with the present-day clerical/Tory-dominated capitalist Irish Republic. In the past, sections of the Catholic bourgeoisie (particularly in the Fianna Fail party of former prime minister Jack Lynch) have covertly provided military aid to the Provos in the North. But now the spectre of civil war growing out of the sharpened communal violence in Ulster has sent tremors of panic through the Green Tories.

A curious footnote to the adoption of the emergency measures in the Republic was the utterly hypocritical hue and cry raised by London over the release in Dublin of a report by the European Commission on Human Rights that found Britain guilty of torturing Roman Catholics ("suspected terrorists") in the North during 1971. Although neither he nor anyone else disputed the charges, British Secretary of State for Northern Ireland Merlyn Rees reproached Cosgrave in the most pained tones: "We regret the Irish Government's persistence in thus raking over the events of five years ago." With police-state measures being stepped up both North and South, apparently the Hon. Mr. Rees considers it bad form to make any mention of the suffering and torment this means for the victims.

### Repression in the North

Frustrated by Protestant intransigence in its latest attempt to reconstitute a Northern Ireland executive of "moderate" Loyalist/Unionist and Catholic politicians, the British government dissolved the Constitutional Convention on March 5. Shortly thereafter it announced plans to continue the military occupation indefinitely. This led to the Provos' decision at the beginning of July to resume attacks on the police and British army. (The tenuous truce negotiated with representatives of the Labour government last year was partly based on British statements holding open the possibility of withdrawal of the troops in the future.)

Even before the Provisionals' change of tactics, however, Westminster had dispatched units of the hated anti-guerrilla Special Air Service (last assignment: Oman) to occupy overwhelmingly Catholic South Armagh. London is now preparing new refinements to the repressive powers of the Emergency Provisions Act under which its more than 15,000 troops operate in Northern Ireland.

The Sunday Press [Dublin]

**Women's Peace Movement marchers from Catholic Andersonstown and Protestant Shankill in Belfast, August 28.**

The smug British ruling class and its administrators in the Labour Party government pose as disinterested and civilized arbiters between incorrigible Ulster Protestant and Catholic ruffians. In fact, following savage Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC) attacks on the Northern Civil Rights Movement marches in 1969, the Catholic minority—including self-described revolutionaries like Bernadette Devlin—welcomed the British imperialist army as protectors.

But the British troops' brutal occupation of the Catholic ghettos, the 1972 "Bloody Sunday" massacre and the wire-cage internment camps (most notably Long Kesh) crammed with Republican supporters—as well as the exclusive reliance on the RUC and Ulster Defense Regiments (UDR) to "restrain" ultra-rightist paramilitary Orange gangs—soon punctured the veil of imperialist "neutrality." Today a broad sector of the British left has realized that the British troops in Ulster are inimical to the interests of the oppressed Catholic minority *and must be withdrawn.*

Ciaran/Donally

**Betty Williams (left) and Mairead Corrigan (right), leaders of "peace movement."**

Militant [London]

**Trade-union march against sectarianism in Lurgan, Northern Ireland, earlier this year.**

### The "Peace" Movements

In late 1969 the IRA Provisionals won broad support among the Catholic population of Belfast for their determined defense of the Catholic ghettos against marauding Orange gangs and Protestant police. However, the Provos' indiscriminate sectarian violence has led to their growing isolation and provided a convenient pretext for the far more massive terror of the police and army.

A new element in the Ulster political equation has been the emergence in recent months of "peace" movements against the sectarian violence, particularly the "Women's Peace Movement" that has burgeoned in the last month. This petty-bourgeois, pacifist-inspired movement was started after the deaths of three Catholic children in Belfast in August. The Maguire children were crushed against a wall when a Provo driving a car was shot dead by British troops and the auto lurched out of control. Although responsibility clearly lay with the army killers, the press (and

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## Militants Must Not Support USW's "Arnold Miller"

# Abel Whips Reformer Sadlowski at Steelworkers Convention

LAS VEGAS The 18th Constitutional Convention of the United Steelworkers of America (USWA) concluded here September 3. The convention marked the first major test of strength between forces loyal to outgoing president I.W. Abel and challenger Edward Sadlowski since local union elections this spring, when Sadlowski captured several important positions For Sadlowski, the convention was a dismal flop as he proved unable to win a single floor fight.

Abel consistently recorded large majorities in support of policies which have been the cornerstone of his administration, including the no-strike Experimental Negotiating Agreement (ENA) and the "affirmative action" Consent Decree Abel also easily succeeded in amending the constitution to increase the number of international union officers from three to five, a step necessary to resolve a squabble within

Ed Sadlowski Village Voice

the Abel camp over choosing a slate for the February elections

The reformist Sadlowski cut a pathetic figure Outnumbered, with support largely limited to delegates from his Chicago-based District 31, he clearly lacked the courage to wage a floor fight. Unable to find a cheap and popular issue to capitalize on, his supporters made weak and lackluster interventions In fact, the discussion and debate never became nearly as heated as it did during the 1974 USWA convention (which had far less organized opposition), when there was a major battle over a dues increase and a hike in officers' salaries. And while large quantities of literature were put out by both pro- and anti-Abel groupings, Sadlowski's Steelworker Fightback Committee did not issue a single signed leaflet, let alone publish a platform to rally delegates around!

In his keynote address Abel strongly defended the ENA, which he argued had restored "stability" to the steel industry. However, with almost 100,000 steel workers laid off in the past two years, even Abel was forced to acknowledge the devastating erosion of jobs. While he pushed such reformist panaceas to unemployment as the Humphrey-Hawkins Bill and raised a hoopla about a "guaranteed annual wage," he in fact admitted the futility of such schemes, remarking: "When the economy plunges to near-depression levels, nothing is sacred not even good labor contracts."

For genuine militants, this would have provided an opening to point out that it is the capitalist system itself which is the source of unemployment. Militants would have called for a class-struggle offensive against unemployment, centered around strikes against layoffs They would also have denounced the recent decision of the union to extend the contract in the container industry from February to October 1977 The Abel bureaucracy, intent on making concessions to the can makers (unemployment in the industry has risen to 30 percent), is apparently willing to settle for almost nothing in these negotiations, which have traditionally served as the "pattern" for USWA bargaining. Militants would demand instead a joint union-wide strike in the basic steel, nonferrous metals and can industry.

Rather than taking up the challenge, pro-Sadlowski delegates did not even straightforwardly denounce ENA, emphasizing instead the right of the membership to vote on this policy. This gutless ploy availed nothing, and the resolution on collective bargaining passed by an overwhelming margin.

Another major issue in the union has been the question of racial and sexual discrimination. Discontent with the Consent Decree, which provides only token benefits to minorities while threatening the union's seniority system, has been seething, particularly among black workers. Despite this, Abel's resolution endorsing the Consent Decree, and praising USWA officials for the manner of its implementation, passed easily There was minimal floor discussion, with the Sadlowski forces following the lead of their chief, who has refused to take a position on the Consent Decree holding back

Later in the convention Abel made a move to appeal to blacks Leon Lynch, a black staff representative from Memphis, was appointed to the newly created vice-presidential post The USWA has never before had a black International officer. The choice of Lynch clearly undercut the position of Abel's reformist critics, whose solution to racism has centered on just such phony schemes of promoting token blacks to higher office

### Red-baiting

The bulk of Abel's opening speech was directed toward discrediting Sadlowski. Abel portrayed Sadlowski, whom he did not mention by name, as a creature-manipulated by "outside forces." Since, in point of fact, Sadlowski has geared his campaigning to winning support from prominent liberals and the bourgeois media, and his strategy for victory is centered on bringing the capitalist state into union affairs, Abel's charge is in good part true. However, Abel's attack burgeoned into a generalized red-baiting campaign, in which he indiscriminately labeled as "outsiders" socialist groups, Nazis and opposition

Militant/Harry Ring

Delegates at United Steelworkers convention in Las Vegas last week.

groups within the Steelworkers.

While denouncing his union opponents as flunkies of leftist and outside forces, Abel was careful to verbally oppose the use of violence against dissidents. He is all too mindful of how the murder of Jock Yablonski of the United Mine Workers (UMW) provided a convenient excuse for the government to meddle in the UMW and assure the ouster of the Boyle regime. Abel piously declared that "The simplest and best way to frustrate the extremists is to expose their irresponsible ideas to close scrutiny and to let them be judged in the light of logic and common sense."

In practice, however, Abel had recourse to his usual bureaucratic methods A good 25 percent of the 4,000 who held credentials at the convention were paid staff members appointed by the International Many of this staff held multiple credentials, a device which made it even more difficult for oppositionists to force a roll-call vote. And the convention was conducted according to the obscure Cushing's Manual, which prohibits delegates from raising resolutions on the floor which have not been approved by the Abel-dominated committees.

In addition, a number of office employees, who were not even staff members, were issued false credentials. When one Sadlowski supporter, Cliff Mezn, attempted to photograph individuals issuing themselves false credentials, he was beaten up and his camera stolen. Later Abel admitted that at least one staff member was involved, who was sent home by his district director. When a speaker demanded from Abel the name of this assailant, his microphone was abruptly shut off!

Abel's opening address was only the first blow. Abel forces conducted a running hatchet job on Sadlowski for the duration of the convention. The agency for this was a collection of local union presidents which called itself "Steelworker Members Against Radical Takeover" (S.M.A.R.T.). S.M.A.R.T dedicated itself to exposing the "outside, left-wing political organizations that want to use our Union...." Most of the group's outpourings were crude anti-communist stuff, such as a photograph of Sadlowski with actress Jane Fonda, a noted anti-Vietnam War activist, at a July 4 People's Bicentennial rally in Washington, D C.

However, S.M.A.R.T also raised a number of legitimate questions about Sadlowski's record. Thus, its literature pointed up Sadlowski's poor record as a negotiator and his unwillingness to organize the unorganized in his district. S.M.A.R.T. also scored Sadlowski for failing to take positions on key issues, such as the Consent Decree and imports of foreign steel.

Sadlowski was clearly rattled by this continuing attack upon him. Encouraged by the red-baiting atmosphere, a rabid right-winger proposed special union trials to "get the commies" Sadlowski actually took the floor to *solidarize* with this motion, grateful for the opportunity to denounce the "slander and innuendo" that he was a communist!

### The Left Waits on Sadlowski

Sadlowski's open meetings drew around 200 delegates. His supporters came hoping to hear him announce plans for a counterattack against S.M.A.R.T. and for an aggressive offensive at the convention. Such was not to be the case. Sadlowski, for his part, was extremely reluctant to commit himself to anything. When one person questioned him on his position on a 30-hour workweek, he answered: "You get up on the convention floor and raise it" And when one exasperated delegate demanded to know if Sadlowski was going to put forward a program, Sadlowski brushed him aside, promising to talk with him after the meeting!

Interestingly, the only piece of literature which he urged his supporters to distribute was a reprint from the Australian press concerning Abel's tour of that country last spring. In Australia, where the workers movement is considerably more class-conscious, calling on the government to intervene in the trade

unions is considered a scandal by militant unionists and is a tactic engaged in only by extreme right-wingers. Aware of this, the shrewd Abel spoke out strongly during his tour against pending legislation in Australia that would institute government-run balloting in the unions, linking this to the tactics used by his opponents in the Steelworkers. The shameless Sadlowski, who regards government intervention as a virtue, urged that his supporters "expose" Abel by circulating the Australian news reports.

Meanwhile, the ostensible left liquidated itself into the Sadlowski non-effort at the convention. The Communist Party-backed National Steelworkers Rank and File Committee (NSRFC) published a daily bulletin. However, it did everything possible to ensure that it would not upstage Sadlowski. Its members never once identified themselves organizationally on the convention floor. Likewise, the NSRFC paper program, including demands for dumping ENA and full plant-wide seniority, was never brought to the floor, so as not to embarrass Sadlowski. The NSRFC canceled its scheduled public meeting and delegates who did show up at its hospitality suite were redirected to Sadlowski headquarters. Its craven capitulation was graphically demonstrated at a Sadlowski-called meeting when a worker asked George Edwards, co-chairman of the NSRFC, for a copy of the NSRFC "Report." Edwards refused, saying "This is Eddie's meeting."

The Rank and File Team (R.A.F.T.) delegates from District 26 (Youngstown) issued a leaflet with a minimal program including contract ratification by the membership, a fair dues structure and opposition to ENA. It openly advertised its willingness to stump for Sadlowski when it announced that "R.A.F.T. will support and work with any delegate who accepts these ideas in whole or in part."

Supporters of the "Steelworker," a newsletter backed by the Revolutionary Communist Party, boasted that they had personally presented their "Open Letter to I.W. Abel" to the USWA president in the gambling casino of the Las Vegas Hilton. The "Open Letter" protested Abel's undemocratic refusal

I.W. Abel

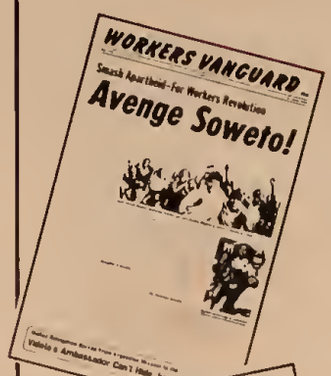
to seat the delegation from Local 65 (U.S. Steel's Southworks in Chicago). The "Steelworker" asserted that the pro-Sadlowski Local 65 delegates "ran and were elected on a program of opposition to the ENA, for the right to ratify contracts and against the way our union is being run." Needless to say, it had not one word of criticism of Sadlowski.

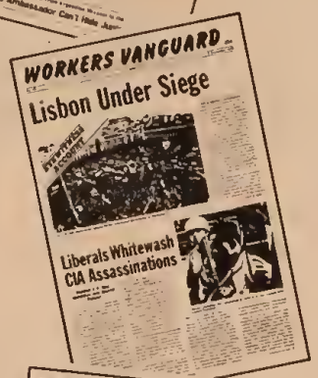
### SWP Fiddles Sadlowski's Tune

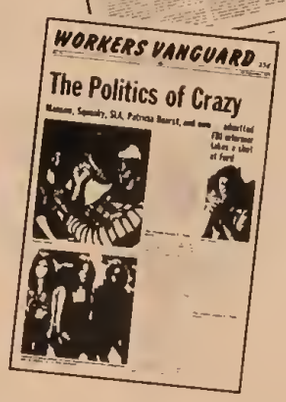
The continued capitulation of most leftists to liberal-reformist bureaucrats like Sadlowski is nothing new. The contest in the Steelworkers is almost a repeat performance of the Boyle/Miller

*continued on page 11*


# "...the point, however, is to change it." -Karl Marx

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*WV* was a crucial component of the campaign to save Chilean miners leader Mario Muñoz from a murderous manhunt in Argentina. *WV* published the declaration launching the international campaign (No. 106, 23 April) and followed it up every week with reports and interviews which exposed the bloody reality of the "gentlemen's coup" in Argentina and the plight of the tens of thousands of political refugees for whom massive publicity and international solidarity was the only hope. And *WV* was on hand (No. 122, 20 August) for Muñoz's dramatic arrival in Europe.

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# Transsexual Challenges Tennis Establishment

Last week Dr. Renee Richards competed in the women's singles of the Tennis Week Open at South Orange, N.J. At the instigation of the Women's Tennis Association (WTA), 25 of the 32 original entrants withdrew to protest her participation. Until a sex change operation last year Renee Richards was Dr. Richard Raskind, an eye surgeon and nationally ranked tennis player,

Sports Illustrated

**Dr. Renee Richards**

who had won the New York State clay-court title in 1964.

The decision of this transsexual to play in the major women's tournaments has driven the tennis establishment into a furor. Cries of "unfair" have been raised amid speculation that Richards can overpower a Chris Evert or a Billie Jean King and turn the women's tennis world topsy-turvy. To prevent Richards from competing in the U.S. Open at Forest Hills, the U.S. Tennis Association is now instituting, for the first time, a chromosome test for all women entrants.

Behind the cry of "unfair competition" is undoubtedly a philistine horror about having to deal with a transsexual in any way. The tennis establishment's hostile, even hysterical, reaction to Richards has little to do with her relative competitive prowess. The hostile reaction to Richards from the tennis bigwigs is typical of what any transsexual faces. Men or women who undergo sex change operations are usually fired from their jobs, abandoned by their friends and face social ostracism.

After the operation, Richards understandably tried to hide her past and moved from New York to California for that purpose. However, Richards' attraction for competitive tennis gave her away. After winning a local tournament, a reporter investigated the tall, mannish-looking newcomer and discovered the truth. Faced with public exposure, a less courageous person would have tried to slink back into anonymity. However, Richards had the moral courage to openly challenge the system and demand to play in the major women's tournaments. Richards is neither a publicityseeker nor is cynically attempting to exploit her supposedly superior physical prowess to achieve stardom in women's tennis.

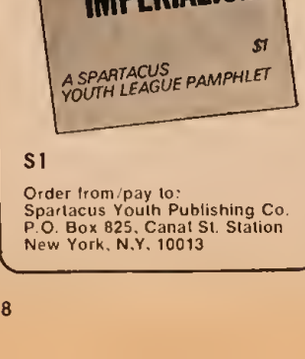
The main argument against Richards is that she has a man's strength and is unusually tall for a woman (6 ft. 2 in.). Strength and height are precisely the qualities that make for male superiority in tennis and justify separate sexual competition in the sport.

The assertion that Richards has a man's body with a woman's external genitals is far from the truth. As a result of taking the hormone estrogen, Richards has reportedly lost more than 30 pounds, most of it in muscle, since the operation. Furthermore, at 42, Richards lacks the mobility and stamina of her younger, better-conditioned opponents.

The result of the Tennis Week Open gave the lie to the exaggerated claims that Richards would dominate women's tennis. Visibly worn down by the long tournament, Richards was defeated in the semi-finals by a mediocre 17-year-old, Lea Antonopolis, who herself was easily defeated by the eventual winner.

To speak of some general democratic right of transsexuals to compete in women's athletic events is meaningless. The Richards case is obviously exceptional. The likelihood of top-flight male athletes having sex change operations and wanting to compete as women is virtually nil. That Renee Richards is competing in major women's tournaments is a good thing. It is a blow against the social ostracism of so-called sexual deviants and helps promote their democratic rights.

The number of transsexuals is and will remain minute. However, the full social acceptance of transsexuals is closely linked with democratic rights for the far larger homosexual population. And behind the pervasive anti-homosexual discrimination and prejudice lie organized religious obscurantism, reactionary traditional morality and a commitment to maintaining the family, i.e. to the male-dominated capitalist social order and the subservience of women. ■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# Auto...

*(continued from page 1)*

in-process and for materials are dipping, pointing to a downturn in the economy by the beginning of the year.

Auto workers thus face the prospect of yet another grim round of layoffs in the next period. With GM and Chrysler's SUB funds nearly bankrupt and Ford's as unlikely to be able to withstand massive layoffs as the other funds were, the prospects are truly bleak.

But just as the UAW bureaucracy allows management a free hand on the shop floor, so too does it lie down in the face of the threat of new layoffs. Following the 1973 contract over 300,000 auto workers lost their jobs while Woodcock & Co. did absolutely nothing. The end result of such criminal apathy is a vicious cycle where auto workers are alternately laid off, then subjected to a new and intensified round of grueling overtime and speed-up. Between unemployment and 60-hour workweeks a large section of the union is effectively prohibited from actively participating in the life of the union.

Clearly the UAW must launch a militant and massive campaign to break this pattern. The need for a sliding scale of wages and hours for an unlimited 100 percent COLA and a shorter workweek with no loss in pay (30 hours' work for 40 hours' pay) has never been more evident.

## Woodcock's Flexible Approach

Auto workers will recall that among the "precedent-setting" gains of Woodcock's '73 contract was the provision for "voluntary overtime." In essence, the UAW tops threw away the 40-hour week in exchange for making overtime "voluntary" after the auto worker worked a 54-hour week! That 54 hours just happens to be the standard overtime schedule at most assembly plants was hardly an accident.

In 1976 these same misleaders are making noises about the need to provide "job security" by "reducing work time." This is pure eyewash! At the UAW bargaining convention in March Woodcock peremptorily ruled out of order a mealy-mouthed motion urging the union to endorse the "principle" of a shorter workweek as a priority demand in 1976.

Referring to various "short work time" schemes advanced by the union, UAW Ford negotiator Ken Bannon said, "We're not wedded to any particular issue" (*Detroit News*, 30 July 1976). A shorter workweek at no loss in pay or three more minutes break time it's all the same to Mr. Bannon! At best, the Woodcock bureaucracy will try to get a few more paid holidays, probably at the expense of tightened company controls aimed at turning holiday pay into absentee control devices. More likely, Woodcock will "win" a "short work time" hoax such as the one now in effect in the agricultural implement division.

This farcical scheme, which has done absolutely nothing to create jobs, is merely another company absentee control device whereby workers with perfect attendance "bank" one half hour a week, enabling them to take off a day if they can manage 16 weeks of perfect attendance!

## Companies On An Offensive

While the Woodcock hierarchy has demanded little of the auto companies, in line with its policy of "keeping our options open," the auto bosses have taken a hard line and are aggressively pushing for a rollback of many union gains. Banking on the conservatizing effects of the hundreds of thousands of layoffs over the past three years and on Woodcock's self-evident desire to avoid a major strike that could embarrass the Democratic Party presidential hopeful, right-to-work racist Jimmy Carter (Woodcock hopes to cash in on his early support to Carter's campaign by becoming Secretary of Labor in Carter's cabinet), the auto companies have put forward a number of proposals designed to gut the union. Among the demands being advanced by Ford management are:

> "• Make employees pick up part of the costs for health services....
> "• Tighten control on holiday pay eligibility.
> "• Restructure supplemental unemployment benefits (SUB) without additional company contributions.
> "• Reduce the starting pay and benefits of newly hired employees and those rehired after losing recall rights while on layoffs.
> "• Increase wages from 38 cents to 77 cents during the three-year contract, a boost which the union says would be below the traditional yearly wage hike of 3 percent.
> "• Consider diverting wages and cost-of-living allowance (COLA) monies to cover the costs of other contract provisions.
> "• Take the current $1.14 in COLA money and 'float' it into the new agreement but not add it to the base wage. That distinction...would hold down insurance benefits...."
>
> —*Detroit News*, 1 September 1976

Particularly dangerous are the company demands to restructure SUB benefits and to extend the probation period for new hires to one year, starting them out with $1 an hour less wages. The companies want to make SUB benefits available only to high seniority workers (the Woodcock bureaucracy also favors such a step). This scheme along with the proposals on new hires will go a long way toward creating a layer of second-class citizens in the auto plants. This will divide the work force along racial and sexual lines and will result in vicious exploitation of women and minority workers. Anyone who has worked in an auto assembly plant with its high turnover and frequent layoffs can easily appreciate the incredible speed-up that must inevitably arise from such a division of the union. Militants must instead demand: Full union rights and benefits for all! No to government employer attacks on seniority! No two-tier systems! SUB for all workers from the date of hire and for the full duration of layoffs! For indefinite recall rights and maintenance of union membership for all laid-off workers!

## An Attack on the Entire UAW

The offer made by Ford (along with GM and Chrysler) is an outrage and an


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attack on all auto workers. It must be decisively rejected! But militant auto workers must also dump the arrogant and treacherous Woodcock bureaucracy whose treasonous policies have encouraged the capitalists at every step. Woodcock and Bannon are upset at the auto companies' outrageous demands not because of what these demands mean for the workers who slave in the assembly plants, but because they will kindle the just anger of every auto worker and make it that much more difficult for these agents of the bosses in the labor movement to pose as militant union leaders.

The labor-faker leaders of the UAW are currently putting on a militant face. In the light of Ford management's demands it is now likely they will lead a strike. But as in the case of the recent United Rubber Workers strike, victory will be achieved in spite of and not because of these misleaders. The great danger is that Woodcock and his pals will call a brief strike to blow off steam and then try to force another rotten contract down the membership's throats. This happened in 1973.

Woodcock hypocritically complains that the auto companies' wage offer amounts to less than 3 percent a year and that the COLA formula is inadequate. But in 1973 Woodcock forced a three-year, 3 percent a year contract on the union and settled for a COLA that covered only 80 percent of the rise in the cost of living. Now Woodcock screams because the auto companies want to divert some of the inadequate COLA monies to pay for new fringes. But in 1973 the UAW brass agreed to permit the diversion of 10 percent of the COLA to pay for other benefits.

### Defend Wage Parity

It goes without saying that a settlement which does not exceed the 3 percent per year wage packet of the 1973 contract will be a big defeat. Already this year the Teamsters and United Rubber Workers have won wage settlements running 32 to 36 percent over three years. Compared to what Woodcock has in store, such a settlement would represent a genuine gain in real wages, especially if it were accompanied by an unlimited, uncapped COLA. Certainly the UAW has more than enough muscle to force such a settlement. The obstacle is the pro-company Solidarity House gang.

A particularly important task in connection with the question of wages is the necessity to defend the wage parity between U.S. and Canadian auto workers. A healthy wage increase for both American and Canadian auto workers would leave the Trudeau government's wage-control law a shambles and immeasurably strengthen all North American unions.

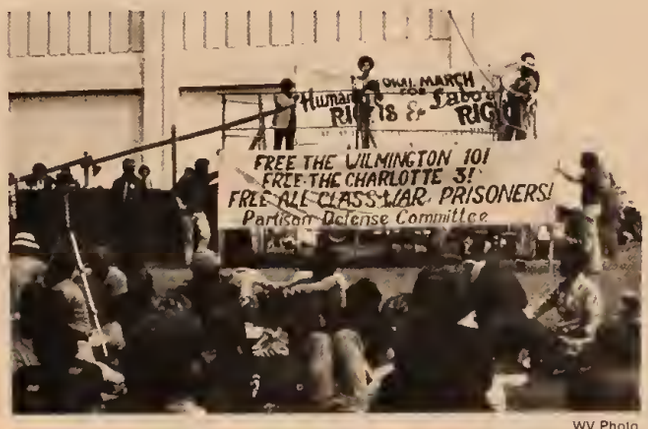
Auto workers certainly shouldn't look to Woodcock to struggle for a meaningful wage increase. Upon his retirement as UAW president in 1977 he hopes to continue his services to the bosses in the cabinet of right-to-worker Jimmy Carter. UAW members may indeed witness Woodcock administering a wage-control program of the "friend of labor" Democratic Party.

A repetition of the defeat suffered by the UAW in 1973 will be a serious setback not only for the auto workers but for the entire North American labor movement. The bourgeoisie will pay close attention to the union in the coming week. It knows that significant gains by the UAW will set an example for hundreds of other unions—most importantly for the giant United Steelworkers whose contract will expire in 1977.

It is the duty of every class-conscious auto worker to do everything in his or her power to guarantee a successful strike. Above all it is necessary to patiently explain to the union members the treacherous role of the Woodcock bureaucracy. We repeat—even a limited victory will take place not because of but in spite of the current UAW misleaders.

Woodcock along with the rest of the UAW bureaucracy is the living embodiment of the fact that in the imperialist epoch the trade unions will either become instruments of the class struggle against the bourgeoisie or they will decay into instruments of class treason, binding the workers ever tighter to the decaying bourgeois order. ■

# 2,000 March for Wilmington 10 in Raleigh




WV Photo

RALEIGH, N.C., September 6—About 2,000 people participated here today in the March for Human and Labor Rights organized by the National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression (NAARPR).

NAARPR, dominated by the Communist Party (CP), had called the march to focus on the frameups of the civil rights activists known as the Wilmington 10 and the Charlotte 3. The state's persecution of these activists, who face a total of 282 years' imprisonment, was initiated after the eruption of black protest against the wave of KKK terror which swept the state in 1969-71 after a federal court ruled that the Charlotte-Mecklenberg County school system had to desegregate, through busing if necessary.

The Wilmington 10 and the Charlotte 3 are the most well-known cases of victimization in this state which is infamous for its brutal racist repression. North Carolina is a "right-to-work" state with the lowest percentage of union labor in the country and the highest number of prisoners in proportion to the population. Over one hundred prisoners are currently on death row in the state.

The march itself was small, listless and dispirited. After a mile-long march through the city, the demonstrators gathered in front of the governor's mansion, where keynote speaker Angela Davis presented the CP's strategy to save these victims of right-wing repression: a boycott of tourism in North Carolina (the state's third largest industry) and a boycott of the J.P. Stevens Company, a major N.C. manufacturer currently being organized by the textile workers.

In addition to the NAARPR, the only other organized contingent was that of the Partisan Defense Committee (PDC), marching under the banner "Free the Wilmington 10, Free the Charlotte 3, Free All Class-War Prisoners!" This banner caught the attention of Lennox Hines, president of the National Conference of Black Lawyers and co-chairman of the rally, who sent runners requesting the PDC to bring it up to the front. Here it remained for about ten minutes until the Stalinists, embarrassed by the militancy of the slogans, realized what had happened and sent goons to order the PDC away from the stage.

# Chile...

*(continued from page 12)*

perhaps even without bloodshed...or so they say.

Chilean workers have already had a taste of this "new people's democracy," only last time it was called "Popular Unity" (UP). Under Allende's UP government they were told to give back nationalized and occupied factories, to give up their arms and trust in the "constitutionalist" officers. Then, too, it was supposed to be the "easy" way, the "peaceful" or "Chilean road to socialism." But the road didn't end in socialism; it led instead to the worst bloodbath Latin America has known.

Under the UP, the Chilean Communist Party continuously sought to include the Christian Democrats in the government coalition; now the Stalinists want to include them in the popular front in exile. But these same Christian Democrats actively cooperated with the militarist *gorilas* to topple Allende, and their leader Frei greeted the coup with open arms. If a section of the class enemy agrees to form a popular front it is solely to clamp a lid on revolutionary struggle by the proletariat. Should the workers nonetheless challenge the sacrosanct rights of private property, these "anti-junta democrats" will once again ally themselves with the forces of darkest reaction in order to drown the masses in blood.

As for the MIR, during Allende's regime it was the loyal "left" opposition to the UP, giving "critical support" to the *compañero presidente* as Allende bound the workers hand and foot to the bourgeoisie. Now the MIR seeks to join the popular front in exile, and even to include a wing of the Christian Democrats. This is the Leighton wing, which voted in Congress to declare Allende's government unconstitutional in August 1973 (a major step in legitimizing the coup in advance) but then "kept its hands clean" when the junta began mass executions immediately after taking power. They are only perfumed Freis.

Basing ourselves on the struggle waged by Leon Trotsky against popular frontism during the 1930's, the Spartacist tendency was unique in warning *from the very beginning* that the class-collaborationist Allende regime would lead to a bloody defeat for the workers. We alone refused to give "critical support" to the UP or any of its parties. Tragically, our warnings were proved correct. Now once again we alert the working class that the formation of a "broad anti-fascist front" with sectors of the bourgeoisie, far from hastening the downfall of the hated butcher Pinochet, constitutes a roadblock to the only sure means of smashing the bloody dictatorship once and for all: a working-class revolution.

* * * * *

Ever since the September 11 coup, the Stalinists have tried to put the entire blame on the CIA, which was certainly up to its neck in the plotting. The Stalinsits are only attempting to hide their own criminal responsibility for the debacle. To admit the role played by the military officer caste and the bourgeois parties, to whom the Communists and Socialists repeatedly capitulated, would confirm the Trotskyist charge that the reformists' policies conciliated murderous counterrevolution. That is why they chant "*Chile* si, junta no" every time we raise the class-struggle slogan, "Obreros [workers] sí, junta no."

That is also why reformists of all stripes insist on repeating the profoundly false chant, "The people united will never be defeated." It was above all in Chile, where the "united people" (i.e., the workers subordinated to the bosses) meant not simply a defeat but the smashing of the organized workers movement. And it is because the Stalinists and other centrists and reformists cannot defend their own treacherous role in the acid test of Chile that they try to escape revolutionary criticism by physically excluding Trotskyists from Chile demonstrations.

* * * * *

As we stated in the "Declaration of Fraternal Relations" between the international Spartacist tendency and the Organización Trotskista Revolucionaria of Chile (in *WV* No. 111, 28 May 1976), "The events of 1970 to 1973 in Chile posed, and continue to pose, a fundamental test of the revolutionary capacity of all who claim to speak in the historic interests of the working class." The question of the popular front—what Trotsky termed "*the main question of proletarian class strategy* for this epoch"—did not simply go up in smoke as the Moneda was burning in Santiago. It is ever-present today, in Portugal, in Italy, in France *and Chile*, where the Stalinist and social-democratic misleaders seek to repeat the tragic experience of 1970-73.

Sugar-coated lies about a mythical "peaceful road" or a painless stage of "new people's democracy" are not true solidarity with Chilean workers. The real demonstration of proletarian internationalism is to tell the truth to the working class, however painful. And the truth is that only along the road of permanent revolution, through the establishment of working-class rule supported by the peasantry, can the exploited and oppressed sweep away, once and for all, the Pinochets and their henchmen. ■

*Partisan Defense Committee Forum*
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A discussion of the class-struggle, anti-sectarian defense policies of the Partisan Defense Committee upon which the campaign to save Mario Munoz was based

*Speaker:*
REUBEN SHIFFMAN
PDC Co-Chairman

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# Ireland...

*(continued from page 5)*

evidently many residents of the Catholic neighborhood) directed their wrath solely at the IRA. A few days later, 12-year-old Majella O'Hare was shot down in Ballmoer. A British spokesman initially claimed that the girl was killed in an army-Provo crossfire, although the RUC subsequently reported that she had been killed with an army bullet.

In this context, Betty Williams, a witness to the death of the Maguire children, began circulating a petition in Andersonstown, an IRA stronghold on the outskirts of Belfast, calling for an end to the violence. She was soonced joined by Mairead Corrigan, an aunt of the slain children, and by the end of a week a demonstration of 10,000, mostly Catholic women, marched through the Upper Falls district demanding "peace." They were joined by a few score Protestant women from the traditionally bitterly hostile Shankill district.

The Women's Peace Movement continued to mushroom, bringing out 25,000 in Belfast on August 28 while 50,000 marched in sympathy in Dublin on the same day. (Last Saturday the campaign drew 12,000 to the Craigavon Bridge separating Protestant and Catholic neighborhoods in Derry.) This time in Belfast the marchers went up the Shankill Road and reportedly received a friendly reception from Protestant bystanders, with "particular applause for women from Andersonstown and other Catholic districts" (*Irish Times* [Dublin], 30 August). The account continued:

> "For the first time in many years, onlookers were treated to the spectacle of priests and quite a large contingent of nuns walking along the Shankill a practice not normally regarded as the wisest for Catholic religious.
> "'When were you last on the Shankill Road, sister?' a nun was asked. 'I've never ever been here before in my life,' she replied."

Secretary of State Rees hailed the "peace" marches as "one of the most significant things of the last few weeks" and the press generally played it up as a new dawn of brotherly love. The marchers had no common political program, however, and the only highlights of the demonstrations were the singing of traditional ballads ("When Irish Eyes Are Smiling") and non-denominational religious songs ("Amazing Grace") and the reading of the "Declaration of the Peace People."

The "peace people" rejected "the use of the bomb and the bullet and techniques of violence" for everybody (and not just the IRA, they now emphasized). Everybody, that is, but the Ulster police and British army. The two organizers issued a statement (*Irish Press* [London], 26 August) which graphically revealed the incapacity of such political naiveté to provide answers on the decisive questions and sources of conflict in Ulster.

> "There are also those on both sides who want to drag us into condemning or supporting the security forces. . We have begun to realise that a minefield surrounds these questions, how differently different people want us to answer them. We have been overwhelmed by the amount of work for peace that is necessary. We are now saying that we are not going to get into any of these political security questions."

Meanwhile, if Williams and Corrigan refused to take a position, a prominent peace movement supporter, Rev. Eric Gallagher of Belfast, told the World Methodist Conference (which sent a contingent to the Dublin demonstration), "I know that in England there is a movement to bring the British out overnight, to opt out would be a callous act of irresponsibility" (*Irish Times*, 30 August). Moreover, press accounts of the Belfast march describe a heavy troop deployment along the route, amounting to official endorsement and encouragement of the "peace" movement.

## The Officials and Unions

Thus despite its organizers' desire to stay out of politics, the anti-violence marches objectively became anti-Provo demonstrations at least benevolently neutral toward the British army and police. This led the Provisionals to denounce Betty Williams as a "tout" (collaborator) and to announce defiantly, "The war will go on. We will not be deterred by the hysterics of the peace-at-any-price brigade" (an IRA officer quoted in the *New York Times*, 22 August).

The IRA Officials, on the other hand, endorsed the "peace" movement, although one of their leaders, Tomas MacGiolla, warned that "if middle class do-gooders remain in the leadership they will kill it with endless prayer meetings.. " The Officials – along with the Communist Party of Ireland (CPI), the left wing of the Irish Labour Party and the leadership of the Northern Committee of the Irish Congress of Trade Unions (ICTU) – claim to oppose sectarianism (as do the Provos), but they hope to douse it with nothing but trade-union economism.

The vehicle for this is the "Better Life for All Campaign" started by the Northern Committee of the ICTU after the Armagh killings last January. The political program of this campaign was summed up by Officials leader Des O'Hagan: "From the British Government we demand immediate action on the crucial issues of democratic rights, jobs, houses and an end to sectarianism." How the British state could deliver "an end to sectarianism" was not explained.

For the unemployment and poverty that fuel the communal hatreds in Northern Ireland, the Officials and their co-thinkers offer nothing more than a moldy social-democratic program of a progressively larger "public sector" administered by the existing bourgeois state apparatus:

> "We therefore call for the establishment of an Irish Economic Development Board composed of representatives of the commercial and development ministries, North and South, representatives from the State sector industries and from the ICTU, charged with the development of Ireland's natural resources through a planned comprehensive expansion of State sector enterprise...."
>
> *United Irishman*, July 1976

But the capitalist state, particularly in the period of imperialist decay, is *incapable* of guaranteeing full employment and economic prosperity for working people. Already there is a considerable development of state-owned industry and welfare schemes in Northern Ireland, affording both Catholics and Protestants in the province an appreciably higher standard of living than in the Republic. But nonetheless, unemployment in the North still stands at over 11 percent, and thus the competition for jobs will inevitably exacerbate sectarian conflicts. Only in a workers republic which has expropriated the bourgeoisie can a truly planned economy be established; consequently, only under workers rule can the material conditions be created for a democratic solution to the communal conflict in Ulster.

## British "Trotskyists" Face Ulster

Within the ostensibly Trotskyist movement the polar positions on the Ulster question – and much else – are represented by the incredibly philistine, Kautskyan Militant group around Ted Grant and the petty-bourgeois radicals of the International Marxist Group (IMG, British section of Ernest Mandel's "United Secretariat").

The position of the Militant group can be described as social-democratic Unionism, agitating for unity between Protestant and Catholic workers on the most minimal economist issues. The Grantites *oppose* the withdrawal of British troops until an anti-sectarian workers militia can be established to suppress the Orange and Green terrorists. Unlike the Grant group, we are unconditionally for withdrawal of British troops from Northern Ireland. But we recognize that in the absence of anti-sectarian workers militias, withdrawal will simply lead to further communal violence. This is a reality that the "Troops Out" movement denies.

In contrast, the IMG pushes the nationalism of the oppressed, seeking to give it a more popular character and left rhetorical cover. The IMG's *Red Weekly* (19 August) offers the following friendly advice to the Provos:

> "If more women and men are not to be captured by hypocritical peace groups then the Republican movement and the anti-imperialist organizations must begin to outline a strategy for victory based on mass participation of the *nationalist working class* [our emphasis] and abandon the strategy that relies on a small 'army' of the people which is forever prone to isolation from the people."

For these Pablo/ist enthusiasts of "progressive" communal warfare, from Lebanon to Ulster, the Protestant section of the working class is at best irrelevant. What counts for the IMG is broadening the base for a petty-bourgeois nationalist movement which considers the bulk of the Ulster proletariat as mere lackeys of British imperialism and, hence, perfectly suitable targets for mass slaughter.

The internecine sectarian/communal strife in Northern Ireland cannot be equitably resolved through forcible reunification with the capitalist/landlord/church-ruled Republic, as the IRA and its IMG camp followers propose, nor through simple economism, however militant. Only in the course of a revolutionary upsurge attacking the very foundations of capitalist rule can unity between the Catholic and Protestant working people be forged, and for that the key is leadership of a Trotskyist vanguard party. ■


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# Bradley...

*(continued from page 2)*

seven or eight different grievances on harassment. But I have never been informed of the outcome of these grievances or what stage they're in or anything.

The MSC has put out a petition that has been circulating in the plant and already has more than 500 signatures on it. We are trying to demonstrate that the workers in the plant support me and want the union to take action to stop this victimization. We've also gone to the Labor Board where we filed a charge against the company for harassment.

We want the union to force the company to drop all the harassment against all the militants in the plant, to drop all the discipline charges on my record and pay me for the back time that I lost during this period. And also give me back my job that I had for five and a half years. Otherwise, management can throw anyone they feel like off their jobs so they can speed up even more. This is important to all the workers in the plant.

**WV: What kind of response have you received?**

*Bradley*: I think I'm receiving a tremendous hell of a lot of support for an active oppositionist in the UAW, in a group that calls for a workers party and a workers government. As I said before, we got 500 names on a petition, and the campaign has just really gotten started for this kind of support. People say, "I might not agree with Richie politically, but I think he has a right to his job and the company should stop harassing him." ■

# Cleveland Schools...

*(continued from page 4)*

tion of the schools.

But the servile, pro-capitalist union misleaders have done virtually nothing! The AFL-CIO has locally issued a reprint of the Federation's tepid support for busing and in April held a seminar for union members. The UAW and Teamsters have done nothing. A militant, organized mobilization of unionists and blacks could sweep the racists off the streets. But the union bureaucracy has no intention of assembling such a force. Knowing that such a mobilization of the rank and file could also sweep them from power, the bureaucracy has no alternative but to bury their heads in the sand with the liberals.

No class-struggle leadership can be expected from various self-proclaimed socialist organizations as well. The SWP and YAWF will be early competitors in tailing after the NAACP, while the Communist Party, less visible but stronger in the unions, will have barely distinguishable politics. At the first sign of violent confrontation they will be quick to call for more police protection and federal troops as the situation escalates. But given the events of 1966 and 1968, demands for police protection and federal troops will not be easy to sell to Cleveland's blacks.

The dangers of a white racist mobilization in Cleveland cannot be overestimated. Cleveland's sharply segregated housing patterns have preserved the West Side as one of the largest and oldest solidly white working-class areas in the country. It is among this largely Catholic "blue-collar" population, inside the city limits and in suburbs like Parma, that Gerald Ford pins his electoral hopes, calculating that a more virulently anti-busing stand will be a top vote-getter. Judging by the past activities of the "Revolutionary Communist Party" in Boston and Louisville, it is by catering to the very same reactionary, racist attitudes that these Jim Crow Maoists will seek to "unite the people" *against busing!*

Because of the do-nothing policies of that section of the union bureaucracy which is not actively anti-busing, the racists may have a field day whipping up anti-black hysteria among Cleveland's white workers, as well as in their usual suburban stomping grounds. Alone among left organizations, the Spartacist League has called on the labor movement to undertake an offensive to back busing and mount an integrated working-class defense of black school children. Without such an offensive, Cleveland could become another Boston, Louisville or even worse. ■

# Steelworkers ...

*(continued from page 7)*

battle that occurred in the Mine Workers over three years ago. At that time the Spartacist League stood virtually alone on the left in refusing to support Miller. We warned against the treachery of the left in building up the credentials of "union democracy" reformers like Miller:

> "As the Spartacist League has repeatedly pointed out in our propaganda, the existing labor bureaucracy is now deeply unstable and can be shattered. Profoundly ossified and corrupt, socially isolated, especially from the younger and minority-group workers, its rigid Cold War variant of anti-communism an impediment to the flexibility of the liberal imperialist bourgeoisie, the Meanyite bureaucracy is losing its grip on the allegiance of the working class. If the workers are mobilized to replace these traitors only with a slicker version of same—armed with the social-democratic rhetoric used to such advantage by their European counterparts and not tarnished by the particular betrayals of their predecessors—rather than with a communist leadership, then an opportunity will have been lost which will not quickly recur."
>
> —"Trade Union Tactics and the Transitional Program," *WV* No. 21, 25 May 1973

During the Miller campaign the ex-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP)—while it supported Miller—was still essentially enmeshed in the petty-bourgeois milieu and had little but disdain for trade-union work. Today, however, it can no longer sneer at the unions as a central arena for the intervention of leftists.

In his report to the January plenum of the SWP National Committee on the "new turn" of the party, national secretary Jack Barnes devoted considerable time to underscoring the significance of the Sadlowski campaign to the SWP. Barnes says: "The most important thing about the Sadlowski campaign is not what happens in the USW itself, important as that is. This can be the beginning of a reform movement to democratize the American labor movement." Even Barnes admits that there is nothing leftist about Sadlowski's operation.

Sadlowski, no more than Miller—who defies his own membership and breaks their strikes—will not institute workers democracy in the unions. However, he does represent a break from the almost monolithic, hidebound conservative labor bureaucracy in the direction of a slicker form of reformism.

The SWP is clearly pinning its hopes for intervention in the labor movement on the emergence of such an accessible layer of "progressive" bureaucrats to whom they can indenture themselves. The *Militant* has given the Sadlowski campaign extensive coverage and the SWP's supporters in the unions have eagerly begun to involve themselves with Sadlowski's Steelworkers Fightback Committee.

At the USWA convention the SWP sold a pamphlet by Andy Rose entitled "The Fight for Union Democracy in Steel." Rose's pamphlet is notable for its thorough dishonesty.

Rose correctly points out that CIO leaders only took up the struggle to build industrial unions under the pressure of mass struggles waged by workers under the leadership of socialists, such as the 1934 strikes in Toledo, Minneapolis and San Francisco. He also shows how the CIO leaders systematically attempted to quash the militancy of the ranks; how their alliance with Roosevelt led to major betrayals such as in the Little Steel strike in 1937; how the labor leadership supported the imperialist World War II, leading to endorsement of the no-strike pledge and suppression of the class struggle at home; and finally, how CIO leaders anxious to preserve their alliance with the Jim Crow Democratic Party betrayed black workers. The central lesson, we are told, is the following: "The slogans Trotsky raised then are still the key: for the *complete independence of the unions from the capitalist state*, and for *trade-union democracy*" (emphasis in original).

However, in the midst of this generally accurate recitation approving references to Sadlowski are thrown in. Sadlowski, it seems, opposes racism ("You can't be a union man and a racist," says Sadlowski). Of course, George Wallace and I.W. Abel also *say* they are not racists. Sadlowski is credited with opposing the Vietnam war (belatedly of course, after it had become unpopular). Sadlowski apparently looks forward to the future when the labor movement will form its own party (for *now*, however, he continues to support liberal Democrats like Fred Harris and Bill Singer in Chicago). Finally, we are told that Sadlowski opposes no-strike deals. Rose advises us that "...Sadlowski's campaign for union democracy is important for the entire trade union movement. It is a fight that deserves support from all unionists who want to see—in Sadlowski's words—a 'tough, democratic labor movement.'"

The clear implication is that Sadlowski is in the tradition of revolutionary opposition (once symbolized by the SWP) to the policies of AFL-CIO bureaucrats (like Meany, John L. Lewis and Philip Murray) and their apologists in the Stalinist Communist Party. This conclusion would undoubtedly surprise Sadlowski himself, who has not the slightest pretense of counterposing himself to Lewis, Murray and Reuther. In fact, Sadlowski would undoubtedly feel flattered if he were compared to any of these individuals.

Needless to say, Sadlowski's campaign utterances in the USWA contain not a word about a labor party, opposing imperialist war or fighting racism through demands for plantwide seniority or a union hiring hall. Sadlowski has not even supported minimal reforms like busing to implement school integration.

But above all, what about *independence of the unions from the capitalist state*, which Trotsky deemed *essential*? How, comrades of the SWP, do you square this with Sadlowski's central strategy of *demanding that the Labor Department intervene in the USWA* to guarantee fair elections? How do you explain the following statement made by Sadlowski at one of his caucus meetings at the convention: "Nothing can be run fairly till it's taken out of the hands of the union altogether and put in the hands of an independent agency" (i.e., the bosses' government).

The aspiring power brokers of the SWP have undertaken their "turn" toward the unions recognizing that the Meanyite bureaucracy's stranglehold over the labor movement is brittle. If the Sadlowski "movement" is, as Jack Barnes described it, typical of "what is coming in a regenerated union movement," the SWP reformists want a piece of the action.

The bureaucratic jockeying in the Steelworkers union sits atop the seething suppressed discontent and frustration among the ranks of labor, ignored and abused by a leadership which has adamantly refused to make even the most minimal show of resistance to the capitalists' assaults on the workers' living standards. The question is not whether there will be challenges to the Meanys, Abels and Gleasons, but whether the wrenching faction fights which will threaten their death grip will unleash the power of the union movement as a weapon in the class struggle or will merely drain off the militancy of the ranks in building a refurbished instrument of bureaucratic betrayal.

The reformists who ask the workers to unseat the entrenched bureaucracy only to settle for the small change of empty promises about "democratization" want only to cripple the workers in their struggle. Gutless office-seekers like Sadlowski have nothing to offer but cheap talk and dead ends. The labor movement must break from the policies of prostration before the bosses, their parties and their state and fight for a new leadership forged on a program of class struggle. ■

# LA. Transit...

*(continued from page 4)*

who also sits on the board of the RTD. This disorganized and spontaneous demonstration was quickly put under control, however, with the appearance of a UTU representative who pleaded with the militants as "citizen operators" and "taxpayers who support RTD" to "extend Baxter Ward the fullest courtesy."

However, when Ward suggested that the drivers' checks be transferred to another firm to be processed *with the union financing two-thirds of the cost* he was heavily booed. As Ward went on to tell the angry drivers that they would not receive their checks till the following Friday, he nearly brought the roof down.

The hat-in-hand union representative, puffing up his chest, stepped in at this point to threaten a demonstration in Sacramento if the checks weren't ready by 6 p.m. that evening. Talk of the demonstration stopped when in a behind-the-scenes deal it was agreed to issue the paychecks the following Monday and Tuesday. But on Monday the strikers received another slap in the face when RTD management only produced partial paychecks—the rest to come later!

Throughout the strike the business-as-usual attitude of the UTU union tops has left the ranks unprepared to wage a militant strike. News of the negotiations was partially blacked out to the membership as the strike deadline approached. And because the ranks were not mobilized from the start, the original strike lines were small and dispirited. A UTU demonstration called for tomorrow is not being well-publicized, and its starting time of 7 a.m. will no doubt keep many supporters and sympathizers from attending.

As San Francisco craft workers experienced last spring, despite their leadership's initial bluster, as soon as it was realized how dead-set the supervisors were on breaking their strike, the bureaucrats collapsed into total chaos, unable to put together even minimal displays of militancy. When facing their ex-"allies," Mayor Moscone and other "friends of labor" Democrats, across the barricades, they feared above all an open confrontation. What was called for were mass mobilizations at the picket lines, appeals for support from all city labor, intransigence in the face of court injunctions and the election of a strike steering committee to give control to the membership. However, this was not done and the S.F. craft workers strike went down to abysmal defeat.

Militants in Los Angeles transit unions must learn the lessons of the San Francisco conflict, above all the necessity to forge a new class-struggle union leadership which can prepare the ranks politically for a successful strike. Strike committees must be elected. There must be a mobilization of the entire Los Angeles labor movement for solidarity in the face of the RTD board's union-busting attacks. The sorry experience of L.A. strikers with the Bradleys and Browns, just like that of S.F. craft workers with Moscone, shows the struggle cannot be limited to "bread-and-butter" issues. The pro-capitalist bureaucrats must be ousted and the unions must break with the bosses' Democratic Party and forge an independent workers party. ■

# Phone Worker Fired...

*(continued from page 3)*

which workers are fired for being sick, labor discipline is ensured through an endless revolving door of hiring and firing. Such methods have been in no small part responsible for the company's success in keeping operators among the lowest-paid phone workers.

MAC, an opposition group with a five-year history in the CWA, is fighting to make the CWA a class-struggle union. MAC's program includes demands for *union* programs to fight racial and sexual discrimination in the company, for 30 hours work at 40 hours pay to provide jobs for all, for free 24-hour child care, access for all to all job categories on a first-come, first-serve basis, and equalization of wage differentials between craft and traffic. Ma Bell's arbitrary punitive rampages must be stopped! Management oil the shop floor—finks out of the union!

Throughout the current harassments, MAC has insisted that shop-floor solidarity is not enough; the union must take any and all necessary action including a strike to rehire the fired workers, and stop the firings and downgrades. Such action must take place in the context of preparing for a militant contract strike to prevent further job losses. ■

# Fremont...

*(continued from page 3)*

with Resistance, a newer reformist opposition, on the basis of empty "unite and fight" rhetoric. This dead-end "unity" was exposed when the new coalition expelled the CMUAW from a public meeting because of the CMUAW's attempt to raise a militant program. The CMUAW correctly opposes the on-going "women's lawsuit" supported by Standup—an anti-union scheme to prevent layoffs of low-seniority women by bringing in the capitalist courts to rewrite the contract. While defending the minimal union job protection afforded by the seniority system, the CMUAW calls for strikes against layoffs and a shorter workweek at no loss in pay coupled with more hiring to fight the company's layoff schemes. The CMUAW also proposes to mobilize working-class strength by demanding the unlimited right to strike and union control of line speed and working conditions.

A third reformist opposition, "On the Line," politically supported by the Maoist Revolutionary Communist Party, has isolated itself with idiotic gimmickry as a substitute for program—such as a recent button and T-shirt sales campaign with meaningless slogans like "Contract '76—A Time to Fight." Not surprisingly, present supporters of On the Line also helped to elect the Brotherhood in 1973, and On the Line has failed even to call for an industry-wide strike as opposed to the impotent one-at-a-time strategy of Woodcock. At the August 22 Local meeting the CMUAW motion which called for a union-wide strike was supported by Standup, which had never before supported this demand, and Resistance. However, all three of these reformist groups fail to raise a program to oust the class-collaborationist bureaucracy, which is the most immediate obstacle to real struggle. As the CMUAW correctly notes: "Any fight against the employers or their state must first confront the job of ousting the bureaucrats with their program of class collaboration" ("UAW Militant," 10 August). ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

## No More Popular Fronts!

# The Chilean Proletariat Will Rise Again!

## For Workers Revolution to Smash the Junta!

Gamma

*"The sceptics and the prophets of doom ... have emphatically stated that the Armed Forces and Corps of Carabineros ... would not consent to guarantee the will of the people if these should decide on the establishment of socialism in our country...*

*"The Chilean Armed Forces and the Carabineros, faithful to their duty and to their tradition of non-intervention in the political process, will support a social organization which corresponds to the will of the people. . ."*

—*S. Allende, "First Message to Congress," December 1970*

*"It is the most elementary duty for revolutionary Marxists to irreconcilably oppose the Popular Front in the election and to place absolutely no confidence in it in power. Any 'critical support' to the Allende coalition is class treason, paving the way for a bloody defeat for the Chilean working people when domestic reaction, abetted by international imperialism, is ready."*

—*"Chilean Popular Front,"* Spartacist, *November-December 1970*

On the third anniversary of the September 11 coup in Santiago, militant workers and radical youth throughout the world proclaim their solidarity with the beleaguered Chilean proletariat. We renew our determination to smash the bloodsoaked Pinochet junta which massacred more than 30,000 of our class brothers and sisters. The international working class will not forget this monstrous crime. We will avenge our martyred comrades by destroying the brutal capitalist system which cut them down.

To demonstrate solidarity with Chilean workers, the first task faced by every class-conscious militant is to understand *how* the fight against the junta must be waged. Is it by forming the "broadest possible anti-fascist popular front" as the Communist Party and its various Chile committees say? The ignominious collapse of the Allende popular front painted in strokes of blood the crucial lesson that the working class must reject the class-collaborationist policies which allowed the reactionary plotters to prepare their murderous plans for decapitating the proletariat.

The Pinochet regime, which never had more than a narrow base of committed social support, is now more isolated than ever. Even sections of the bourgeoisie are disaffected because of the economic collapse of the country, which still shows no sign of recuperating despite many months of Milton Friedman's "shock treatment." The Stalinists say the workers must scale down their demands in order not to scare away this anti-junta bourgeoisie. They call not for proletarian revolution, but rather a first "stage" of "new people's democracy." That way things will be easier, and

*continued on page 9*

WV Photo

**Anti-junta demonstration at NYC's Town Hall last March.**

# WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 125 — 17 September 1976


## Shut Down Auto Throughout U.S. and Canada!

# Spread the Ford Strike!

DETROIT, September 14 –Shouting "No sellout in '76," the first waves of striking auto workers streamed out of Ford's giant River Rouge complex in Dearborn at 11:40 p.m. tonight. Together with 170,000 others around the country they shut down the Ford empire. The task now for militant auto workers is to organize to take the strike forward to victory.

But "victory" means different things to different people. For United Auto Workers (UAW) president Woodcock preserving Ford Motor Company's sacred profits and obtaining a seat in Carter's cabinet are prime considerations in building his career as a "labor statesman." For the UAW ranks there can be no talk of victory without a militant fight against the mass unemployment and speed-up which plague them.

Under the misleadership of Woodcock & Co., the impact of the strike will be kept as minimal as possible. Following the self-defeating "one-at-a-time" strategy inherited from former UAW chief Walter Reuther, the union leaders routinely extended old contracts for General Motors, Chrysler and American Motors workers, covering some 550,000 UAW members in all. And breaking the traditional solidarity between U.S. and Canadian auto workers, Solidarity House is making no plans to bring out the 34,000 workers of Ford plants in Canada.

The business-unionist UAW bureaucracy succeeded in keeping the lid on the anger of the hard-pressed ranks almost up to the last minute. At the Rouge complex a number of foundry workers began to walk out ahead of schedule, but they were kept on the job by union officials. One committeeman told *WV*, "our job is to hold them in." Having allowed key maintenance workers, coke oven operators and other UAW members to cross union picket lines in order to protect Ford property, Woodcock now prepares to betray the strike itself

### Protecting Company Profits

Yesterday, Woodcock announced the union's rejection of Ford's most recent proposal. He described the Ford "reduced work time" proposal as "essentially unresponsive to the putting of new people into the workforce." The company proposal would allow workers with three years seniority an additional *20 hours* off per year...starting in January 1978! This would reach 40 hours only with 25 years of service!

On Saturday the media had hailed a new Ford wage offer. However, what this consisted of was a puny 5 cent/hour increase, to a range of 43 to 82 cents (depending on job classification) spread over three years. SUB payment would also be improved by 13 to 23 cents per hour. Management still stands on its demand to pay $1.00 per hour less than scale to new hires who would reach parity only after a year's service. In addition, there are outstanding differences over new money for retirees, payment of health benefits and tighter restrictions on holiday and vacation pay.

It is no secret that GM, Ford and Chrysler all amassed record or near-record profits during the 1976 model year. It is clear that the UAW is in a strong position in the current contract battle. But despite this, the Woodcock bureaucracy has essentially demanded only a continuation of the existing contract formula: a 3 percent wage increase yearly with a slightly improved cost-of-living allowance (COLA) formula. And although the companies made their profits by laying off workers and assigning massive overtime, Woodcock is not even demanding voluntary overtime after 40 hours, let alone a shorter workweek with no cut in pay. Instead his farcical "short work time" proposals are nothing but a form of absence control: rewarding perfect attendance with a few more paid holidays.

WV Photo

**Workers at Detroit Forge at beginning of 1973 UAW strike.**

This year the UAW ranks lack even the reformist battle cries of past contract struggles, such as "uncap the COLA," "30 and out," "voluntary overtime," etc. And in order to further demoralize the ranks, the bureaucracy has been systematically downplaying the potential of a strike. Workers at the Ford Rouge Local 600 in Dearborn told *WV* that at the Dearborn Assembly Plant unit meeting on September 11, unit president Hank Wilson began his remarks by announcing that no one wants to strike. Apparently it is Wilson who doesn't

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NYT Pictures/Audrey Topping

**Thousands of flash cards portray the "Great Helmsman" in Peking sports stadium.**

# Who Mourns Mao?

SEPTEMBER 13—When the death of China's Mao Tse-tung was announced Thursday, the *New York Times* quoted this glowing tribute to Mao: "a unique man in a generation of great revolutionary leaders." Whose condolences were these? Were they the words of the North Vietnamese government, or perhaps some "Third World" head of state? No, this tribute came from Richard M. Nixon, one of the most reactionary, corrupt, despicable and dangerous imperialist politicians of his generation.

Nixon's praise is typical of the general response of the imperialists to the news of Mao's death. The tone of the bourgeois press obituaries and official condolences reminds one of the utterances which greeted the death of venerable bourgeois warrior-leaders like Churchill and De Gaulle.

Had Mao died five years ago, the imperialist response would have been rather different. The obituaries would have been more coolly critical, the official condolences more formal. Effusive praise for a "great revolutionary leader" would have been limited to the Maoist movement and "Third World" nationalist demagogues.

But in the past five years the atmosphere of relations between Mao's China and imperialist America has shifted radically. As Gerald Ford put it:

> "Americans will remember that it was under Chairman Mao that China moved, together with the United States, to end a generation of hostility and to launch a new and more positive era in relations between our two countries."

Labeling the Soviet degenerated workers state "social-fascist," Mao has brought China into an even more open alliance with American imperialism. Peking has encouraged the most reactionary anti-Soviet militarists among U.S. capitalist politicians. It is reported that among those specially invited to attend Mao's

*continued on page 10*

# Editorial Notes

## Gerald Ford's Economic Wisdom: Too Many Workers Looking for Jobs

Last Friday's announcement by the Labor Department that the nation's unemployment rate has risen for the third consecutive month to 7.9 percent undoubtedly caused the Ford administration to choke on its long-standing prediction that the jobless rate would fall below seven percent by the end of the year. Democratic presidential contender Carter announced that the report demonstrated a lack of White House leadership in fighting unemployment. However, Carter has recently emphasized that his proposed anti-unemployment programs would be delayed if necessary to balance the budget and curb inflation!

Ford's chief economic adviser Alan Greenspan, known among his colleagues as "one of the finest 18th century minds" and "the man who put the 'dismal' back into 'the dismal science'," attributed the recent increases to an "extremely abnormal growth in the number of people seeking work." Obvious solution: the unemployed should stop looking for work!

According to the *New York Times* (3 September), Greenspan singled out as specially culpable "an increase of more than one million so far this year in the number of women of child-bearing age in the work force." Apparently the economist preferred that they should bear children and stay out of the job market. Greenspan had no explanation for why so many women 25 to 44 years old were looking for work, but nevertheless "he rejected the suggestion that their decisions reflected simply a greater inability of the American household to cope with inflation."

Perhaps such considerations are insignificant to this highly paid government flunkey, who left a swank United Nations Plaza apartment and the management of a consulting firm to take up his present position, but most people do not have the luxury of deciding whether to work or not.

Greenspan's outrageous remarks in the face of rising unemployment constitute a shameless attempt to get the Ford administration off the hook and shift the burden of responsibility for the worsening economic situation from the capitalist system to the victimized workers.

Moreover, the government's unemployment index systematically underreports the real level of unemployment. The Bureau of Labor Statistics earlier this year released statistics for several additional measures of unemployment. These showed that "nearly one million 'discouraged workers'" have dropped out of the labor market since 1973. These are people "who want work but are not looking for jobs because they believe they cannot find any." They are not included in the official government unemployment index.

According to the AFL-CIO, the present rate is actually 10.5 percent if the calculation includes those who are too discouraged to seek work and those forced to work only part-time.

Not only Greenspan, a devotee of Ayn Rand and extreme laissez-faire economics, but many liberal bourgeois economists call for redefining "full employment" as four or even five percent unemployment. They know that capitalism must maintain what Marx called an "industrial reserve army" of unemployed so that competition for jobs can keep wages down. This is, in fact, the only "solution" which capitalism has to offer. We communists have a different solution—one that will come as a very unpleasant surprise for Mr. Alan Greenspan.

## I.S. on Korea: "Third Camp" Social-Pacifism

The bloody clash last month at Panmunjom between North Korean border guards and U.S. imperialist "peace-keeping" occupation forces provoked images of the 1950-53 Korean War and called forth a post-Vietnam "not again" reaction from many bourgeois liberals.

Always sensitive to the shifting moods of the left-liberal political milieu, *Workers' Power*, the phony "mass press" of the social-democratic International Socialists (I.S.), resorted to the most shameless pacifism as a cover for its refusal to draw the *class line* in Korea. In its article entitled "The Deadly Game in Korea" (*Workers' Power*, 30 August 1976), the I.S. bemoans the Panmunjom border clash and the many other "incidents" as "games of 'chicken'" played by U.S. imperialism and so-called "Stalinist imperialism":

> "This time, there were some soldiers killed. It will happen again...Those in the so-called 'demilitarized zone' know they are dead ducks if the shooting war explodes again.... They [the Korean people] were slaughtered by the millions [during the Korean War of 1950-53]...."

Here the I.S. rivals the liberal pacifism of the People's Party of Dr. Spock or the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation, wringing its hands in horror over the fate of the soldiers (U.S. imperialist troops included) "if the shooting war explodes again." With this claptrap the I.S. seeks to obscure the class issues posed in any Korean conflict, "forgetting" even to call for a social revolution in South Korea!

While the I.S. does demand the withdrawal of U.S. forces from South Korea, these inveterate social democrats fail to indicate on *which side* they stand in the clashes which threaten "a shooting war." As a political tendency the I.S. is characterized by its refusal to defend the bureaucratically deformed/degenerated workers states from imperialist attack, rationalizing this objective capitulation to U.S. imperialism with its "theory" of "Stalinist imperialism." Thus, at the time of the Korean War, the "Third Camp" tendency led by Max Shachtman (which later spawned the I.S.) called for the defeat of both sides, but nevertheless asserted that Stalinism was *more reactionary* than "democratic" U.S. imperialism. Declared the Shachtmanites:

> "The so-called Northern government is not a government of the Korean people and in no way represents its interests...The victory of its arms would mean nothing but the extension of the slave power of Stalinism over the whole territory of Korea, and therefore a disastrous blow to the people of Korea and the cause of democracy and socialism everywhere."
>
> *New International*, July-August 1950

Adapting to the present climate of "détente" the I.S. "puts popularity in command" and often tones down its "Third Camp" Stalinophobia in order to tail "Third World" nationalists in vogue. (Aping the cheerleaders of the MPLA the I.S. "forgot" to condemn the "imperialist invasion" of Angola by the "imperialist" USSR and Cuba.)

Unlike the I.S., revolutionary Marxists unconditionally defend the revolutionary gains represented by the collectivized property relations in North Korea (and the other degenerated/deformed workers states), while calling for a social revolution in South Korea and a political revolution in North Korea to smash the Stalinist bureaucracy and establish soviet democracy. While today indulging in blubbering pacifism, the I.S. upholds a political line which has already taken one generation of "Third Camp socialists" into the bosom of State Department socialism as drummer boys for Wall Street.

## Defend WL Against L.A. Cop Harassment!

Late last month a southern California court announced that seven supporters of the Young Socialists (YS), youth group of the Healyite Workers League, will stand trial October 13 for "dancing without a permit" at a Workers League office in Huntington Park, California. The outrageous charge was made following a police raid on a July 10 YS social attended by 11 persons. Five youths were arrested and all 11 given citations carrying $50 fines. (Charges against four of the youth who were under 18 years of age have already been thrown out of court.)

At 9:30 p.m., before the dance had even begun, two policemen entered the office without a warrant, scanned the literature on display, harassed the occupants and left.

Thirty minutes after their departure, three club-wielding policemen entered the office, again without a warrant, one of whom demanded to see a license for the office and threatened to shut down the premises on the spot if one were not produced at once. After being shown a license, he demanded to know whether the YS had a permit to hold a dance. When asked if it were illegal to hold a dance, he and the other two left, but not without muttering that any of those present living in Huntington Park could expect a police visit at their homes.

Shortly afterward, three squad cars arrived on the scene, with a fourth stationed down the street. The same three cops barged through the door, knocking over one person and threatening another with a felony charge and a $1,000 fine for touching a policeman.

Everyone was ordered to move up against a table, and five of those present were handcuffed and taken to the police station. The cops refused to show anyone a copy of the law under which the citations were issued and failed to inform the five who were arrested of their rights. One woman was struck on the side of the head, and one officer was overheard to ask his sergeant: "Can I choke this black bitch?"

This outrageous attack on an office of the Workers League must be understood as an attack upon the entire working-class movement. The Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League and Partisan Defense Committee protest this cop harassment and demand that all charges against those attending the YS dance be dropped immediately!

The Workers League has requested that letters, telegrams and messages of protest regarding this incident be sent to:

Mayor Herb A. Hennes, Jr.
6550 Miles Avenue
Huntington Park, CA 90255

## Marcyites Call for "Peaceful Reunification"...of the "Global Class War!"

The Workers World Party (WWP) and its more substantial youth auxiliary, Youth Against War and Fascism (YAWF), have long trumpeted the North Korean Stalinist bureaucracy as the most intransigent and militant fighter in the so-called "global class war" against U.S. imperialism. But last month, when the confrontation between North Korea and the U.S. occupation forces propping up the Pak Jung Hi (Park) regime in Seoul reached another flash point at Panmunjom, WWP/YAWF suddenly forgot the "global class war" along the 38th parallel and parroted its Stalinist mentors' prattle about "peaceful reunification" of Korea!

In his article on the Panmunjom skirmish (*Workers World*, 27 August) WWP/YAWF leader Sam Marcy begs the U.S. imperialists to abide by the spirit of the Declaration of Independence and recognize the democratic will of the world community on Korea:

> "Little has been said in the US about the Colombo conference of non-aligned nations. All 86 voted to demand the withdrawal of US troops from Korea. Eighty-six! Together with the Soviet Union and China, that's the bulk of humanity.
>
> "Here in this Bicentennial year no document has been quoted more frequently than the Declaration of Independence, which calls for a 'decent respect for the opinions of mankind.' Well, here we have the overwhelming majority of the human race demanding the withdrawal of the US military from Korea."

Tailing the North Korean bureaucracy the WWP/YAWF is reduced to "demanding" that the U.S. imperialists, who dropped the atom bomb on Japan and carpet-bombed Vietnam, observe a "democratic" foreign policy in line with the views of Thomas Jefferson!

Ever since its inception as a political tendency the Marcyites have used the "global class war" dogma to justify capitulation to the Stalinist bureaucracies and assorted "progressive" nationalist formations in the "Third World," arguing that these forces have been pitted against the imperialist camp since the Korean War in an inexorable and epochal struggle. However, the Stalinist bureaucracies, from Russia to China to North Korea, are not committed to "global class war" but rather to global *class collaboration*—"peaceful coexistence" and "détente." Thus, the USSR and China both advocate "peaceful reunification" of Korea to appease the U.S. imperialists, while each seeks to bloc with the imperialists against the other.

The "global class war" thesis was first formulated by Marcy during the Korean War of 1950-53 as an impressionistic reaction to the Cold War policy of "containment" of the then seemingly monolithic Sino-Soviet states. Marcyism represented a pro-Stalinist tendency, most despicably revealed by its open support to the Russian suppression of the workers uprising against Stalinism in Hungary in 1956.

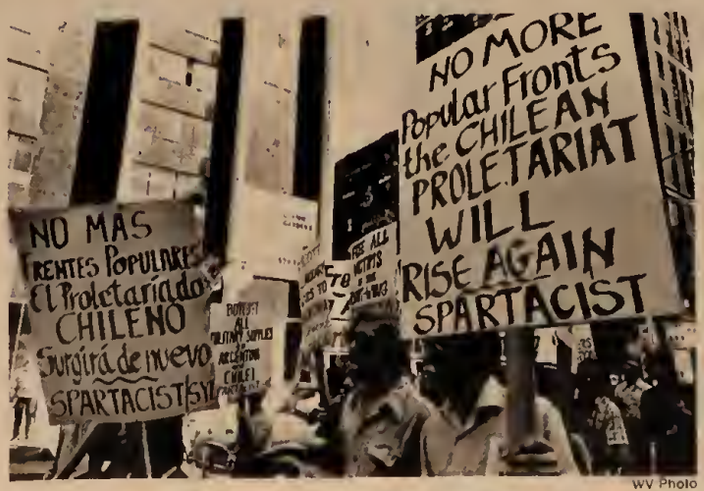
Following in the footsteps of the "iron-willed" Kim Il Sung, the WWP/YAWF can offer nothing more than peaceful reunification...of both sides of the "global class war." As against these Stalinoid cheerleaders, the Spartacist League insists that it is not the counterrevolutionary bureaucracies but only the proletariat led by the Trotskyist party of world socialist revolution that can open the road to the communist future of humanity.

—American troops out! For military defense of the North Korean deformed workers state against U.S. imperialism and its South Korean puppets!

—For revolutionary reunification of Korea through social revolution in the South and political revolution in the North!

# Chile Solidarity Demos in U.S. and Canada

On September 11, the third anniversary of the bloody Pinochet coup in Santiago, demonstrations were held in several cities across the U.S. and Canada expressing solidarity with the ravaged Chilean proletariat. As in the past, these demonstrations were dominated by class-collaborationist Stalinist politics of uncritical support for Allende's Popular Unity (UP) regime. However, despite bureaucratic exclusion and harassment, militant contingents of the Spartacist League/U.S. (SL) and the Trotskyist League of Canada (TL) forcefully put forward Marxist opposition to popular frontism and called for a revolutionary mobilization of the Chilean workers to overthrow the military dictatorship.




WV Photo

September 11 march in New York against the Chilean junta.

### New York

In New York City, the march attracted approximately 600 people. Organized by Non-Intervention in Chile (NICH) and the Comité Chileno Antifascista, it had a strong pro-Allende, pro-MIR line. But due to the absence of the Communist Party (CP) and the CP-led Chile Solidarity Committee, which were pushing a movie that evening instead, the demonstration organizers did not try to prevent the SL from carrying class-struggle slogans. (This contrasted with the charged atmosphere at the July 4 demonstration against the Chilean torture ship Esmeralda, when Stalinist goons provoked a clash and split the demonstration.) But NICH "liberality" did not extend to allowing an SL speaker, even though the four approved speakers droned on for over an hour.

Spartacist slogans chanted by a contingent of more than 60 people included, "Junta no, obreros [workers] sí, overthrow the bourgeoisie!" and "Chilean workers must not forget, popular front made Pinochet!" A banner of the Partisan Defense Committee (PDC) demanded "Free All Class-War Prisoners in Argentina and Chile!" In addition, SL and PDC signs demanded safe conduct from Argentina for several comrades of Mario Muñoz (the Chilean miners' leader who was saved from the butchers of the Argentine junta by an international solidarity campaign). Also highlighted were two leaders of the Argentine PST being held in Videla's jails, while other signs condemned the murder by Venezuelan secret police of socialist leader Jorge Rodríguez (see article this issue).

### Chicago

In Chicago tensions ran high during a march of approximately 70 people through the loop district. When a militant SL contingent started to chant slogans against popular-frontism, the perennial cheerleaders for "Third World" Stalinism, Youth Against War and Fascism (YAWF), tried to drown them out with pro-UP chants. At one point, Bill Massey (a local YAWF spokesman and former leader of the dissolved Internationalist Tendency) became so enraged he tried to attack an SL supporter with a bullhorn!

### Vancouver

On the Canadian West Coast, a demonstration in downtown Vancouver drew about 100 people and a spirited Trotskyist League contingent of a dozen. On the march from the courthouse to Oppenheimer Park, members of the Canada-Chile Support Group at first tried to intimidate and muscle out the comrade leading the TL contingent's chants, then tried to drown them out after the TL aggressively defended its right to participate in the march with its own propaganda. The Revolutionary Marxist Group (RMG) participated in this sectarian behavior and conspicuously refused to chant with the TL, even

*continued on page 11*

# Letter

### Kim Il Sung

4 September 1976

To the Editor:

Your recent article entitled "American Imperialism Rattles Sabre in Korea" (*WV* No. 123, 3 September 1976) exposed the anti-proletarian character of the Stalinist bureaucracy in North Korea, in particular citing the monstrous cult of Kim Il Sung and the complete political disfranchisement of the working masses. Kim & Co. have sought to buttress their oligarchic regime through authoritarian regimentation and leader-cultism, requiring the workers and peasants to attend daily "study sessions" devoted simply to extolling (in the words of a typical Stalinist tract) "the wise leadership of Comrade Kim Il-sung, a great revolutionary leader, a brilliant Marxist-Leninist, an ever-victorious steel-like general, and a kind, paternal leader of the people who devotes himself to the utmost for them."

It also should be noted that the Kim clique has backed up its voluntarist exhortations with unlimited terror and repression aimed at eliminating all opposition to the bureaucracy. During 1956-59, after a decade of trumpeting the "victory of socialism" in North Korea, Kim Il Sung launched a "collective guidance campaign" to suppress all suspected "disloyal elements." Virtually the entire population of North Korea was subjected to police interrogation, and thousands were imprisoned in labor camps after kangaroo-court "trials."

Moreover, the reactionary policies of the Pyongyang regime do not stop at the 38th parallel. During 1965-70, when Washington set its sights on an all-out military victory in Indochina, the Pyongyang bureaucracy was not presented with any opportunity to angle for "détente" with U.S. imperialism and its South Korean puppet. But by 1972, following the U.S.-China rapprochement and on the eve of the Paris "peace" accords on Indochina, the North Korean Stalinists negotiated a "détente" communiqué with South Korea which called for "peaceful reunification of the fatherland as soon as possible." This diplomatic overture legitimized the 40,000 "neutral" U.S. imperialist troops then stationed in South Korea as well as the South Korean troops in Vietnam (equal in number to the U.S. forces there at that time).

Equally criminal has been the "détente" Pyongyang has proferred Japan, which still entertains imperialist ambitions to conquer all of Korea. During the Korean war, the mass organizations of the Koreans in Japan were mobilized by the Japanese Communist Party in struggles against U.S. imperialist aggression and the capitalist-landlord regime in Seoul. But after the Korean War, when Pyongyang began to seek "détente" with Japan, the Korean mass organizations in Japan were instructed by North Korean Stalinists to cease all "subversive" activities and propaganda. Thus, Kim Il Sung tamed one of the most combative sectors of the working-class movement in Japan and set back the struggle against capitalism in the imperialist citadel of Asia.

Likewise, North Korea has pursued "peaceful coexistence" with the Suharto regime in Indonesia, which came to power over the corpses of at least 500,000 Communist workers and peasants in the bloody coup of 1965. In 1972 Pyongyang dispatched an ambassador to Jakarta who hailed "the success of the Indonesian people in consolidating their independence and national economic progress" (quoted in *Far Eastern Economic Review*, 11 March 1972).

Most recently, the North Korean Stalinists demonstrated their willingness to collaborate with imperialism against the interests of the international proletariat by sending at least 100 military advisors to Zaïre last year to replace the Chinese agents training troops of the National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA). At that time, when the civil war in neighboring Angola had already become internationalized, the anti-communist, tribalist FNLA forces were fighting alongside the South African army and Portuguese colons to massacre the Russian-backed/Cuban-led Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola and "every communist in Angola."

The role of the North Korean Stalinists in courting the Indonesian butchers, and in training the henchmen of the Pentagon and Pretoria in Angola, should disabuse "critical Maoists" of illusions in the "revolutionary" and "anti-imperialist" pretensions of the North Korean Stalinist bureaucracy. As *WV* stressed, the revolutionary gains represented by the collectivist property forms of the North Korean deformed workers state can be protected and the road to socialist development opened only through workers political revolution to topple the Stalinist bureaucracy, establish soviet democracy and extend the revolution internationally.

Comradely,
Charles O'Brien

Edward Behr/Newsweek

North Korean military advisors confer with Zaïre president Mobutu last year. The North Korean advisors were training troops of the CIA-backed FNLA.

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*Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint.*

# Meanyite Cold Warrior Moynihan vs. Rad-Lib Scab Abzug

UPI

Bella Abzug

New York Times

Daniel Moynihan

SEPTEMBER 13—With the rest of the Democratic Party reconciled in a love-feast of unity behind Jimmy Carter, the heated New York primary battle between Bella Abzug, representing the "radical-liberal" wing of the party, and Daniel Patrick Moynihan, hero of the cold warriors, represents a rare ideological confrontation within bourgeois politics this year.

"Abzug scabbed during our strike," blasted Albert Shanker, head of the United Federation of Teachers (UFT), at the 2 September meeting of the New York state AFL-CIO. In response, Abzug admitted crossing picket lines in the 1968 New York teachers strike, but disingenuously denied scabbing. According to her, she was simply a parent and only went into the New York High School of Music and Art to see if it was safe for the Parents' Association to resume classes...during the strike!

This was a conscious, deliberate attempt to break the strike! Abzug's backtracking today is simply a reflection of the fact that the "rad-lib" milieu which was backing "community control" and calling for the union's blood in 1968 has today largely dissipated, and now she needs labor support.

Shanker's favorite is Moynihan, touted by the UFT leader as a man who "never crossed a picket line and never will." If so, and we have our doubts, it could only be because Moynihan is so far removed from the labor movement that he has never been near a strike. In any case, it is doubtful that even the AFL-CIO piecards think Moynihan is a "friend of labor." His real appeal to Meany and the Social Democrats U.S.A. (SDUSA) is his blustering cold-war posture as champion of imperialist America against the "slave societies" (Shanker's favorite expression) where capitalism has been overthrown.

### Moynihan: Nixon Advisor Comes Home

While it would be stretching a point to consider Moynihan a liberal, his current claim to the "Kennedy tradition" is well-founded. Kennedy was, after all, the darling of George Meany and an imperialist war monger responsible for (at least) the Bay of Pigs invasion, the Cuban missile crisis and the Vietnam war. But Moynihan found Lyndon Johnson's "War on Poverty" rhetoric too dangerous in raising blacks' expectations. So he took his *Reader's Digest*-brand sociology to the Republicans, authored the racist policy of "benign neglect" of the ghettos and became a loyal Nixon advisor during the McGovernite heyday in the Democratic Party.

Later, as the U.S. representative to the United Nations under President Ford, Moynihan became the hero of such Meanyite stalwarts as Democrat Henry Jackson ("the senator from Boeing") and the SDUSA for his "defense of freedom at the UN." What was meant was Moynihan's petulant defense of racist Zionism and U.S. imperialism against the "irresponsible" "Third World majority." He called those who voted with the U.S. against an Arab-sponsored anti-Zionist resolution "the decent countries," a category including such viciously repressive dictatorships as the Dominican Republic, Haiti and Uruguay! His jingoistic big-stick waving, while a bit too crude for Henry Kissinger's more sophisticated détente policies, is music to the ears of the aging reactionaries at the head of the AFL-CIO.

The bankruptcy of the petty-bourgeois radicalism of the late 1960's, fizzling out in the McGovern presidential campaign fiasco, combined with a continuing political quiescence of the working class, deeply disillusioned with bourgeois politicians of all stripes, has contributed to a general rightward drift in recent years. Moynihan is quite comfortable drifting back into the Democratic Party, since Carter's "ethnic purity" for whites is quite compatible with his own "benign neglect" of blacks.

### Abzug: McGovernite Scab

Abzug's campaign is replete with her usual feminist verbiage ("a stag Senate is stagnation"), and a typical assortment of trendy schemes such as breaking up the oil monopolies and solar energy to save New York City. An ex-director of Women Strike for Peace, Abzug comes out of the Stalinist fellow-traveler milieu and is one of the few McGovernites still at large. "Running behind Mrs. Abzug in my district is like running behind Mao Tse-tung," said Representative Jerome Ambro from wealthy Suffolk County, summing up feelings among Democratic "regulars."

Even "reform" Democrats, Abzug's habitual hailiwick, are not so reform-minded anymore, however, and the "dove" vote of yesteryear has fluttered away so Abzug is on the defensive in 1976. Her demand to cut the military budget while still defending Israel to the hilt (a key to victory in New York Democratic primaries, where approximately 40 percent of the voters are Jewish) has gotten her into hot water both with the professional hawks in the party and erstwhile radicals on its fringes who are sympathetic to Arab nationalism.

Thus the focus this year has been on labor and Abzug's 1968 scabbing has come back to haunt her. But although Shanker assures his membership that Moynihan will never cross a picket line, neither he nor any of the other contenders—including Paul O'Dwyer, Ramsey Clark and Abe Hirschfeld (a wealthy parking garage builder from Israel whose solution to everything is to lay down more concrete)—can offer a solution to the depression conditions facing working people in New York.

In the midst of an acute financial crisis thousands of city and state workers have been laid off while union contracts are ripped up right and left, ghetto conditions are worsening, welfare cutbacks mount and the candidates have no answers. *All* wings of the Democratic Party are part and parcel of the bourgeoisie and therefore must bitterly oppose any move by the working masses in the direction of revolutionary class struggle, which alone can lead to full employment, decent living standards for all and an end to racist oppression. And while the labor bureaucrats throw their support to one or another treacherous "friend of labor" bourgeois politician, they only recreate the clash between radical-liberal strikebreaking and racist Meanyite reaction which divided the working people, minorities and poor against themselves in the explosive 1968 teachers strike.

### Down With the Liberal Union-Busters!

As the Shanker/Abzug imbroglio shows, the issues of the 1968 teachers strike have not disappeared. That strike resulted from a serious effort by the liberal establishment, represented by Mayor John Lindsay and the Ford Foundation, aligned with "black power" community bureaucrats and predominantly student-based New Lefters (plus the Communist Party) to destroy the teachers union. Exploiting petty-bourgeois anti-union attitudes and liberal guilt, the city administration

*continued on page 11*

# Dominican Hunger Strikers Protest Mistreatment of Leftist Prisoners

WV Photo

On Saturday, September 4, 75 persons demonstrated in front of the Dominican Consulate in New York to dramatize the plight of five leftists now being held in isolated border prisons in the Dominican Republic. These men (Plinio Matos Moquete, a leader of the 12 de Enero group, Jorge Puello [El Mén], a leader of one of the wings of the Movimiento Popular Dominicano, Alcides Encarnación, Augusto Alvarez and Castillo Pujols) have been held in solitary confinement, subjected to systematic torture and denied visiting rights.

In a desperate attempt to persuade the Dominican government to return the prisoners to La Victoria prisón in the capital city of Santo Domingo, where they stand a better chance of receiving at least minimal medical attention and personal security, their relatives began a hunger strike on August 16 in front of Santo Domingo's church of Our Lady of Carmen. The hunger strike was supported by over a hundred prisoners in Santo Domingo and by the Comité Pro-Defensa de Derechos Humanos en la República Dominicana in New York City, which last week held a three-day hunger strike in front of the Dominican Consulate in support of the demand to move the prisoners to the capital.

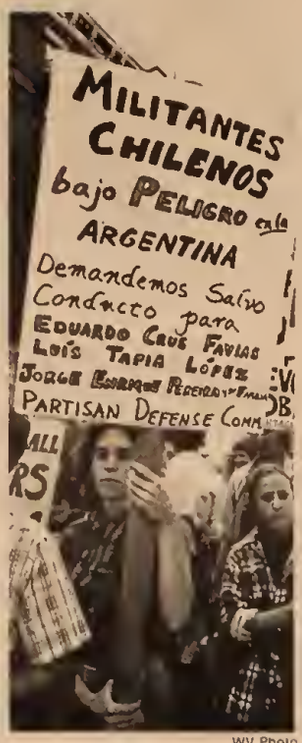
The Spartacist League and the Partisan Defense Committee (PDC) do not limit their call to merely moving these class-war prisoners from one of Balaguer's prisons to another, but rather demand their unconditional and immediate release. Spartacist supporters and a PDC representative participated in the demonstration Saturday, protesting Balaguer terrorism and calling for freedom for all class-war prisoners. The SL's slogan "Abajo Balaguer, Obreros al Poder" ("Down with Balaguer, Workers to Power!") was enthusiastically picked up by other demonstrators.

Telegrams protesting Balaguer's repression and demanding release of these prisoners can be addressed to Joaquin Balaguer, Palacio Nacional, Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic. Protests can also be sent to the New York correspondent of the Santo Domingo daily *Nacional de Ahora*, Mr. Espinal, 1860 Broadway, Rm. 910, New York, New York 10019. Please send copies to P.O. Box 516, Washington Bridge Station, New York, New York 10033.

## Mario Muñoz Safe, But ...

# Chilean Militants Still in Danger

The safe arrival in Europe of persecuted Chilean trade-union leader Mario Muñoz was a beacon of hope for the tens of thousands of left-wing Latin American political refugees still trapped in Argentina, as well as the numerous Argentine working-class militants facing junta terror. The international protest and solidarity which was key to the successful defense of Muñoz is likewise crucial to safeguarding them from the massive police and military repression and proliferating anti-communist death squads.



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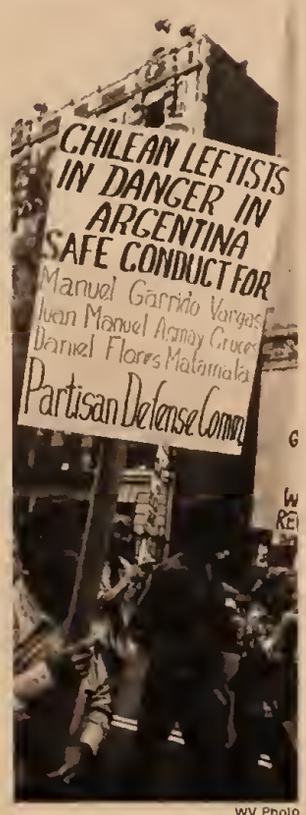


WV Photo

Among those militants whose lives are in peril are several compañeros of Mario Muñoz. Like Muñoz, they were forced to cross the Andes clandestinely and seek refuge in Argentina. Like Muñoz also, they have suffered the repression of both the Pinochet and Videla juntas. Included among these are:

- Jorge Henrrique Pereira, president of the Papelera del Laja industrial union and secretary of a local committee of the Communist Party (CP). Following the 1973 Chilean coup he was held at the naval base in Talcahuano and tortured for eight months. Later he fled to Argentina with his wife and two children, only to be detained on various occasions since the March 23 coup there.
- Manuel Garrido Vargas, technical secretary of the Contract Miners Union of Aconcagua, who was imprisoned by air force intelligence for five months after the 1973 coup.
- Juan Manuel Asmay Cruses, secretary of the CP youth in Concepción and a bodyguard for Fidel Castro during the latter's visit to Chile in 1971. Following the Pinochet coup Asmay was severely tortured (both shoulders fractured) and held for 17 months on the island prison of Quiriquina. Both he and Garrido were arrested together with Muñoz in Mendoza in July of this year.
- Eduardo Cruz Farias and Daniel Flores Matamala, student leaders from Concepción, were both arrested in Mendoza in June 1976, brutally tortured for seven days, released and then rearrested.
- Luis Tapia Lopez, regional leader of the miners cooperatives of Aconcagua, arrested and tortured in Chile aboard the prison ship Lebu for four months following the September 11 coup. After arriving in Argentina he was again detained and tortured, and is presently living in Buenos Aires with his wife and eight-month-old child.

The danger faced by these left militants and working-class leaders was signalled by the fate of Ricardo Moroni, a former Socialist Party leader of the miners federation in Chile, reported killed recently by Argentine authorities. After being arrested in Argentina, he had attempted to obtain a Canadian visa. However, he was unable to do so because his Chilean identity papers had been taken from him when he was arrested. When he went to the Chilean embassy to obtain a birth certificate he was arrested by the Argentine police, and that was the last time anyone saw him alive. Subsequently he was reported to be among the victims of a mass slaying last month.

The Partisan Defense Committee calls on socialists, unionists and defenders of democratic liberties to defend Muñoz' comrades from the rightist repression in Argentina. Telegrams demanding that they be granted safe conduct from the country and political asylum elsewhere can be sent to: Aga Khan, UN High Commissioner for Refugees, Palais des Nations, Geneva, Switzerland. ■

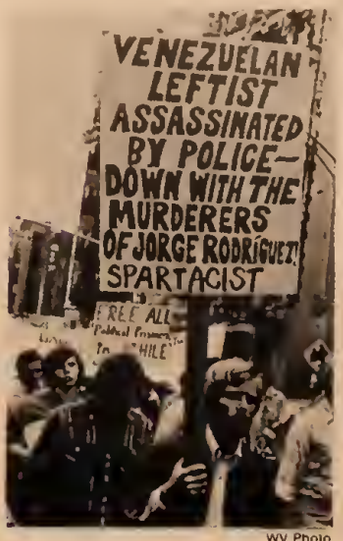
Veneziano

**Funeral march for Rodriguez at Central University in Caracas, July 27.**

# Venezuelan USec Leader Tortured to Death by Police

Jorge Rodriguez, secretary-general of the Liga Socialista (Venezuelan sympathizing organization of the United Secretariat), has been assassinated by security police in Caracas. Detained on Friday, July 23, he was found dead the following Monday. Initially, the cause of death was explained as a "heart attack" following interrogation by the Disip (Police Security and Intelligence Agency). A subsequent official report revealed that Rodriguez was killed by "torture and physical violence that caused seven ribs to be broken and the rupture of the liver" (reported in *Guardian* [London], 29 July 1976). All labor and socialist organizations and opponents of cop terror must protest the vile assassination of this socialist leader!

Following revelation of the police murder, a mass funeral protest demonstration was held beginning at the Central University where Rodriguez had been a student leader. Venezuelan president Carlos Andrés Pérez called the killing an "unspeakable act" and mouthed promises of a full-blown investigation of the circumstances surrounding the killing (*Latin America*, 30 July 1976). The director of the intelligence agency resigned and the four Disip cops immediately responsible for Rodriguez' murder have been arrested and are being investigated for "operating on their own account." But despite official expressions of "concern" over the murder, the July 27 demonstration was fired on by members of the armed forces during the funeral march (*El Universal* [Caracas], 28 July).



WV Photo

**New York, September 11.**

Red Weekly

**Slain USec leader Jorge Rodriguez.**

Rodriguez had been detained along with eight others on fabricated charges of involvement in the kidnapping of U.S. businessman William Niehous. Niehous, the president of Owens-Illinois' Venezuelan subsidiary, was taken captive for $15 million ransom in February by an unknown guerrilla group calling itself Comando Argimiro Gabaldón, which accused the U.S.-based glass manufacturer of interfering in Venezuelan internal affairs by conspiring to build large windows in public housing projects (*Le Monde*, 7 April 1976)! Niehous' disappearance has led the interior minister, Octavio Lepage, to indiscriminately round up "far left" militants for investigation and torture and murder. Furthermore, when the murder of Rodriguez was discovered Lepage sought to deflect attacks in Congress on the political police by implicating two opposition deputies in the kidnapping.

The absurdity of the government's excuse for accusing Rodriguez of complicity in the kidnapping is shown by the fact that the Liga Socialista's newspaper, *Voz Socialista* (April 1976), criticized the guerrilla group claiming responsibility for Niehous' kidnapping, labeling acts of individual terror as "the road of passivity and defeat, which will not further the struggles of the masses" (quoted in *Latin America*, 30 July).

It is evident that the kidnapping of Niehous has been used by the Venezuelan "democracy" as a convenient justification for an intimidation and terror campaign against left-wing militants. Behind the façade of bourgeois democracy lies a bloody fist of repression one which has brutally murdered Jorge Rodriguez and threatens other militants. Down with the assassins of Rodriguez! ■

*The following is the second part of a talk given at last month's European summer camp of the international Spartacist tendency.*

Part 2 of 2

# The National Question in the Marxist Movement, 1848-1914

## by Joseph Seymour

Akwatinta Dietricha z rys. Piwarskiego

**The masses storm the arsenal during Polish uprising of 1830-31.**

The Franco-Prussian War of 1870 rendered Marx's *Grossdeutsche* [Greater Germany] position—the inclusion of German-speaking Austria—obsolete. It was now a fantastical program. Marx didn't like it but he had to accept that—except for Alsace-Lorraine—Germany had acquired its boundaries. This, of course, reopened the question of what to do with the Austro-Hungarian empire. Marx died before he tried to figure out a solution to that insoluble problem. Engels, who lived longer, was stuck with it.

By the time he died in 1894, Engels had moved very far away from the 1848 position on what was called the Eastern question—the East European question—but had not entirely abandoned it. By the late 1870's, Marx and Engels had come to expect a radical democratic revolution in tsarist Russia. This made the question of Polish independence much less important strategically. Nonetheless, Engels still regarded Russia as in some sense the gendarme of Europe, even in the 1880's. He was, therefore, very reluctant to accept the break-up of the Austro-Hungarian empire, believing that it would primarily benefit tsarist expansionism. Engels' movement from the notion of "progressive nations" to advocating the right of self-determination can be seen in a letter written in 1882 and an article written in 1890.

In the early 1880's, Engels faced "Luxemburgism" on the national question even before Rosa Luxemburg. For well-motivated reasons, some Polish socialists did not want to fight for the independence of Poland, but rather looked forward to participating in the greater Russian revolution. Engels opposed this position, but he opposed it with a new argument. No longer was an independent Poland seen as a kind of democratic bastion against reactionary Russia—that was not the primary argument. Rather an independent Poland was necessary to sharpen the class antagonisms within Polish society. He wrote to Kautsky (7 February 1882):

> "It is historically impossible for a great people even to discuss internal problems of any kind seriously, as long as it lacks national independence. Before 1859 there was no question of socialism in Italy: even the number of Republicans was small.... Only after 1861 the Republicans increased in influence and later transferred their best elements to the Socialists....
>
> "So long as Poland is partitioned and subjugated, therefore, neither a strong socialist party can develop in the country itself, nor can there arise real international intercourse between the proletarian parties in Germany, etc., with *other than emigre Poles*....
>
> "An international movement of the proletariat is possible only among independent nations." [emphasis in original]

There is still the empirical qualification of "great nations," not all nations. In the same letter, Engels still doesn't think much of independence for the Czechs, Croats, Rumanians, etc.:

> "Now you may ask me [this to Kautsky, who, incidentally, was half Czech] whether I have no sympathy whatever for the small Slavic peoples, and remnants of peoples, which have been severed asunder by the three wedges driven in the flesh of Slavdom: the Germans, Magyars and Turks? In fact I have damned little sympathy for them."

However, Engels agrees that after the fall of the tsar it would be all right for the small Slavic peoples to have their independence: *after, not before*. Then he adds, "I am certain that six months of independence will suffice for most Austro-Hungarian Slavs to bring them to a point where they will beg to be readmitted." So Engels still considered the smaller peoples of East Europe as economically unviable units, and the Austro-Hungarian state as in some sense progressive.

By 1890 his position had undergone considerable evolution toward the classic Second International position in favor of the right of self-determination. During the 1880's, which was the beginning of the imperialist epoch, the alliances were formed which would result in World War I: tsarist Russia and bourgeois-democratic France against Wilhelmian Germany and Austro-Hungary. Engels foresaw that such a war would have a completely reactionary character. Furthermore, he was aware that changes in military technology meant that the war would be incredibly destructive, and that it would be impossible to predict who would win such a war.

In the 1880's, one begins to notice in Engels' writings and in social-democratic propaganda a strong anti-war and anti-militarist thrust which was absent from the pre-1870 period. As a result there is a much more sympathetic attitude toward self-determination in East Europe. Discussing what will happen the day after tsarism is overthrown, Engels writes in 1890:

> "On the same day Austria will lose its single, historical justification for existence that of a barrier against the Russian drive toward Constantinople.... Magyars, Rumanians, Serbs, Bulgars, Arnauts, Greeks and Turks will then finally be in a position to settle their own mutual disputes without the intervention of foreign powers, to settle among themselves the boundaries of their individual national territories, to manage their affairs according to their own judgments."
>
> —"The Foreign Policy of Russian Czarism"

### Kautsky: Multinational States Are Reactionary

After Engels' death, in the period of the Second International, one can distinguish four characteristic poles on the national question: the German social-democratic center, whose theoretical spokesman was Karl Kautsky; the German-dominated Austro-Hungarian social democracy, whose theoretical spokesmen were Karl Renner and Otto Bauer; Rosa Luxemburg's Polish group; and Lenin's Bolsheviks.

The differences and similarities between these tendencies are extremely complex and defy a simple schema. For example, on the question of the right of self-determination one would find Kautsky and Lenin in favor, and Bauer/Renner and Luxemburg against. On the question of whether to have a centralized rather than a nationally federated party one would find Kautsky, Luxemburg and Lenin for, and Bauer/Renner against. However, in certain aspects of methodology, I would argue that Kautsky and Luxemburg tended to emphasize the objective economic factor in determining the configuration of nation-states, although they drew diametrically opposite programmatic conclusions. On the other hand, Bauer/Renner and Lenin tended to emphasize the subjective factor, and the question of how to achieve the unity of the workers movement within a multinational state. Finally, I will argue that Lenin's position is unique in his heavy emphasis on the question of the right of self-determination, rather than on any particular configuration of nation-states.

Under Kautsky's guidance, the Marxist movement finally liquidated the outdated notion that tsarist Russia was somehow more reactionary than Wilhelmian Germany. Consequently, the Second International in its 1896 convention in London was now able to assert the general principle of the right of self-determination.

Kautsky's position was that the Russian, Turkish and Austro-Hungarian empires were essentially feudal remnants—that they were cases of arrested development. He maintained that a normal, healthy bourgeois development in East Europe required the break-up of these multinational units into their constituent nations. In other words, Kautsky regarded the national liberation of the smaller Slavic peoples as a task of the bourgeois-democratic revolution in East Europe.

Because the Austrian social democracy did not agree with this position, Kautsky never fought for it publicly. However, his real position was for the dissolution of the multinational states in East Europe. This comes through clearly in a letter (5 June 1901) from Kautsky to Victor Adler, head of the Austrian party:

> "Most of our people suffer from the delusion that one can find a solution to every problem, if only one is clever enough. But there are insoluble problems, and the establishment of a viable Austria is one of them. National autonomy would not be a remedy either. It is essential for us in our propaganda and organisation, but under the given conditions, and with the present relation of forces, it is not conducive to a solution.
>
> "In Austria of all places, a gradual approach to some solution or other is unthinkable. The only cure lies in complete collapse. That Austria still exists is to me not proof of its viability, nor yet evidence that we now have the political basis for a slow and peaceful development: all it proves is that bourgeois society is no longer capable of doing away with even the most rotten structures: the Sultan, Tsarism, Austria."
>
> —quoted in George Lichtheim, *Marxism*, 1961

### Bauer/Renner: Saving the Austro-Hungarian State

The national program of Austrian social democracy, codified at the Brünn (Brno in present-day Czechoslovakia) Congress in 1898 called for a federated, democratic Austro-Hungarian state, and did not call for the right of self-determination. The national program of the Russian social democracy, codified in 1903 before the split, called for a unitary state with local autonomy, and did call for the right of self-determination. This significant difference cannot be explained simply on the basis of left versus right. The Russian Mensheviks also supported the right of self-determination, while even radicals in the Austrian party, like Friedrich Adler, did not advocate it.

Why was the simple solution of breaking the empire up into its constitu-

ent nations unpopular among Austrian social democrats of all shades? The problem—and this is why Kautsky was right to call it insoluble—was that everyone knew the break-up of Austro-Hungary would precipitate a war between Russia and Germany over the spoils. The various nationalities in the Austro-Hungarian empire hated one another, but they feared tsarist Russia and Wilhelmian Germany more. In contrast to all shades of Polish nationalism, the program of mainstream Czech nationalism was *not* independence. Rather, it was extreme federalism—creating a state-within-a-state—combined with some kind of extra-territorial control over all Czechs in the empire.

(I have the impression that present-day French Canadian nationalism is rather similar to pre-World War I Czech nationalism. The goal is not outright independence, but rather virtually unlimited autonomy for Quebec plus some kind of union of all French-Canadians throughout Canada.)

So the Austrian Socialist Party sought to devise a program that would preserve Austro-Hungary in the face of violent national antagonisms. The heart of this program was so-called "cultural-national autonomy," according to which nations were no longer associated with territories, but were embodied in individuals. In practice this meant that a Czech in Vienna could attend an exclusively Czech school and a German in Prague an exclusively German school. In fact, Karl Renner likened nationality to religion and argued that national organization should be modeled on churches. He writes in 1908:

> "We must draw on the map a double network, the one economical, the other political. We must cut in two the sum of the activities of the state, separating national and political matters. We must organize the population twice; once along the lines of nationality, the second time, in relation to the state, and each time in administrative units of different form."
>
> —quoted in Arthur G. Kogan, "The Social Democrats in the Hapsburg Monarchy" in *Journal of Modern History*, 1949

From the standpoint of revolutionary Marxism, the worst thing about the Bauer/Renner position was that it regarded nationality as a positive value. They actually presented their scheme to save the ramshackle Austro-Hungarian empire as an anticipation of communist society. Bauer writes in his 1907 opus, *The National Question and Social Democracy*:

> "The organization of mankind into autonomous national communities enjoying, organizing, and developing their cultural goals is the final national aim of international Social-Democracy."
>
> —translated in Robert A. Kann, *The Multi-National Empire*

For Bauer, the state may whither away, but national affiliation goes on forever.

### Luxemburg: National Blindness and Revolutionary Optimism

Now we come to the anti-Bauer, Rosa Luxemburg. It is important to emphasize that Luxemburg's position on the national question is very much Polish-centered which in a sense is a paradox. There were, however, rather plausible reasons for a Polish revolutionary Marxist to oppose the independence of Poland. Luxemburg inherited that tradition, she didn't invent it. One must realize that Poland was the most advanced, most industrialized part of the Russian empire with privileged access to a relatively large market. From the 1880's on, Polish nationalism was a petty-bourgeois, not a big-bourgeois, phenomenon. Luxemburg was convinced that the economic integration of Poland with Russia had gone so far that there was no possibility of an independent, viable Poland. So she considered Polish nationalism a form of petty-bourgeois reactionary utopianism analogous to Proudhonism in France or Bakuninite anarchism in Spain.

Rosa Luxemburg's position on Polish independence is also closely linked with her revolutionary optimism concerning the possibility of a socialist revolution breaking out in the Russian empire and then spreading west. She more or less accepted Trotsky's position on the permanent revolution in Russia. In fact, Trotsky's seminal articles on the subject were first published in Luxemburg's Polish-language journal. Thus, Luxemburg developed an attitude toward the

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V.I. Lenin

Rosa Luxemburg Archiv

Karl Kaulsky Archiv

Otto Bauer Archiv

# Spartacist Tendency Holds European Summer Camp

The third European summer camp of the international Spartacist tendency (iSt) was held in late August. Planned primarily as a week of educational sessions, the camp also included a national conference of the Ligue Trotskiste de France and a joint conference of the Trotzkistische Liga Deutschlands (TLD) and Österreichische Bolshewiki-Leninisten (ÖBL). The attendance of 85 comrades conducting political work in 11 countries testified to the substantial extension of the work of the iSt.

The opening educational session dealt with the French Trotskyist movement of the 1930's, with particular reference to the antecedents of the present-day OCI of P. Lambert. Noting that the OCI still possesses an appreciable number of cadres from the historic French Trotskyist movement—part of the basis for its claim to "continuity"—iSt secretary J. Sharpe stressed that virtually all of these were drawn from the rightist Molinier/Frank wing.

In the bitter disputes which racked the French movement in the 1930's, two key questions can be discerned: Molinier/Frank's conception of a fake-mass press and their call for "revolutionary action groups" as centrist umbrella formations. The OCI's perennial penchant for a newspaper which presents itself as the press of some sort of loose grouping of militant workers, rather than as the organ of a party, is a direct descendant of these Molinierist deviations.

The present political physiognomy of the OCI, following its sharply accelerated rightward motion in the 1973-74 period, can be characterized as the result of the dissociation of the Molinierist and orthodox politics which had coexisted in this tendency since the post-World War II reconstitution of the French movement and the struggle against Pabloist revisionism in the early 1950's. The initial break with Pablo took shape over the narrow question of the attitude toward French Stalinism and the tactic of entrism in the French Communist Party and CGT. The issues became generalized only in 1953 by the fundamentally principled opposition of the French majority to the Pabloists' capitulation to Stalinism over the East Berlin workers' uprising in June and the French general strike in August.

Another highlight of the camp was the presentation on critical support, the united-front tactic and the workers government slogan. Comrade F. Krüger discussed unclarities and opportunist formulations regarding the workers government which emerged at the Fourth Congress of the Communist International, and illuminated the connections between this discussion—which must be assimilated critically as part of our history—and the disputes between the various wings of the German Communist Party in 1922-23.

The presentation on "Marxism and the National Question, 1848-1914" examined the evolution of Marx's position toward oppressed nationalities, concluding with a discussion of the controversy over the national question within the ostensibly Marxist movement in the period preceding World War I and the conflicting views put forward by the Kautskyans, Austro-Marxists, Luxemburgists and Leninists (see *WV* Nos. 123 and 125). A presentation on the national question today centered on Ireland and Cyprus.

The session on the origins of European Pabloism focused on the crystallization of rightist oppositions within the Fourth International following World War II. The discussion emphasized the inexperience and disorientation of the orthodox Trotskyists who sought to reassert the revolutionary will of the Fourth International in the face of the doubtism and defeatism of the right-wing oppositions. The critical weaknesses and deformations of the post-war Trotskyist movement became decisive only in the early 1950's, when the majority of the Fourth International caved in to the liquidationist conclusions of Pablo's "theory" that the "objective" pressures of a "new world reality" would compel Stalinism to play an essentially revolutionary role.

A spokesman for the Organización Trotskista Revolucionaria (OTR) of Chile, which has fraternal relations with the iSt, presented the history of the OTR, which coalesced as a left opposition within a Chilean sympathizing group of the United Secretariat (USec) around 1970. The OTR initially upheld the central necessity of "irregular warfare" based on the working class, which the speaker characterized as a more workerist version of the Guevarism of the USec majority. At the time of its expulsion from the fused USec sympathizing section in late 1972, the OTR still had not reached a full understanding of the need for an independent Trotskyist party, as demonstrated by its substituting the journals of trade unions in which it played a leadership role for an independent party press.

The OTR's strength, which enabled it to reject the intrigues and maneuvers of the USec and also of the French OCI, was its commitment to defend the workers' interests against the popular-front Allende government. Until it came in contact with the iSt, the OTR thought it was the only group in the world which had opposed the class collaborationism of the centrists and the reformist workers parties in Chile, whose prostration before the bourgeoisie paved the way for the bloody coup of September 1973.

The final session of the camp was devoted to "Problems of the Fourth International." Comrade J. Robertson recalled the failure of SWP head James Cannon's 1939 trip to Paris, where both the leaders of the sterile, sectarian official section and sundry capitulationist elements outside it seemed to be united only in casually dismissing the leader of the strongest section of the FI.

Cannon's experience in France, the speaker noted, certainly contributed to the "insular bias" of the leadership of the American section. He also criticized the SWP's earlier international representatives, such as Max Shachtman, who behaved like "a bunch of trouble making radical tourists" rather than functioning as disciplined representatives of a leading collective.

While noting that hindsight is cheap, Comrade Robertson criticized the SWP leadership for too passively accepting the obstacles to intervention in Europe by Americans during World War II and in the post-war period. In contrast to the European comrades, the American section uniquely maintained a continuity of experienced leadership. The

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# Argentina...

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tightly restricted union activity, eventually coopting the basically conservative and highly corrupt Peronist labor bureaucracy.

According to well-informed business publications, this is the course now being advocated by "moderates" around General Jorge Videla who wish to combine "rebuilding the institutional life of the country" with "extermination" of the guerrillas. Thus the most right-wing former Peronists, who dream of a *verticalista* (corporatist) system on the order of Franco's Spain, have assembled themselves in a "Professional Grouping" to support the junta. In addition, in mid-July a number of former top Peronists were released from a prison ship in the Buenos Aires harbor, presumably on the promise of good behavior and cooperation with the new regime.

However, 1976 is not 1956 and the ability of the aging Peronist labor bureaucracy to control the beleaguered union ranks is open to serious question. As the 23 July *Latin America* pointed out:

> "The system of heaping privileges on the heads of the bureaucrats, and leaving them to keep the rank and file in line, did not work particularly well under the last military government. It was the source of the discontent which led to the popular uprisings in 1969, 1970 and 1971, which effectively destroyed the military governments of Onganía and Levingston. The system was continued under President Isabel Perón and remains utterly discredited today."

Simply to hand back CGT buildings and funds to the venal bureaucrats will not satisfy the hard-pressed ranks who are increasingly unable to obtain even the bare necessities of life with their greatly diminished purchasing power.

### Pinochetistas Call the Tune

General Videla has made some cautious organizational moves in the attempt to gain the upper hand over the most extreme rightist elements in the armed forces. He has delegated his duties as army commander to a like-minded ally, General Roberto Viola, and removed notorious hardline generals from operational commands in Rosario (General Ramón Díaz Bessone) and Córdoba (General Luciano Benjamín Menéndez, head of the third army corps and reputed chief of the "Comandos Libertadores de América" anti-communist death squads). But still the reactionary "excesses" continue.

WV Photo

By now the butchery of the paramilitary "Argentine Anti-Communist Alliance" is notorious internationally and the plight of left-wing political refugees from other Latin American countries has produced protests from left groups, the labor movement, social-democratic governments, the United Nations and even the Vatican. But the depth of reaction present in the military dictatorship goes far beyond this. The junta recently outlawed the Jehovah's Witnesses because of their internatinnal ties, and arrested several Israeli citizens working for the World Zionist Organization. (Anti-Semitic and other Nazi literature is proliferating in the country, with several large Spanish editions of such items as *Mein Kampf*, "The Protocols of the Elders of Zion" and "The Ritual Crimes of the Jews.") In fact, the pope was forced to protest the murder of five priests and two seminarians in June as "execrable crimes."

The lengths to which the most irrational right-wingers in the military will go in their defense of "Christian and national virtue" was indicated by the arrest in August of General Alejandro Lanusse, a former Argentine president who was held for five days for publicly

F. Cereceuo/Cambio 16

**Ana María González at Montonero news conference. She placed the bomb that killed police chief Cesáreo Cardozo in bed.**

criticizing General Abdel Edgardo Vilas, who has been systematically purging the universities of "ideological infiltration" by Marxists, liberals and other "conspirators." Lanusse, who was a hated dictator in the last months before Perón returned to office in 1973, is now considered a flaming liberal within the present political spectrum in the military.

Although the officers gloat at their success in scoring some spectacular blows against the guerrilla groups in recent weeks, their own nerves are raw. For one thing, they have reason to fear that the guerrillas may have infiltrated their own ranks. Many hardliners reportedly consider their less rabid peers to be "practically Montoneros" (the left-Peronist guerrillas). One source (*Latin America*, 6 August) reported that some sectors in the intelligence division of the federal police felt that the bomb that exploded in their dining hall had been placed by dissident policemen.

### Guerrillas on the Defensive

As we have pointed out before, in a straight military contest between the regular armed forces and guerrillas, the latter are at a tremendous disadvantage, and this has been proven once again in the first months after the Argentine coup. The most important "coup" by the military was the murder of Mario Roberto Santucho, head of the ERP (People's Revolutionary Army), and the dismantling of what appears to be the central ERP apparatus in mid-July.

On July 11, government forces raided a house where the ERP was holding a senior air force officer kidnapped in April. There documents were found directing the hunters to a house in Córdoba where they discovered an underground printing press and a shooting range. Following this another printing press was found near Buenos Aires along with a major archive of the ERP, and this led to a raid on a house in the capital region where Santucho and another leader were found and killed. Information there subsequently led the military to La Plata where five other ERP leaders were assassinated.

So far, the left-Peronist Montoneros have not been so severely hit, although they too have taken losses. But incapable of any serious resistance to the junta (something neither they nor the ERP undertook on March 23), they have concentrated on brazenly sensational (and militarily irrelevant) publicity stunts. A Montonern press conference at the end of August in Buenos Aires featured not only the organization's military chief, Horacio Mendizábal, but Ana María González, the teenager who placed a bomb under the bed of federal police chief Cesáreo Cardozo last June and became the "most wanted person" in Argentina after the explosion.

On July 9 the Montoneros staged military parades in several neighborhoods of the capital commemorating the 170th anniversary of Argentine independence. Days before, a number of Montonero youths had marched through the Belgrano sector in uniform and military formation. Their faces were covered and a leader announced over a megaphone that government forces should take note that the guerrillas had superior firepower in the area, occupying all the rooftops along the march route. According to an account in the Spanish liberal news magazine *Cambio 16* (26 July-1 August):

> "Two policemen who were in the door of the Bank of the Nation handed over their arms. A few seconds later, after running 150 meters in formation, the 60 Montoneros disappeared as though they had been swallowed up by the earth. They left a 'remembrance' for the baffled crowd: a man in peasant clothing, with his eyes blindfolded, dead. A card attached to his clothing said: 'Police Informer.'"

### Not Impotent Guerrillaism But Workers Revolution

With the bloodless coup that overthrew the almost universally despised regime of Isabel Perón, the traditional leadership of the Argentine unions was swept aside in a single blow by the mailed fist of military bonapartism. Virtually the entire left was outlawed, except for the shameless Communist Party which actually supported the junta. The leftist guerrillas reckoned that their hour had come, that the masses, under the pressure of economic attacks and repression by the armed forces, would be driven to "pick up the gun" and join the guerrilla ranks.

In fact, the ERP had practically called for a coup in order to create just such a vacuum of leadership. They preached a blind "After Videla, us!" triumphalism reminiscent of Stalin's boasts that he could effortlessly push over Hitler after the Brownshirts had eliminated the social democrats. In both cases the reality turned out to be quite different. Despite bitter hatred for the junta among the Argentina workers and unabated clique fights in the military, the generals are still firmly in the saddle and the guerrillas have been severely hit.

While the guerrillaist organizations have proved just as incapable of exercising revolutionary leadership after the coup as before (when left-wingers and militant unionists were arrested by the hundreds and the AAA ran wild), the working class has shown that it has not lost its will and capacity to struggle. And out of concern for its reputation among international financiers (who consider Pinochet's rule in Chile an economic fiasco and a political embarrassment), the Videla regime has moved more slowly (though relentlessly) to root out the vestiges of an organized workers movement. Thus opportunities for resistance have not been absent, as shown by the militant and determined auto strikers.

While continuing to criticize the bourgeois-populist Peronist, petty-bourgeois guerrillaist and Stalinist misleaders who paved the way for the coup in Argentina, revolutionaries internationally have a particular obligation to mount militant protest against the bloody repression in Argentina. While warning the workers and radical youth that the guerrilla road of the ERP and the Montoneros is the road of defeat, we denounce the assassination of leftist leaders such as Roberto Santucho.

Socialists and the labor movement must also demand that leaders of the workers movement presently in the junta's jails be immediately freed. This is the case, in particular with José Páez and Arturo Apaza, two worker militants and leaders of the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST Socialist Workers Party, Argentine sympathizing organization of the United Secretariat) now imprisoned in Córdoba. Páez is a former union leader at the militant Fiat Concord factory in that city and the PST's vice-presidential candidate in the 1973 Argentine elections.

Rouge

Fighting to save the future cadres of an authentic Trotskyist vanguard in Argentina from the bloody grip of the military butchers, a revolutionary internationalist tendency must point out the bankruptcy of these self-proclaimed Trotskyists of the PST who offered political support to the Peronist regime and equated the left-wing guerrillas with the ultra-rightist commandos while pledging submission to bourgeois law and order. This is the heritage of the United Secretariat in Argentina, but it is not the heritage of Marxism. For the construction of a Trotskyist party in Argentina! ■

# Militant L.A. Transit Strikers Demonstrate

LOS ANGELES—Over 500 striking bus drivers of the Southern California Rapid Transit System (RTD) held a militant demonstration in front of the RTD main offices September 8. Called by the United Transportation Union (UTU), the demonstration was little publicized, many drivers hearing about it only via a two-line announcement in the Sunday *Los Angeles Times*.

The union bureaucrats had planned merely to allow the strikers to blow off steam from the frustration of a three-week-old strike which if limited to the bureaucrats' demands will result in a mere 1.5 percent more in wages and fringe benefits than the Transit Board is currently offering. But the most militant workers, many carrying hand-lettered signs, showed up en masse to lead a spirited picket line.

In the middle of the demonstration, the protesters took off spontaneously to demand that L.A. mayor Tom Bradley meet with them immediately at City Hall. While the demonstrators—of whom two-thirds were younger black workers and a fair number were women drivers hired after the 1974 strike—marched on City Hall, the union bureaucrats stood across the street, drinking coffee and joking with RTD and L.A. Police Department security officials.

At the mayor's offices, the demonstrators were first told he wasn't there. A spontaneous semi-sit-in developed, but the mayor's aides eventually managed to get the drivers to accept a meeting room off to one side. After an hour and a half the mayor showed up, arranging his entrance with the TV crews which had appeared. Some of the drivers applauded his appearance—forgetting the mayor's threat to call out the National Guard in the 1974 strike—while a few of the more conscious workers looked on grimly.

Bradley's statement was directed at the TV cameras, not the angry strikers, saying that he supported the agreement reached by the mechanics union and RTD negotiators (subsequently rejected by the Transit Board). Although it was higher than what the city had intended to pay, the mayor said he had "attempted to persuade" his two appointees on the RTD board to vote for the settlement.

UTU Local president David Robinson then made a speech, asking Bradley to bring his flunkies into line or replace them, and to pressure L.A. County Supervisor James Hayes to do the same with his appointees. The union is also asking that Byron Cook, RTD president and Burbank city councilman, be fired. Cook had stated that he would not budge from the Board's 19.5-percent "final" offer, even if the strike were to "go on until Christmas."

Upon finishing his statement, Robinson stated "basically that is all we have to say," whereupon Bradley bolted from his chair and was out of the room before the frustrated drivers could ask him what he intended to do. But as the September 8 demonstration showed, relying on the UTU bureaucracy and simply trying to pressure Bradley will lead nowhere. Although currently boxed-in by the RTD Board's hard-line stance, Robinson and the rest of the leadership will eventually find it "necessary" to sell out the drivers rather than expose their Democratic Party "friends" in office.

Only a mass mobilization by L.A. labor on behalf of the transit strikers can bring the RTD to terms! Yet although UTU officials made a show of conferring with officials of the L.A. County Federation of Labor, it is clear that they have no intention of spearheading such a militant offensive. Already the union tops have reduced their demands several times during the negotiations, and are now down to only 1.5 percent more than the Board's offer.

RTD executives are clearly determined to force a demoralizing defeat down the drivers' throats, taking their cue from the success of San Francisco city officials who broke a near-general strike last spring. However, unlike in San Francisco, public opinion here has not been unfavorable to the strikers. The announcement last week by the L.A. County Board of Supervisors of plans to lay off 1,750 county workers next year (*Los Angeles Times*, 8 September) certainly has not increased the popularity of intransigent union busters such as Cook.

RTD militants must take the initiative in pushing for a mobilization of Los Angeles labor behind their strike and against the attempts by city, county and transit officials to push the cost of the capitalist depression and governmental "fiscal crisis" onto the workers' backs. Fighting for demands such as free public transit and jobs for all, through a shorter workweek at no loss in pay, can aid in gaining active support from working people throughout the area. No confidence in Mayor Bradley! For militant labor action to win the strike! ■

Art Rogers/L.A. Times

**Striking transit workers hang RTD president Byron Cook in effigy.**

## Croatian Hijack

*(continued from page 12)*

right-wingers certainly have drawn fresh encouragement and possibly even recruits as a consequence of the sharp recrudescence of national antagonisms in Yugoslavia in recent years. The Tito bureaucracy—particularly through its encouragement of free market competition and by opening up the economy to native capitalist enterprise and large-scale international corporate involvement—bears a major responsibility for this resurgence of national antagonisms (see "Yugoslavia and the National Question," *WV* Nos. 106 and 110, 23 April and 21 May 1976).

The overcoming of a recent history of mutual slaughter among the south Slav peoples, in large measure through exterminating the Ustashi and its Serbian counterpart, the Chetniks, is one of the most progressive aspects of the Yugoslav revolution. The right-wing Croatian terror groups are not only the mortal enemies of the peoples of Yugoslavia—threatening the tremendous advance represented by collective property forms—but also of the workers movement in the capitalist countries where they operate. ■


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# WORKERS VANGUARD

# Mao...

*(continued from page 1)*

funeral may be former U.S. "defense" secretary James R. Schlesinger, who was sacked because he considered Kissinger too soft toward Brezhnev.

So today imperialist public opinion which a few years ago presented Mao as a fanatical, totalitarian dictator now praises him as a great statesman. And the condolences issued by Washington, Bonn and Tokyo are by no means diplomatic hypocrisy. The imperialist rulers are genuinely apprehensive that Mao's successors might change course and seek a détente with the USSR. This is Mao's legacy to the Chinese masses and international proletariat: he committed the resources of the Chinese deformed workers state to a counterrevolutionary alliance with the most powerful reactionary force of this epoch, U.S. imperialism.

### Mao's Stalinist Nationalism

If the imperialist bourgeoisie is paying homage to the "great revolutionary," various revisionist "Trotskyists" are also seeking to exploit his prestige. The French section of the United Secretariat lauded Mao as "one of the greatest political figures of the proletarian revolution of this century...this historic figure who contributed to opening the paths of hope for all oppressed peoples" (communiqué in *Le Monde*, 10 September). The English Healyites hailed "Mao's great revolutionary past" (*News Line*, 10 September).

Those who claim that Mao was not a Stalinist bureaucrat but a genuine, if flawed, revolutionary usually appeal to three arguments: Mao in 1949 led a popular revolution which resulted in the overthrow of capitalism; around 1960 he broke with the Kremlin and denounced its leaders as "revisionists"; in 1967 he mobilized the students and youth under the banner of combating bureaucracy.

The overthrow of capitalism by Mao's peasant armies was indeed a progressive event of great historic import which wrenched the Chinese masses free from capitalist exploitation and imperialist domination. We therefore give unconditional military support to the Chinese deformed workers state against imperialism and internal counterrevolution, despite the absence of soviet democracy, the suppression of any independent workers organization and the Mao regime's counterrevolutionary foreign policy.

But the progressive nature of the Chinese revolution and the class character of the Chinese state do not make Mao a revolutionary. He was a treacherous Stalinist bureaucrat balancing between the Chinese masses and imperialism. His narrow nationalistic policies were an obstacle to the consolidation of the Chinese revolution and its international extension.

Throughout his political life, both before and after the taking of state power, Mao was a practitioner of Stalinist class collaboration. In January 1946 the Maoists concluded an agreement with Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang which guaranteed the Kuomintang control of a coalition government and absolute military superiority over the Communist forces. Only Chiang's intransigent hostility to any collaboration with the Communists and his commitment to their total annihilation compelled the Chinese Stalinists to take power in 1949 in order to accomplish their simple physical survival.

In assessing Mao's role in the world Stalinist movement, it is useful to compare him with Yugoslavia's patriarch, Tito. Like Mao, under the conditions created by the second imperialist world war, Tito led a guerrilla army to power, defeating not only Hitler's occupying army but the equally bloodthirsty nationalists of the Serbian Chetniks and Croatian Ustashi. Like Mao's China, Tito's Yugoslavia broke with Kremlin domination and aligned itself diplomatically with U.S. imperialism. For nearly 30 years, Tito has governed Yugoslavia in the spirit of narrow nationalist parochialism, carefully maneuvering between Washington and Moscow. But Mao's own break with Moscow, motivated by essentially similar considerations of nationalist Stalinist policy, was masked by rhetorical appeals to the authority of Lenin and bombastic denunciations of Khrushchevite "revisionism."

If China's pre-1972 foreign policy appeared more left, more "anti-imperialist" than that of the USSR, this simply reflected U.S. imperialism's intransigent hostility to the Maoist regime. The U.S. commitment to overthrow Mao was seen in its maintenance of Chiang's Taiwan as the "legitimate" government of China. For American imperialism, both the Korean War and the early phase of the Vietnam War were aimed at containing "Red China" and creating more favorable conditions for directly confronting and overturning the Mao regime.

The pre-1972 "anti-imperialist" Maoism, as we said at the time, was simply Khrushchevism under the gun. Mao's unvarying commitment to "peaceful coexistence" was asserted at the 1955 Bandung Conference and put into practice with *zaibatsu*-dominated Japan and Gaullist France long before imperialist butcher Nixon was welcomed in Peking.

In one sense, Mao's longevity is of service to the revolutionary (Trotskyist) movement. Had Mao died around 1970, the myth that he had ever been a revolutinnary communist would have been far harder to debunk.

### For Workers Democracy in China!

Mao's "anti-bureaucratic" stance is equally spurious. The Maoist regime, which fully displayed the personality cultism and totalitarian suppression of criticism from below which are hallmarks of Stalinism, is the antithesis of soviet democracy, which means the determination of government policy and leadership by the organized workers and poor peasants.

People's Liberation Army soldiers during the "Cultural Revolution."

The "Cultural Revolution" of 1967 was an intra-bureaucratic struggle, in which the decisive pro-Maoist force was the People's Liberation Army of the late Lin Piao. The Red Guard youth were cynically exploited through the demagogy of Mao's circle. When in 1968 the Red Guards were no longer useful to the Mao clique, and some were getting out of hand, Mao had them violently suppressed. At the same time, conservative officeholders, under attack by the Red Guards, were often able to mobilize workers who feared the Maoist austerity program (for example, in the Shanghai general strike of January 1967).

The perpetual and frequently violent inner-party strife which has wracked China since the "Hundred Flowers" campaign of 20 years ago testifies to the brittleness of the Maoist regime. Mao's personal bonapartism, bolstered by a quasi-religious personality cult, has been key to maintaining the shaky unity of the clique- and faction-ridden party, army and government hierarchies.

Everyone now anticipates tremendous political turmoil. It is reported that after the successive deaths of Chou En-lai and Chu Teh, the riot in central Peking by supporters of the beleaguered officeholder Teng Hsiao-p'ing, followed by cataclysmic earthquakes people in China are now saying that the "mandate of heaven" has been withdrawn from the Maoist dynasty.

In the political convulsions which lie ahead, the working class must not simply act as cat's-paws for one or another bureaucratic faction or clique. The mission of the Chinese proletariat is to oust the parasitic bureaucrats who are the obstacle to working-class political power, exercised through the democratic rule of soviets. It is with the aim of leading this anti-bureaucratic political revolution that a Chinese Trotskyist party must be forged. ■


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# Ford Strike...

*(continued from page 1)*

want a walkout, since he has already signed the unit agreement with Ford. (While Rouge UAW leaders sign local agreements, over 1,400 workers in the complex recently lost their jobs when half the engine plant was shut down. When layoffs were initially announced, the union bureaucrats stalled, claiming they would deal with the layoffs at contract time. Now, at contract time, the union has dropped the issue.) He also announced that union members would be allowed to cross picket lines to maintain Ford's machinery. It is this kind of defeatist misleadership which saps the ranks' enthusiasm for a strike.

Taking their cue from the bureaucrats' passivity, the Ford bargainers arrogantly raised "take-away" demands throughout the negotiations. This is partly a probe and partly an attempt to allow the UAW leaders to rant and rave and then claim a victory when such demands are withdrawn. Even if Ford withdrew all such take-aways and granted all of Woodcock's piddling demands, the resulting contract—far less than recent wage settlements of 32 percent and 36 percent won by the Teamsters and Rubber Workers respectively—would represent a defeat for the UAW.

Any victory, even a partial one, gained by auto workers in the contract struggle will be *despite* the Woodcock leadership of the UAW. It is urgent that conduct of the strike be placed in the hands of the membership. Militants must demand that strike committees be elected in the plants and coordinated throughout the U.S. and Canada. Such committees must hammer out a militant, class-struggle program which meets the needs of auto workers.

### Lessons of the Rubber Strike

Militants in the UAW should learn from the recent United Rubber Workers (URW) strike. Despite a small membership and an almost non-existent strike fund, the rubber workers won a substantial wage increase and the first cost-of-living escalator in the industry by striking all four major tire companies. This is precisely what Woodcock opposes in auto. While Ford is on strike, Chrysler, GM and American Motors will continue to make cars and pile up profits.

Furthermore, no contract negotiated at Ford means anything unless it is accepted at GM, the powerhouse in the industry. With additional time to stockpile 1977 models during a Ford strike, GM will be in a much stronger position to precipitate a strike if it finds the Ford settlement unacceptable. Instead of such weak-kneed "pattern-bargaining," a militant UAW leadership would strike all the auto companies, parts plants and agricultural implements companies in the U.S. and Canada simultaneously.

The fact that rubber workers were forced to strike for over four months was due in large measure to the failure of both UAW and URW bureaucracies to organize sympathy strikes and labor boycotts (hot-cargoing) of scab rubber products. Such militant tactics would have won a better contract with less hardship for the strikers. In turn, this would have strengthened auto workers


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for their own strike, which if successful could have a galvanizing effect on the entire labor movement.

The UAW tops are not even taking advantage of the partial victory the rubber workers achieved. One UAW International spokesman told *WV* that the rubber settlement had nothing to do with the Auto Workers and has not been mentioned at the bargaining table. He boasted that Solidarity House is a leader of other unions, not a follower. Nevertheless, the lesson of the rubber strike is that the entire auto industry must be shut down. No extensions! No contract, no work!

### For a Class-Struggle Program!

It is not simple militancy which the union needs. Auto workers need a class-struggle program to place demands for wages, working conditions and benefits in the framework of the struggle against capitalism. *WV* asked Jerry Dale, a spokesman for Solidarity House, why the negotiators didn't raise the union's traditional demand, "30 hours work for 40 hours pay," to end unemployment instead of the various absentee control schemes of extra holidays which Woodcock is hoping to palm off as a shorter work year. Dale's cynical "answer" was that this demand would result in fewer cars, smaller profits for the bosses and thus fewer jobs for the workers!

In contrast to the pro-company UAW bureaucracy, which gauges its woefully inadequate "demands" on how much the bosses are willing to give, the demand for a shorter workweek at no loss in pay aims at defending jobs by attacking the employers' profits and mobilizing the working class against the capitalist system which causes mass unemployment. Though Woodcock claims that he wants to create new jobs with his "time bank" program, he admitted to a *WV* reporter that what he really wanted was one new day off per month. The sellout perspective of the bureaucracy was succinctly summed up by one top UAW official who told a reporter, "There's a point beyond which they [the companies] won't go. We've got to find that point."

A class-struggle leadership would demand, in addition to an industry-wide shutdown, a struggle for full employment through a shorter workweek with full COLA and a substantial pay boost, union control of working conditions and unlimited right to strike. These demands must be coupled to a call for union control of hiring and upgrading to smash racial and sexual discrimination. A militant opposition in the UAW would also fight to shatter the alliance between the union tops and the Democratic Party. A national auto strike could raise a mighty voice for a class-struggle party of the workers. Instead, Woodcock & Co. seek to deliver the UAW to racist, anti-labor Jimmy Carter.

It is the failure of most existing opposition groups within the UAW to raise an all-sided class-struggle political program which accounts for the disorientation and relative passivity of the ranks. In general, auto workers see no way out of the bureaucratic straitjacket imposed by the Woodcock regime. The combativity of auto workers is well-known: they lack only a leadership committed to the principle of class struggle, not only on the shop floor, but throughout society.

Inside Ford's glass house in Dearborn, a UAW International spokesman told *WV* that a 30-hour week could not be won "without a year-long strike or a revolution." In a sense this is correct. Not only unemployment, but racism, poverty and war are necessary components of capitalism. To the sellouts of Solidarity House and their reformist imitators, militant tactics and revolutionary politics are indeed anathema, and so the bureaucracy settles for crumbs. It remains the task of class-conscious militants in the UAW to bring these politics to the ranks and thereby point the way to victory. ■

# Chile Demos...

*(continued from page 3)*

on the slogan, "Down with the junta, workers to power."

At the rally the same goons tried, again unsuccessfully, to dissuade the chairman from allowing the Trotskyist League any speaking time, arguing that the TL had no right to speak since it refused to endorse the sponsoring coalition's popular-front politics. As a "compromise," the TL was placed last, following announcements, and the chairman "introduced" the speaker by remarking, "if you want to stay to hear the TL, you can." But despite these attempts to disperse the crowd, most stayed to listen.

The TL spokesman expressed solidarity with the Chilean workers and peasants and drew the lesson of the tragic bloodbath in 1973: a bloc with the bourgeoisie means defeat for the oppressed. He also spoke of the declaration of fraternal relations between the Organización Trotskista Revolucionaria (OTR) of Chile and the international Spartacist tendency. The speaker concluded with a chant, taken up by many in the audience: "Smash the bloody junta, for workers revolution."

The TL representative also shamed and greatly embarrassed the coalition by pointing out to the audience that the latter had planned an event for September 13 at strikebound Simon Fraser University, where maintenance workers are striking for wage and hours parity with other university employees. The coalition was not ignorant of the strike. Not only had it been mentioned by the TL at an earlier planning meeting, but on the second day of the strike an RMG member and another coalition supporter visited the picket lines to ask the union for permission to cross the lines in order to hold the Chile meeting on campus!

They even had the gall to ask the union to send someone to address the meeting, hoping to cover their scabbing with a phony veneer of "strike support." The union, however, refused and suggested the coalition hold the meeting off campus. So embarrassed was the coalition by the TL's exposure of its plans to scab that an emergency meeting was called immediately after the rally to discuss a change of plans, and they finally ended up canceling the meeting altogether. ■

# European Summer Camp...

*(continued from page 7)*

characteristic weakness of cadres who have been schooled in only one historic period, he noted, is precisely the impressionism epitomized by Pablo.

The educational sessions, conferences and numerous smaller commissions held at the European summer camp reflected the continuing development of the iSt in Europe from "outposts of Spartacism" into living sections. This process has involved an increasing assimilation of the need to professionalize the technical skills of the sections. One speaker underlined the importance of developing an adequate technical apparatus and financial base, noting that the iSt, as a small international propaganda organization, preserves its cohesiveness and collectivity in part through judicious use of "the jet aircraft, the long-distance telephone and the xerox machine."

As the USec and its revisionist similars tirelessly replay the maneuverist scenario of unclear splits and scotch-tape fusions, the international Spartacist tendency goes forward in its struggle for the rebirth of the Fourth International through the construction of a disciplined international tendency based on the firm programmatic foundations of authentic Trotskyism. ■

# National Question...

*(continued from page 7)*

Russian empire that was analogous to Marx's attitude toward the German nation on the eve of 1848: for her the Russian empire became progressive as a powerful material basis for the coming proletarian revolution.

Luxemburg did not recognize what Lenin did: that the antagonisms between the Polish, Ukrainian and Great Russian working classes were an *obstacle* to a successful revolution in the tsarist empire. Her method of countering nationalist attitudes exclusively through internationalist propaganda was not enough. A positive programmatic opposition to tsarist Russia as "the prison house of nations" was necessary.

### Lenin: Self-Determination and Workers Unity

The Leninist position on the national question was only developed in its final form during World War I, around 1917, but I believe it is basically relevant to the pre-1914 period.

Superficially, the Bolshevik position appears to be orthodox Kautskyan. However, I believe that the formal similarities obscure significant differences. Kautsky advocated self-determination because he was really in favor of independence as a means of pushing the bourgeois-democratic revolution in East Europe forward. Insofar as Lenin recognized that national emancipation for Poland, for the Ukraine, for the Czechs was an uncompleted bourgeois-democratic task there was a similarity of position.

But Lenin's position was not essentially a two-stage revolution which looked forward to a relatively lengthy period of development of a bourgeois-democratic Polish, Ukrainian or Czech state. Rather, what Lenin emphasized—and he was the first Marxist to do so—was *advocacy* of the right of self-determination as a necessary means of unifying the working class in a multinational state.

Lenin maintained that Luxemburg's abstract propaganda in favor of internationalism was not adequate to convince the Poles and the Ukrainians that the Great Russian socialists were not chauvinist. The workers movement in the oppressor nation must demonstrate in practice and in immediate programmatic form that it supports the right to independence of the oppressed nation. For Lenin, the question of whether independence would be realized or not was not a fundamental question, it was secondary. Before the 1917 revolution, the Bolsheviks did not take a position for or against independence for Poland, the Ukraine or Finland. The core of Lenin's position comes through in "The Right of Nations to Self-Determination" (1914):

> "Whether the Ukraine, for example, is destined to form an independent state is a matter that will be determined by a thousand unpredictable factors. Without attempting idle "*guesses*", we firmly uphold something that is beyond doubt: the right of the Ukraine to form such a state. We respect this right; we do not uphold the privileges of Great Russians with regard to Ukrainians; we *educate* the masses in the spirit of recognition of that right, in the spirit of rejecting *state* privileges for any nation." [emphasis in original]

In New Left and "Third World" Stalinist circles, Lenin's position is systematically misinterpreted so that he appears as a supporter of any demand put forward by an oppressed national minority. The anti-Luxemburgist Lenin wrongly overshadows the anti-nationalist Lenin. Lenin was violently hostile to "cultural-national autonomy" because it directly and immediately furthered nationalist ideology. He was opposed to federalism, and favored limited regional autonomy for minority nations in a unitary state. On this latter point, he was in basic agreement with Luxemburg. Some bourgeois commentators have noted that Lenin seems to have an all-or-nothing position on the national question. This is in contrast to the Austrian social democrats who offered the population an infinite gradation of steps between independence and assimilation. Richard Pipes in his *The Formation of the Soviet Union* writes:

> "Lenin's theory of national self-determination, viewed as a solution of the national problem in Russia, was entirely inadequate. By offering the minorities virtually no choice between assimilation and complete independence, it ignored the fact that they desired neither."

However, Lenin's program was not designed to be popular with Russia's minorities at any given time. It was designed to foster the fighting unity of the working class within the Russian state. If the working masses of the various nations are so hostile to one another that it makes unified class struggle virtually impossible, then separation into independent states is called for. Where national minorities choose to co-exist within the same state framework, the task of Leninists is to break down all the barriers separating the working masses of the different nationalities. While championing the equality of languages and related democratic rights, we work for the gradual, organic assimilation of the various nationalities making up the working class. ■

# Abzug/ Moynihan...

*(continued from page 4)*

maintained that in order to aid the ghetto poor it was necessary to take away so-called "privileges" (union job protection) of white-collar workers.

The racial insensitivity and conservative business unionism of the UFT bureaucracy crippled the 1968 teachers strike just as today it means leading workers to vote for imperialist bigots such as Moynihan. At that time the Spartacist League stood almost alone on the left in supporting the strike. We pointed out then that it was not surprising that such liberals as Jimmy Breslin and Murray Kempton were screaming to break the union, since liberals consider the capitalist government—the ultimate strikebreaker—the main source of "progress." We called for ousting the union leadership, however, since:

> "Shanker...played into Lindsay's hands by taking a purely 'business union' approach to defend itself, remaining indifferent to the general needs of the oppressed and exploited black population. Much of the union's propaganda has catered to conservatism and racial fears, with talk of 'mob rule' and 'extremism.' This has exacerbated the racial division between the union and black working people, thereby preventing a real solution to the crisis."
>
> —"Beware Liberal Union-Busters"

The SL called for an alliance of teachers with the doubly oppressed black and Puerto Rican workers and poor, and for the building of a labor party to lead a united, militant struggle against the liberal union busters.

While in 1968 there was at least a trickle of poverty program money to squabble over, today the union bureaucrats compete in giving up jobs, wages and benefits and the capitalist politicians call for dismantling social services. The dead-end polarization between scab Abzug and racist Moynihan puts in stark relief the inability of the bourgeoisie to meet the needs of the exploited and the oppressed. We repeat our call in 1968: "No confidence in liberal union-busters!" Break with the Democrats, dump the bureaucrats and build a workers party, to fight for a workers government! ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

# Argentine Auto Workers Defy Military Dictatorship

Last week 20,000 Argentine auto workers defied the military government's threats in a strike against wage restraints at Buenos Aires assembly plants of Ford, General Motors, Chrysler, Mercedes-Benz and Fiat. They returned to work in an orderly retreat September 10 in the face of a government decree threatening the strike's organizers with prison terms of up to 10 years and an ultimatum from the auto companies promising dismissal of all strikers.

The magnitude of this courageous strike made it the most serious organized challenge to the viciously anti-working-class junta since the March 23 coup. The strike came in response to the miserable 12-percent wage increase the government and its economy minister Martinez de Hoz recently offered workers whose real wages have declined by more than 67 percent in the last year. Numerous strikers were arrested at Ford, which was guarded by troops after workers refusing to carry out a job order were expelled from the plant. Arrests also took place at Chrysler.

Auto workers have traditionally been one of the most militant and best-paid sectors of the Argentine working class. Now the economic "shock treatments" designed to restore profitability by reducing real wages has led to an escalating recession severely straining every sector except agriculture. In fact, many businessmen are urgently demanding a wage increase to restore buying power. The domestic market is virtually paralyzed, as reflected in an overall 80-percent decline in retail sales of consumer durables and a 41-percent drop in car sales since the military took over. In July, Ford, Renault and Fiat were forced to temporarily shut down their Argentine factories. Most plants have been operating half-time and the average auto worker now earns only $100 a month due to reduced hours.

As could be expected, the junta attributed the strike action to guerrilla subversion. As the 10 September *New York Times* described it:

> "The government viewed the continuation of the strike movement as a challenge to the authority of the armed forces by clandestine union leaders, linked to left-wing guerrilla movements, that are said to have penetrated key industrial plants."

And indeed, a Chrysler supervisor was machine-gunned as he returned from work September 9 and sabotage is said to be widespread in the auto plants. The press also reported explosions in large electrical stations, attributed to skilled saboteurs, blacking out sections of La Plata and San Fernando.

What the junta fears is a repeat of the wave of terrorist actions unleashed by the underground CGT (General Confederation of Labor) after the overthrow of President Juan Perón by the military in 1955. This, the most massive "urban guerrillaism" ever seen in Latin America, combined with constant industrial unrest in the plants made life so uncomfortable for the generals that they finally permitted a limited renewal of

*continued on page 8*

Striking auto workers in Argentina earlier this year. Goldberg/Sygma

## Threaten Mass Murder

# Counterrevolutionary Croatian Hijack/Terror Stunt

The dramatic trans-Atlantic skyjacking of a TWA jetliner by five Croatian nationalists last week is simply the latest episode in an ongoing counterrevolutionary crusade by right-wing Croatian emigrés against the Yugoslav deformed workers state led by Josip Broz Tito. Bombs have been set off outside Yugoslav embassies and consulates. Yugoslav officials abroad have been assassinated (the latest murder being that of the Yugoslav consul-general in Frankfurt on March 7).

In 1972 Croatian nationalists exploded a bomb on a Tanjug (Yugoslav) airliner bound for Sweden, killing everyone on board. In the same year a Swedish airliner was skyjacked to obtain the release of Croatian nationalists being held for the murder of the Yugoslav ambassador to Sweden. In Australia Croatian rightists have played the same role as Cuban gusanos in the U.S., launching terror attacks on the left and even the mass reformist Labor Party.

While the origins of the "Fighters for a Free Croatia," as the TWA skyjackers call themselves, is not known, it is clear that they fall politically within the spectrum of the extreme right-wing, anti-communist fascistic groups that look for political inspiration to the Ustashi, the Croatian fascist movement founded by Ante Pavelić, who presided over the German puppet state of Croatia during World War II. It is no accident that the text of the declaration issued by the "Headquarters of Croatian National Liberation Forces" (*New York Times*, 12 September 1976) delicately failed to mention this period in Croatian history. The indiscriminate mass terror the right-wing Croatian nationalists engage in today is simply a repetition on a small scale of the activities of the Ustashi when it held power. The history of Croatian nationalism is living proof that the nationalism of an oppressed people can easily take on an openly reactionary character.

Following their surrender in Paris the five skyjackers were quickly returned to New York where they are being held on $1 million bail for the skyjacking and the death of a New York City bomb squad cop killed attempting to detonate a bomb the group had placed in a locker in the crowded Grand Central Station subway arcade. Had the bomb exploded in the locker as the "Fighters for a Free Croatia" threatened, scores of innocent passers-by would have been killed and injured.

Because a New York City cop has been killed, this particular group may receive stiff sentences. But even in their case the bourgeois press is running favorable stories about the leaders of this reactionary band, painting what a "nice couple" and "regular churchgoers" they are. The bourgeoisie has found it convenient to use Ustashi groups as counterrevolutionary tools against Yugoslavia and, in fact, has probably bankrolled and armed various of the groups to help them better carry out their anti-communist missions. Indicative of the U.S. government's attitude toward the Ustashi is its protection of the war criminal Andrija Artuković (see WV No. 105, 16 April 1976).

While the various Ustashi groups have little support in Yugoslavia (an Ustashi band which had attempted to infiltrate from Austria in 1972 was wiped out almost immediately upon crossing the border), these die-hard

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# WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 126 | 24 September 1976


## Smash White Supremacy! For Proletarian Revolution!

# Anti-Apartheid Revolt Rages on in South Africa

SEPTEMBER 20 – When police fired into a crowd of protesting black secondary school students in the township of Soweto at 10 minutes after sunrise on June 16 they set off the broadest plebeian upsurge in the history of South Africa. Rather than dying down or collapsing in the face of murderous repression, the anti-apartheid revolt has continued to boil. Despite an official death toll nearing 400 (of which only *three* are whites!), new demonstrations break out in Durban and smaller industrial towns, and massive "stay-at-home" strikes repeatedly shake Johannesburg industry and commerce for several days at a time.

In the last three weeks, the protest

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Thousands of youths marched last week in Cape Town protesting apartheid and mass jailings. Le Figaro

**Kissinger Offers Billions to Shore Up Vorster.... 2**

## ¡Pinochet Asesino!

# Orlando Letelier Murdered

*The Partisan Defense Committee has sent the following telegram to the wife of Orlando Letelier:*

Compañera Letelier,

The savage assassination of your husband is a crime against the international working class. His death will be mourned by all those who worked in defense of the victims of junta repression. The bomb that ended his life will not stop the cause that Orlando Letelier courageously served. His memory will be avenged when the working class rises up in the name of all its martyrs to smash bloody junta rule once and for all.

Partisan Defense Committee

Orlando Letelier, the former Chilean minister of foreign affairs and ambassador to the U.S. under the government of Salvador Allende, was assassinated in Washington, D.C., on the morning of September 21. The bomb that blew apart his automobile near the Chilean embassy also took the life of passenger Ronnie Karpen Moffitt and seriously injured her husband. Both worked with Letelier as researchers at the Institute of Policy Studies.

Chilean exiles in the U.S. know well that the junta's infamous secret police, the DINA, operates with impunity out of the embassy. Pinochet's murder squads already assassinated the anti-junta general Carlos Prats in Buenos Aires in 1974. In Rome they shot Bernardo Leighton, a leader of the Christian Democratic Party, in the face. To these unspeakable atrocities are added the more than 30,000 leftists and workers murdered in cold blood by the U.S.-backed junta.

The 44-year-old Socialist lawyer was well known to those who worked with him in defense of the victims of Pinochet's terror. He was also well known to the junta, which jailed him for a year after the bloody coup of 11 September 1973. Only ten days ago Letelier was a featured speaker at a rally at Madison Square Garden marking the third anniversary of the coup. He was an influential opponent of the junta in the citadel of imperialism. Last Wednesday Pinochet revoked Letelier's Chilean citizenship for his untiring efforts in opposition to U.S. financial aid to the junta.

Those who worked in the campaign to save Mario Muñoz knew Orlando Letelier. At a time when the Chilean miners leader was little known outside his homeland and many Stalinists and liberals were reluctant to defend him from the Argentine junta, Letelier sent a letter detailing Muñoz' activities in defense of the working class and pledging the support of the Socialist Party for efforts to save him.

Letelier must have known that he was a marked man, yet he continued to speak out against Pinochet's barbarous torture regime. His courageous fight against junta terror should inspire new generations of militants to take up the struggle waged by this martyr of the workers movement.

Working-class militants throughout the world will bitterly denounce this outrage! We demand that the assassins of Orlando Letelier be arrested and prosecuted, but we express our utter lack of confidence in the U.S. bourgeoisie to do so! We denounce as well the complicity of the American government in this vile assassination. How is it possible that Pinochet's hit men are able to carry out their murderous work in the streets of Washington with impunity? The answer is all too obvious.

The world working class must raise a mighty cry of protest against the brutal murder of Orlando Letelier. Not a penny of aid to the Junta! Hot cargo Chilean goods! The assassination of Orlando Letelier will be avenged through proletarian revolution to smash the blood-soaked Pinochet dictatorship!

Jerrold Schecter

Vorster and Kissinger at Zurich summit.

Cemerapix

Kissinger with Tanzanian president Nyerere.

## Imperialist Scheme for Pax South Africana

# Kissinger Offers Billions to Shore Up Vorster

SEPTEMBER 20—On Friday, Henry Kissinger brought his famed shuttle diplomacy to Pretoria. Ostensibly intended to "avert race war in southern Africa," the U.S. Secretary of State's real mission was to counter the influence of Russian arms in the region by negotiating compromise deals to defuse guerrilla war in Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) and Southwest Africa (Namibia).

Behind this tactical move was the U.S.' strategic objective of shoring up the anti-communist bastion of South Africa. This places Kissinger on common ground with South African prime minister Balthazar Johannes Vorster, who hopes to defend his white supremacist *laager* by making concessions on peripheral issues to the surrounding black African states. Both were well aware that Kissinger's visit was a coup for Pretoria, partially lifting its diplomatic isolation.

Vorster and Kissinger are agreed that in the not-so-long run white rule is militarily non-viable both in Rhodesia and Southwest Africa. In the former blacks outnumber whites by 25 to 1. In contrast, the ratio of non-whites to whites in South Africa is only 5 to 1, with the country's white masters possessing a formidable military machine and rigid police-state measures to control the oppressed majority.

### From "Operation Tarbaby" to Majority Rule

In 1969, during Nixon's first term, Kissinger's office authored a major U.S. policy paper (National Security Study Memorandum 39) on southern Africa embodying a pronounced "tilt" toward outright support of the white supremacist regimes (known as "Operation Tarbaby"). The premises for this policy were:

> "The whites are here to stay and the only way that constructive change can come about is through them. There is no hope for the blacks to gain the political rights they seek through violence, which will only lead to chaos and increased opportunities for the communists."
>
> —quoted in *The Kissinger Study of Southern Africa*, 1976

However, after the fall of the Caetano dictatorship in Lisbon in April 1974 and the Portuguese withdrawal from its former African colonies, the imperialist fiasco in Angola and the resurgence of guerrilla warfare in Rhodesia, the State Department has now extensively rewritten its script.

Following an earlier meeting with Vorster in southern Germany, Kissinger made a policy speech in mid-August calling on the white population of Rhodesia to "recognize the inevitable" and accept "a government based on majority rule and minority rights." He also called for "a firm date for self-determination for Namibia" (*New York Times*, 14 August).

Expected to resign after the November elections no matter who wins, imperialist dove/hawk Kissinger is now a lame duck. He is reportedly eager to leave office with a diplomatic "last hurrah," and to that end he and his underlings are hop-skipping across southern Africa promising lucrative rewards to all parties if they cooperate.

To the phony Marxists of Frelimo, "rich uncle" Kissinger has offered $12.5 million in aid (to offset loss in revenues due to closing the Rhodesian frontier), much to the consternation of right-wing U.S. Congressmen. Similar sums are in the offing for Zambia and Tanzania, who are eager to exploit new economic prospects opened by recent completion of the 1,000-mile Tan-Zam railroad. (Last year, Vorster was able to drag Zambian leader Kaunda into fruitless negotiations with the die-hard white-supremacist Rhodesian government—even clamping down on Zimbabwe guerrillas operating from Zambia—on the promise of a few million South African rands in return for "détente.").

Securing the cooperation of the intransigent white settler regime in Salisbury is a somewhat more expensive proposition, if not altogether impossible. At meetings with Vorster in Zürich, Switzerland, earlier this month, Kissinger worked out a proposed bribe under which the U.S., South Africa and Britain would commit themselves to spending as much as $2 billion or more to buy the acquiescence of Rhodesia's white rulers over the next few years. The money would be used to establish a floor price for the sale of farmland and financial assistance to those seeking to emigrate. In return, the colonists would accept "majority rule" in approximately two years.

In Southwest Africa, a former German colony administered by South Africa since World War I, Vorster has already essentially agreed to Kissinger's proposal for negotiated independence. At Windhoek, capital of the territory, an ethnic-based constitutional convention announced on August 18 that a multi-racial provisional government would be established prior to independence by the end of 1978. However, while there was subsequent mention of elections, they would be held in the presence of the South African army (with the offer of UN observers as a fig leaf). And the only significant Namibian nationalist group, the South-West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO), was excluded from the talks. Now Vorster has reportedly agreed to include SWAPO ("all interested parties") in future negotiations.

The quid pro quo for these "concessions" by Pretoria is supposed to be international acceptance of the legitimacy of the apartheid regime. "During his talks in southern Africa next week, Mr. Kissinger will try to set up an international conference on Namibia to avoid pressures in the Security Council for economic sanctions against South Africa," wrote the *New York Times* (12 September). If sanctions are proposed anyway, Vorster wants a united veto by the Western powers.

Additionally, there is to be no interference in or pressure on South African "internal affairs." This was signalled by Vorster's bristling reply to Kissinger's abstract criticism of apartheid ("South Africa's internal structure is explosive and incompatible with any concept of human dignity") in late August. Of course, the U.S. has no intention of doing anything about this, and has issued similar windy statements in the past. But Vorster used the opportunity to underscore his broker's fee: a continued free hand in the brutal subjugation of South Africa's non-white masses.

Moreover, despite the talk of "majority rule," the compromise solutions being proffered by Kissinger are far from the smashing of white supremacy and instituting full bourgeois democracy. Even if there are no property or education qualifications on the vote, reference to "minority guarantees" are clearly meant to secure privileged status for whites who remain in Rhodesia. In Southwest Africa, inclusion of SWAPO in a council made up of appointed tribal elders, or even an elected parliament, will not eliminate the traditional regime of white *baaskap* (overlordship) in key mining centers which are the sum total of the Namibian economy.

Marxists must denounce the fraud represented by schemes for "elections" under the bayonets of the South African and Rhodesian armies, as well as "gradual independence," special status for whites and property owners, etc. We demand immediate independence for Nambia/Southwest Africa, a democratic constituent assembly in Zimbabwe/Rhodesia, and immediate withdrawal of South African troops from Southwest Africa.

We also point out that emancipation of the black masses from colonial oppression and white supremacy will not come about through Kissinger's shuttle diplomacy. The Rhodesian farmers and businessmen enjoy one of the highest standards of living in the world, which they could never duplicate elsewhere. It is unlikely that a couple of billion dollars will buy them off. The liberation of Rhodesia will not come about through "détente" with apartheid but through a bitter and bloody struggle to smash white supremacy.

The vacillating black nationalists will not lead such a struggle to victory for the oppressed. Nkomo, the most abjectly capitulationist of the Zimbabwe black leaders, has indicated agreement to "gradual" independence with a "qualified" voting roll, and the leaders of the "front-line" African states—Mozambique, Tanzania, Zambia, Angola—have at least tacitly endorsed the Kissinger deal. (Kaunda said of the peripatetic imperialist wheeler-dealer, "We have told him what our position is, his heart is in the right place, and we

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**WORKERS VANGUARD**

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# Will They or Won't They?

# USec on the Brink

## For the Rebirth of the Fourth International!

As the "United" Secretariat (USec) begins preparations for its Eleventh World Congress, the hostilities between its components are increasingly bitter and the smoke in the back rooms increasingly thick. Proposals to reunify split national sections persist at the same time that new splits testify to the inability of the counterposed tendencies to peacefully coexist in the same country. Bizarre organizational provocations alternate with rotten compromises while multi-sided nationally-limited factional polarizations proliferate within particular sections. Conflicting opportunist appetites toward mutually exclusive "regroupments" with forces outside the USec continue to pull this international rotten bloc apart.

The USec's Tenth World Congress (February 1974) had resulted in a stalemate between two main blocs of roughly equal size. The centrist defending leadership was composed centrally of the Europeans (Ernest Mandel, Pierre Frank, Livio Maitan) who had been Michel Pablo's seconds in the 1950-53 split which organizationally destroyed the Fourth International. The reformist minority was based on the American Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and the Argentine Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST). Numerous national sections had already split between supporters of the main power blocs and the outcome of the Tenth Congress was an organizational deal aimed at preserving the USec's scotch-tape "unity."

The pre-revolutionary situation in Portugal beginning in May 1974 confronted the fragile USec bloc with a flat contradiction of political appetites. The European-based International Majority Tendency (IMT) shamelessly tailed after the "progressive" military and the Stalinists while the SWP-dominated Leninist-Trotskyist Faction (LTF) embraced the CIA-funded Socialists of Mario Soares as the wave of the future. If strong USec groups adhering to the lines of their international brain trusters had existed in Portugal in the summer of 1975, they would literally have found themselves on opposite sides of the barricades.

Both sides apparently realized that even their limitless penchant for organizational horse trading could not guarantee the USec more than a very limited life expectancy, while a clear power struggle would undermine the stability of the respective blocs. This fundamentally sensible assessment was followed by a series of maneuvers which included byzantine machinations over finances and factional representation. Following the Tenth Congress the IMT launched a semi-factional public paper, *Inprecor*, to counter the SWP's publication of its and its co-thinkers' factional documents in *Intercontinental Press*.

More important, both sides apparently resolved that diplomatic considerations should not impede the attempted expansion of their blocs through rapprochements with forces outside the USec. The SWP flaunted its growing affinity for the French Organisation Communiste Internationaliste (OCI) while IMT luminary Mandel proclaimed willingness to renounce "labels" (such as "Fourth International") if ever they should get in the way.

That a split is an accomplished fact in all but name was demonstrated at last month's SWP national convention, as the byplay of mutual provocation reached ludicrous proportions. Again this year the SWP had smugly disregarded the facade of USec "democratic centralism" by inviting the OCI (and, this year, also Lutte Ouvrière) to attend. The leadership of the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR) reacted to this affront by announcing a boycott of the convention and threatening dire consequences for any LCR member who attended in defiance of the boycott. Apparently intimidated, the LCR members at the SWP convention did not attend the sessions. Uninitiated observers must have been quite flabbergasted at the spectacle of French comrades who had journeyed all the way to Oberlin, Ohio, presumably for the sole purpose of playing frisbee and sunbathing on the lawn outside!

The timing and pretexts of an open break, however, are anyone's guess and depend in good measure upon the imminence of prospective realignments with extra-USec forces. Ultimately the allure of new marriages of convenience will become irresistible, but there are advantages to postponing a formal separation. The components which constitute the main power blocs are themselves markedly unstable and hostility to a common antagonist has played no small part in keeping them stuck together.

An important indicator of the lack of unity in the IMT is the proliferation of factionalism within important sections. There were no less than five tendencies within the British IMG at the time of its congress last May. At present, shortly after the opening of a discussion period preparatory to the upcoming LCR congress, there are three declared tendencies, while the "majority" (which has not yet formed a tendency) is itself split into three major groupings.

The LTF has gone beyond disunity, with the Argentine PST carrying out an all-sided campaign to isolate its former ally, the SWP. In the Mexican section last year, the forces backed by the PST carried out a spectacular Stalin-style purge of the SWP supporters in order to pursue unhindered its policy of sucking up to the Stalinist Communist Party. The pro-PST group thereupon entered into a popular-frontist formation whose political basis included an explicit affirmation of "peaceful coexistence." In line with the political rapprochement of the PST with the IMT over Portugal and Angola, a fusion between the PST and IMT groups in Mexico has been announced in *Inprecor*.

There is also some dickering about a fusion between the corresponding organizations in Portugal, although the pro-PST PRT (whose slogan was a Soares government) is the most right-wing of the three USec groups there, while the highly unstable pro-IMT LCI occasionally takes positions somewhat to the left of its international backers. After the debacle of its ill-prepared attempt to run its own candidate in the June 1976 presidential elections, the LCI gave critical support to the Stalinists but on the day before the elections announced it was not supporting any candidate. Characteristic of the political confusion reigning in USec majorityite sections, three separate lines on the Portuguese elections emerged within the IMT's star section, the French LCR, but the Portuguese group's final position corresponded to *none* of them.

The vicarious petty-bourgeois guerrillaism of the Europeans, which first drove the ultra-respectable SWP into opposition, has been largely supplanted by another hoped-for short-cut to the "big time": centrist umbrella-groups of the so-called "broad vanguard" in which the IMT can practice the old Pabloist strategy of "entrism sui generis." The political basis of such "regroupments" is the shared centrist appetite to function as the tail of the popular fronts of the future.

In the 1930's, with the intensification of the level of class struggle and Stalin's abandonment of "third period" ultra-leftism in favor of popular frontism, many self-proclaimed partisans of Trotsky also moved to the right. Their capitulations took many forms from the French Trotskyists' temporary use of the slogan "for a fighting popular front" to the Vietnamese Trotskyists' long-term bloc with the Stalinists, which included publication of a joint newspaper. The most infamous example, however, was the fusion of Nin's Communist Left with Maurin's Workers and Peasants Bloc to form the POUM. Trotsky's sharp denunciations of this centrist regroupment were definitively confirmed when the POUM entered the bourgeois popular-front government of Catalonia in 1936.

In the recent period, sharp outbursts of working-class militancy have again given rise to renewed attempts by the bourgeoisie and the Stalinists to contain the workers by new popular fronts: the Allende government in Chile, the succession of Portuguese military governments following April 1974, the French Union of the Left, the Italian Stalinists' "historic compromise." The question of popular frontism has again become, as Trotsky put it some 40 years ago, the dividing line between bolshevism and menshevism.

The logic of the class struggle is relentless. The USec's 1970 refusal to characterize the Allende coalition as bourgeois signalled the appetite for participation in popular-front formations (and lies behind its continuing inability to draw a balance sheet on Chile). In the summer of 1975 the inauguration of the Portuguese FUR, with the stamp of approval of the MFA, offered the USec an opportunity to get in on the act. Welcoming this class-collaborationist bloc between the "far-left" groups and the left wing of the bourgeois officer corps, the IMT's LCI

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# From Pablo with Love

"Sous Le Drapeau du Socialisme"
Revue de la Tendance Marxiste
Révolutionnaire Internationale
Paris, February 11, 1976

Dear Comrade Ernest [Mandel],

We are confirming in writing for your convenience the main points we discussed in Brussels.

Proceeding from our evaluation of the present conjuncture in Europe, we stressed the need to build united revolutionary Marxist organizations in time that have a serious mass base and are armed with a transitional program that is correct also in relation to the traditional Socialist and Communist mass organizations. This task is particularly urgent in countries such as Portugal, Spain, Italy, France and Greece. We stressed our assessment—which we believe you share—of the European situation, where for the first time in a long while, real possibilities are shaping up for revolutionary openings that could lead to the victory of the socialist revolution. We mentioned the case of France, where there is at present the PSU on one hand and on the other the LCR, which approached the PSU with a request to open discussions with a view to possible unification, a perspective we support.

However, we see this eventual unification in the framework of a new organization that would not at the outset be part of any international formation, but would admit tendencies supporting the idea of joining one or another international organization at the proper time. This point, it seems to us, is essential to really clearing the way for both discussions about unification, and unification itself. Looking at it realistically, we cannot in the short run succeed in building an organization that would be revolutionary Marxist in its entire program. Rather, what is possible are organizations rapidly evolving toward such a program, especially in the context of an objective situation favorable to such an evolution.

We believe that the conditions of long-term crisis of European capitalism in particular favor such a perspective. Therefore, we insisted that questions of principle of an organizational character that would obstruct the discussion and unification should not be raised, if our common goal remains creating in time substantial united organizations of the type to which we refer.

If we take the revolutionary perspectives in Europe seriously as well as the Portuguese experience, which was disastrous from the point of view of the state of preparation of the revolutionary left, we must lose no time in seizing the opportunities for such a regroupment in various European countries, beginning with France.

We also stressed our more general interest in the development of the Fourth International, from which we were so rashly expelled in 1965, and on the way the crisis within its ranks is evolving.

We emphasized that on important questions of assessing situations and of tactics, we feel ourselves to be closer to the tendency known as "European" but that we have no intention whatsoever of exploiting your internal differences, hoping rather that the Fourth International as a whole will come to correct positions. We repeat: our approach at this stage is conditioned by the urgency of the objective situation in Europe.

We have also stated that we are prepared as an international tendency—over and above more exhaustive and deepgoing discussions about forming revolutionary Marxist tendencies with a serious mass base everywhere—to consider all forms of practical collaboration among forces that are converging ideologically, without raising any prior conditions of "principle."

We hope that the contact begun in Brussels will be continued, even if for the time being it is only at the level of joint practical work as in the campaign we are conducting through the Russell Foundation Committee for the freedom of Portuguese prisoners, support to Angola and Mozambique, etc....

With fraternal greetings,
Michel Pablo

## Fresno Four, Daniel Schorr

# Stop Government Attacks on Freedom of the Press!

On September 15 Daniel Schorr, the CBS news correspondent who leaked the suppressed report of the House Select Committee on Intelligence (the Pike Committee) to the *Village Voice*, faced down the House Ethics Committee, which is investigating the leak, and walked away scot-free. For refusing to say from whom he got the report, Schorr has now been enshrined in the hearts of liberals as a paragon of journalistic independence and the foremost champion of freedom of the press.

While Schorr's refusal to reveal his source is entirely commendable, it must be pointed out that the House Ethics Committee had no desire to make a popular martyr out of him. Its aim was rather to create a climate of apprehension among journalists as part of a broader effort to call a halt to post-Watergate exposures of covert "dirty tricks" by government spy agencies.

Furthermore, Schorr has made it clear that as a patriot he released the material only because he knew it was already "sanitized" by the CIA and the Pike Committee. He said he would never consider releasing material with the names of CIA agents. Even Henry Kissinger said to Schorr, "I think you got a bum rap" (*New York Times*, 4 September).

So while the liberals are busy congratulating themselves on Schorr's "victory," it may go almost unnoticed that the House Ethics Committee has in fact done what it set out to do: intimidate the press and erode the first amendment. If Congress is to be made privy to some of the CIA's skullduggery, then (since Democrats and Republicans, liberals and conservatives all accept the primacy of "national security") a way must be found to prevent nosy Congressmen and muckraking journalists from blowing the cover off covert operations. That is why the "Ethics" Committee (which has done nothing about widespread Congressional corruption) seized upon the Schorr case, spent $150,000 on a phony investigation and brought in the TV cameras. Ominous is the fact that the CIA has accomplished what *it* set out to do: it emerged from the Congressional investigations with its prerogatives essentially unchallenged and its covert operations intact, if not strengthened. What started out to be an inquiry into FBI and CIA "excesses" has been turned into an investigation of the investigators.

"Those guys really knew what they were doing," said one member of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence (the Church Committee). "They had a whole office set up to deal with us, and I sometimes had the feeling that they ran operations against us like they run them against foreign governments."

The Church Committee, for its part, was more than willing to reach an "understanding" with the CIA. Subscribing to the liberal view that the solution to CIA "excesses" was Congressional "oversight" (a strangely appropriate term, fitting for inquiries which ignore more than they reveal), the committee was anxious to demonstrate Congress' dedication to "national security." But the intelligence agency found the House counterpart to the Church Committee the Pike Committee—more troublesome.

When the CIA station chief in Athens was assassinated last December, the administration seized the opportunity to turn public opinion against the Congressional investigators. Using time-honored smear tactics, CIA director Colby blamed those who revealed agency secrets for the death, and President Ford asserted that inquiries into CIA methods were unpatriotic. A month later Representative John Young put forward a motion to suppress the final report of the Pike Committee, and by a vote of 246 to 124 the House ordered its own report locked away in a safe.

The publication of the "Pike Papers" in the *Village Voice* only a month after the patriotic Congressmen had voted to suppress them coincided with a burgeoning "security backlash." Many liberals were beginning to worry that the investigations, originally ordered in the hope of closing the mammoth "credibility gap" following the Watergate debacle, might be getting out of hand and could even damage the imperialist war machine. As Schorr observed: "I got hit by a swinging pendulum."

In the ensuing wave of support for Schorr in the liberal press, it is fortunate that some washed over to the case of two editors and two reporters for the *Fresno Bee* who were thrown in jail earlier this month. They were imprisoned on coercive "contempt of court" charges for refusing to reveal their sources for a series of articles in 1975 based on grand jury testimony concerning a Fresno city official accused of taking bribes. Although they could have been held indefinitely until they talked, the four were released last Thursday following a public outcry.

But the contempt charges have not been dropped, and the very attempt to force the newsmen to testify was an attack on freedom of the press which must be sharply denounced. For one thing, the *Fresno Bee* is part of a large newspaper complex with a circulation over 300,000, a staff of 1,700 and powerful friends; by launching a similar attack against a left press, the government could hope to suppress it altogether.

Parenthetically, with all the talk about a "national ethical standard" of journalistic integrity, it should be recalled that such behavior is not nearly so universal as the sanctimonious Jack Andersons assert. Not only does the "responsible" bourgeois monopoly press regularly suppress vital news (CBS refused to publicize the Pike Committee report, for example, and the *New York Times* refused to publish reports of the impending Bay of Pigs invasion), but the CIA has admitted to having scores of paid journalist informers, and other newspapermen have willingly turned over names to the government.

For every *Fresno Bee* there is a WTIC television station, which was only too happy to offer the courts its film clips of antiwar demonstrations at the University of Connecticut in the late 1960's for use in prosecuting protesters. (On the basis of this evidence, one professor was enjoined from "raising his middle finger to any University building" or "speaking untruths.") Far from facing a term in jail, the broadcast journalist responsible, one Larrye DeBear, subsequently landed a plush job with the state governor's office.

The recent government attempts to gag the press must be stopped in their tracks. The labor movement must militantly oppose government attempts to suppress information and to intimidate or prosecute news sources. The working class has a right and need to know what murderous plans the CIA has in store. And not just the sanitized disclosures that Daniel Schorr is willing to release, but the full story. Drop the charges against the Fresno Four! Stop the attempts to gag the press! Smash the CIA/FBI through proletarian revolution! ■

> **"The problem with the CIA is that once you accept the kinds of things they do, it's hard to argue that they shouldn't disguise it better."**
>
> **—F.A.O. Schwarz, chief counsel of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence**

UPI

**Four newsmen jailed for two weeks in Fresno for refusing to reveal source of grand jury leak were released September 17.**

George Tames/New York Times

**Daniel Schorr before the House Ethics Committee September 15.**


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## Brazilian Leftists Still in Prison in Argentina

# Free Paranagua and Pilla!

Brazilian sociologist and surrealist filmmaker Paulo Antonio de Paranagua and his companion Maria Regina Pilla, arrested 16 months ago in Buenos Aires as supposed "international plotters," are still being held by the Argentine junta although no charges have ever been filed against them. Their lives are in particular danger with the establishment of the death penalty by the military government in July.

According to the Association des Amis de P. Paranagua et M.R. Pilla, the defense group which is handling their case in Europe, the French government has granted the right of asylum to both, but Videla's regime refuses to release them. The Association has taken out several advertisements, most recently in *Le Monde* (7 June 1976), calling on the French government to intervene to force Argentine authorities to permit the couple to make use of their constitutional right to leave the country.

The arrest of Paranagua and Pilla was announced with great fanfare by the Argentine federal police on 22 May 1975. Rounded up together with them in this "spectacular" coup were ten others. They are: Flavio Koutzii (a Brazilian), Manuel Rallis, Carlos A. Alverez, Julio Ramos, Ingrid Rorrf, Susana Lobosco, Norma Espindola, Julia N. Veniaglo, Maria G. Mendez and Raul Rodríguez. It was reported by the defense committee that Rallis, Ramos, Rodríguez and Rorrf have been freed.

A recently released political prisoner who knew Paranagua and Pilla in jail

Maria Regina Pilla

VG/WV

reports that they have been brutally tortured. They were held incommunicado for the first two weeks after their arrest. Their long, harsh imprisonment is one more example of the arbitrary rightist terror which characterized the Peronist regime and has now been qualitatively escalated by the Videla junta, which promises to "finish off the job." Today Argentine leftist militants, trade-union leaders, Chilean and other political refugees are arrested at will or gunned down by the anti-communist "AAA" death squads.

The police originally accused Paranagua, Pilla and the others of responsibility for the kidnapping and death of Oherdan Sallustro, general manager of the Fiat Concord auto plant in Córdoba, the scene of many militant strikes. Sallustro was picked up by ERP (People's Revolutionary Army) guerrillas wearing police uniforms in March 1972. When announcing the arrests in 1975 the police claimed that the dozen militants were members of a "subversive group directed from Paris by the Fourth International." The ERP is led by the Revolutionary Workers Party. At the time it was the Argentine section of Ernest Mandel's "United Secretariat" (USec).

The same story was picked up by the CIA/FBI, one of whose pipelines into Congress, reactionary Democrat Larry McDonald, inserted an item on the case into the *Congressional Record*. In this diatribe McDonald claims that Paranagua is "Saul" who gave the report on Argentina for the Mandelite international majority of the USec's Tenth World Congress in 1974. (The same Birchite Congressman from Georgia

Paulo Paranagua

VG/WV

recently placed a red-baiting attack on the Mario Muñoz campaign in the *Record* as well.)

However, as was pointed out in the 30 May 1975 *Rouge*, the Argentine authorities had already tried and sentenced several others for the Sallustro kidnapping! The accusation was subsequently dropped and no other charges have been raised against the twelve, as was confirmed by a judicial decision on 4 December 1975.

The defense effort in Europe has been carried on primarily by the surrealist movement in France. The *Quinzaine Littéraire* (1-15 July 1975) described Paranagua as the primary mover of the surrealist movement in the city of São Paulo and the organizer of the first surrealist exhibition in Brazil. He participated actively in the Paris movement and "produced notably a 16 mm. short film entitled *Nadja*, people with strange objects, with a Freudian symbolic function: calyxes, 'fetish-knives,' movements of insects in sand, etc. Profoundly influenced by Buñuel's films, he wrote in 1966 a 'Manifesto for a Violent Cinema,' published by the review of the Surrealist Movement in São Paulo, *A Phala*."

A petition for the release of Paranagua and Pilla published last year in Europe included the signatures, among others, of Simone de Beauvoir, Henri Cartier-Bresson, Alain Krivine, Jean-Paul Sartre, Laurent Schwartz and more than 50 others. In the U.S., a small group in San Francisco, the Bay Area Group for the Defense of Paranagua and Pilla, has now been formed to publicize the case. (For further information, contact the Committee at P.O. Box 26481, San Francisco, CA 94126.) The Partisan Defense Committee joins in demanding the release of Paranagua, Pilla, Koutzii, Alvarez, Lobosco, Espindola, Veniaglo and Mendez. Down with the rightist repression in Argentina! For the immediate release of all class-war prisoners! ■

# S.F. Supervisors Throw Union Leader Off Airports Commission

SAN FRANCISCO, September 17—In the anti-union atmosphere following the defeated S.F. city workers strike, so-called "friend of labor" Mayor Moscone has found it expedient to seek the removal of Plumbers Union leader Joe Mazzola from the Airports Commission. This is ironic since Mazzola was originally appointed to the commission in 1970 by another "friend of labor" Democrat, mayor Joe Alioto.

As usual Mazzola had returned the favor by staunchly supporting Alioto's hand-picked candidate, Moscone, for mayor in 1975. But to Mazzola's bewilderment, class ties come before personal ties and the "pro-labor" mayor is now seeking his removal on grounds of "official misconduct" and "conflict of interest"—i.e., for having led, however miserably, a strike against the city government last spring!

Since the S.F. city charter specifies that a city official can only be removed by the Board of Supervisors, Mazzola is now standing trial before the very same anti-labor board with which he had to negotiate last spring! And with the entire proceedings being broadcast on local TV, they have taken on the character of a trial of the entire Bay Area labor movement (unfortunately represented by the likes of Mazzola).

Assistant city attorney George Agnost charged that Mazzola had committed official misconduct because "he led a strike that was per se illegal." If found guilty—a probable conclusion in this kangaroo court—Mazzola will be removed from his commissionership and will be barred from holding another city post again.

The opening sessions of the trial reveal quite clearly that the bourgeoisie—as represented by the mayor's attorneys and the Board of Supervisors—want Mazzola removed simply because he led a strike. Part of the massive "evidence" introduced by assistant city attorney Rene Chouteau consisted of payroll records "proving" that the plumbers were not on the job during the period in question, along with subpoenaed newsreels depicting the strike. In an effort to avoid showing the inflammatory anti-labor newsreels, Mazzola's lawyer Marvin Lewis, who once was an S.F. supervisor himself, offered to stipulate that Mazzola did indeed lead the strike and that the strike caused "serious damage" to the city! But the mayor's office insisted on showing the newsreels anyway, despite even the protests of some supervisors who wanted to expedite the "trial."

At one point attorney Lewis shouted out, "Labor is on trial here!" But in the next breath he tried to demonstrate Mazzola's loyalty to the bourgeoisie by noting, "It was *only* because you had Joe Mazzola on that commission that that airport stayed open"! Extending his argument, Lewis noted that if Mazzola was removed, then logically the Board should also remove the ILWU's Bill Chester from the Airports Commission, Harry Bridges from the Port Commission and the Machinists' Stan Jensen from the Redevelopment Agency.

When Lewis brought Harry Bridges to the stand to defend Mazzola, the ILWU chief went into a lengthy explanation of how all the labor "leaders" had tried to *avoid* a strike by making the "unprecedented" offer of turning negotiations over to an arbitrator who would be allowed to institute the disputed wage cut if he so ruled! Bridges went on to explain that during the strike, the overriding concern of the labor leaders was to "end the strike"! A more open admission of class collaboration could not be found.

Needless to say, all militant unionists must denounce such star-chamber proceedings against a labor leader for the "crime" of having led a strike. Likewise, Bay Area labor must demand that the $4,000 fines levied recently against each of the unions as a result of the strike be dropped, along with the five-day jail terms hanging over various union leaders. But we must also point out that these are only the fruits of a lifetime of class collaboration practiced by labor misleaders such as Joe Mazzola, who rose to power in the Plumbers Union in the 1940's by "guaranteeing to rid the union of Communists" (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 16 September).

The defense testimony for Mazzola during this trial openly admitted that the Plumbers Union leader and the rest of the Central Labor Council (CLC) officialdom were working not for the victory of the municipal craft workers' strike but for its *defeat*. There *is* a conflict of class interests here, but it was the *bourgeoisie* that won out last spring, with the help of Mazzola and his ilk. Emboldened by the defeat of the strike, the CLC's fickle "friends" in office are screaming for even more blood today.

The union ranks must force a clean break with this legacy of bellycrawling class collaboration. They must demand that all union officials resign from their appointed government posts. A militant membership must oust the labor traitors and replace them by a class-struggle leadership that breaks with all capitalist politicians and builds a workers party, to fight for a workers government. ■


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# Defend Greek Militants! Drop the Charges!

## Karamanlis Regime Prosecutes 14 for May 25 Protest Against Anti-Labor Law

The upcoming trial of 14 leftist militants in Greece at the end of September must be protested by socialists, trade unionists and defenders of democratic liberties throughout the world. The accused, almost all supporters of Maoist and ostensibly Trotskyist organizations, are facing frame-up charges by the reactionary Karamanlis government, which accuses them of "moral responsibility" for the massive strikes and anti-government demonstrations which occurred in Athens and elsewhere in Greece last May 25.

Elsewhere on this page we reprint an appeal received from the "Committee Against the Prosecution of Organizations and Militants for the Events of May 25." The Committee is composed of the ostensibly Trotskyist KEM (Communist Front), the Maoist KO "Machitis" ("Militant"), the OKDE (Greek section of the United Secretariat) and the OPA (Group for a Proletarian Left). In addition, several other left organizations in Greece, including the Ergatiki Protoporia (Workers Vanguard) group, have sponsored rallies and meetings in defense of the victims of this outrageous police frame-up.

The May 25 events were touched off by the passage of Bill 330/76, a vicious anti-labor act which, in effect, outlawed all strikes not authorized by the government-controlled GSEE (General Confederation of Labor of Greece). This law is part of the systematic attack which the Karamanlis regime has waged against the Greek working class since coming to power, with the blessings of the general staff of the Greek armed forces and of U.S. imperialism, in July 1974. In the few months since 330/76 has been on the books, it has provoked numerous 24- to 48-hour protest strikes and has served as an excuse for the firing of many militant workers.

The government's charge of "moral responsibility" flows from its attempt to depict the May 25 events as the work of a handful of provocateurs, a view which is shared by the Greek Communist Party. In contrast, we wrote at the time, "whether or not provocateurs were present, the demonstration became a massive expression of militant opposition to this latest outrage [the anti-strike bill] of the Karamanlis government" ("Workers Battle Cop Attackers in the Streets of Athens," *WV* No. 112, 4 June 1976).

Efforts to rally support for the imprisoned militants have been met with massive brutality on the part of the government. One militant caught distributing the leaflets of the defense committee was reportedly sentenced to 16 months' imprisonment. Defense rallies have been harassed by the police, and Committee members arrested and tortured.

On July 28, at an outdoor rally in Omonoia Square in Athens, the police attempted to arrest a Committee member, as they had done on two previous days. But on this occasion, some 150 workers and students encircled the cops and helped the Committee member to escape. Upon nabbing a second Committee supporter, the police decided not to take chances—this time they locked him up in a nearby store and called in 15 reinforcements to help with the arrest, but they were still unable to take him in. In response to appeals by the Committee, some 300 passers-by surrounded the store, chanting: "Down with Karamanlis terrorism!" and "Hands off the militants!" Only when 50 additional club-wielding cops arrived on the scene was the meeting finally broken up and the Committee member taken to the police station, where he was subjected to brutal mistreatment and charged with "abusing the authorities" (*Ergatiki Pali*, 31 July).

The prosecution of these 14 militants on trumped-up charges of "moral responsibility" poses a grave threat to left and labor militants, who are the government's primary target, and to democratic rights for all. A broad-based defense campaign must therefore be waged to *drop* the charges against the militants and to *abolish* the police-state laws on which they are based!

—Hands Off the Left Militants!
—Down with Anti-Labor Laws!
—Down with Karamanlis—For a Workers and Peasants Government in Greece!

Ergatiki Pali

**Striker is arrested during May 25 riots in Athens.**

Ergatiki Pali

**Riot police with armored car at barricade set up by striking workers in Athens May 25.**

## COMMUNIQUÉ

### from the Committee Against the Prosecution of Organizations and Militants for the Events of May 25

Comrades,

On September 29 the trial of 14 revolutionary militants will take place in Athens. They have been accused, as members of the following organizations, of being "responsible on a moral level" for the bloody demonstrations of May 25, 1976. They are: Filini and Frangakis of the EKKE (Revolutionary Communist Movement of Greece); Sideris, Chrisospathis, and Kaliabetsou of ELEK (Leninist Revolutionary Movement of Greece); Feloukas, Fotiadis, Tavanis, Vrondos, and Katintsaros of K.O. "Machitis" (Communist Organization "Militant"); Felekis and Amhavi of OKDE (Organization of Internationalist Communists of Greece, Greek section of the IVth International); Karabelias of OPA (Group for a Proletarian Left); and Kachrimanis, an individual militant.

The general strike of May 24-25, 1976, with the massive struggle of the workers against the terrorist attack of the bourgeois government on May 25, represents the first generalized political answer of the workers movement to the development of the anti-worker policy of the government.

It is for that reason that this trial aims to be an exemplary condemnation of the organizations who showed with their activity and positions their capability to express the mood of the workers vanguard and establish links with it.

At the same time, the reformist organizations help the government to strike at the workers movement, accusing the workers who fought on May 25 of being "provocators", and refusing to undertake any kind of mobilization against the anti-strike law 330/76, against the fascist modification of the Civil Code, and generally against the institutionalization of the repression which the government of Karamanlis initiated.

From the beginning of the police interrogation, we have formed a "Committee Against the Prosecution of Organizations and Militants for the Events of May 25", which consists at this moment of the organizations KEM (Communist Front), K.O. "Machitis", OKDE, and OPA. This committee aims at the collapse of the accusation of "moral responsibility" through a mobilization which will assume the defense of the street fights of May 25, so that an exemplary blow to the vanguard will become impossible.

We believe that the international solidarity of the revolutionary organizations and of the workers movement in Western Europe and North America can play a decisive role in this struggle. Experience has shown us that internationalist solidarity has become an important element in the development of the relationship of forces between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat in each country.

We think that, aside from publishing in your press information on the government attack against revolutionary organizations and the workers vanguard in Greece, your presence would be helpful, either in the symbolic but important form of a solidarity message, or, if possible, with representatives to the meetings which we shall organize during the days of the trial, and also with witnesses to the trial, who could, of course, be either leader members of revolutionary organizations, or independent individuals. Any protests from individuals, unions, etc. are also desirable.

Finally, we wish to stress our need for financial solidarity, which has for us an unusually important meaning at this moment. We have started a campaign from the beginning of the prosecution in the middle of the summer, in a climate of continual sabotage of this campaign by the reformists, and now, two months later, we find ourselves relatively exhausted financially. At the same time, we must prepare for the trial and initiate the decisive phase of this campaign.

We therefore request that you circulate this appeal among all organizations and individuals you feel might be interested in lending their support. We await a rapid answer with your opinion on these proposals.

Revolutionary Greetings,

Committee Against the Prosecution of Organizations and Militants for the Events of May 25

Solidarity messages and checks should be addressed to:

Giannis Felekis
Ergatiki Pali
Themistocleous St. 38
Athens, Greece
With mention: "For the Committee"

## Despite Quiet School Opening

# Racist Attacks Continue in Boston

BOSTON, September 14—Boston's liberal politicians and news media bowed to each other's applause after a relatively placid school opening last week. The *Boston Globe* (11 September) proclaimed "a good start" as attendance figures climbed from 59 percent to 74 percent by the second day of classes. School superintendant Marion Fahey professed herself "thrilled," claiming that dissipation of the white boycott meant that Boston, in line with experience in other school systems, would return to normal during the third year of court-ordered busing. Earlier, double-talking Mayor Kevin White opined that "the test of desegregation is for the most part behind us," and the timid black liberals of the *Bay State Banner* (2 September) editorialized that "'76 was the bicentennial summer" because of the absence of major racial violence, and "the best is yet to come."

But partisans of genuine racial equality in Boston and elsewhere are far from cheering. Violent opposition to school desegregation has not disappeared and has waned mainly because the authorities have backed off from rigid enforcement. The U.S. Congress' General Accounting Office (GAO) recently reported that 46 out of 58 Boston schools visited by its investigators this spring deviated by more than 25 percent from court guidelines on racial balance. In addition, federal district judge Arthur Garrity has exempted racist leader Pixie Palladino's East Boston turf from the busing program for yet another year.

Moreover, as long as busing is confined to decaying inner-city schools, genuine educational gains for blacks will be, at best, minimal. "White flight" to segregated suburbs is the answer of upwardly mobile racists to integration of city schools. Extension of busing to these bastions of white, petty-bourgeois privilege, nationalization of private/parochial schools and equal federal funding of all public schools remain vital democratic demands in the struggle against racial oppression and the abysmal "education" provided for poor and working people.

### "Ethnic Purity" in Boston

Despite liberal compromising on the busing plan, Boston remains a powder keg threatening to explode at any moment in a new wave of terror attacks on black people. On September 7, a 150-car anti-busing motorcade wound through the streets of South Boston. At Andrew Square, the racists encountered an empty MBTA bus with a black driver. A barrage of bricks, rocks and bottles damaged the vehicle so badly that it had to be abandoned, and the driver and a policeman who came to his aid were hospitalized with injuries inflicted by the screaming mob.

Although the racist mobilization has not scuttled the (watered-down) busing plan, it has succeeded in significantly increasing residential segregation in Boston through violent assaults on black and Latin families living in predominantly white neighborhoods. In 1973, 55 Puerto Rican families were stoned and firebombed out of the D Street housing project in South Boston. During the height of lynch mob frenzy in the fall of 1974, the remaining non-whites were evacuated from other public housing projects in the Irish enclaves of "Southie" and Charlestown. The same pattern was repeated in East Boston during the past year. After prolonged and determined resistance to white gang attacks, black families in the Sumner and Maverick Streets project were forced this spring to request transfer out of East Boston.

Don Preston/Boston

**Black driver's bus demolished by racist attack in South Boston.**

Attempts to organize self-defense with the aid of East Boston People Against Racism (EBPAR), a group backed by Youth Against War and Fascism, were broken by repeated arrests of the beleaguered black tenants and their supporters. With consummate hypocrisy, the Boston Housing Authority, police and courts claim they can do nothing about the hood-wearing terror gang that has adopted the name "KKK Junior." These sadistic thugs and their uniformed protectors have demonstrated the real meaning of the neighborhood "ethnic purity" praised by Democratic presidential candidate Jimmy Carter and the "ethnic heritage" dear to the heart of President Ford.

In recent months, the main focus of racist violence has moved from the schools to the streets of racially shifting areas, particularly Dorchester. Numerous black families have been driven out of borderline areas; as in East Boston, the police have reacted sharply not to the attacks, but against any efforts at organized defense by the victims.

Speaking at a March 26 rally called by the Spartacus Youth League (SYL) at Boston University, Mrs. Elaine Daley recounted attacks against her family which began as soon as they moved into a Hyde Park home. Bricks, bottles and bats were hurled through the windows, and Mrs. Daley was seriously wounded in one of these assaults. Police refused to lift a finger, however, unless she got rid of members of Progressive Labor's Committee Against Racism (CAR) who were protecting the home. The very night that CAR left, the house was firebombed. Attacks have continued, and the Daley home is now guarded by a defense committee which includes members of the Dorchester Heights-based Racial Unity Now.

### Class Axis Necessary

The Spartacist League (SL) has, from the very beginning of the current racist mobilization in Boston, campaigned for a labor/black defense, pointing out that neither police, national guard nor federal troops will protect the rights of oppressed minorities. We have also cautioned that only defense efforts solidly based on the mass organizations of the working class and in the black community can effectively crush the racist mobilization. Unfortunately, none of the ongoing defense efforts, many of them initiated by New Left-inspired community and tenants' organizations, have this character.

Such small, community-based groups are usually isolated, without real authority among either white or black working people. Groups like EBAR and Racial Unity Now (with its ludicrous acronym, RUN) have been repeatedly subjected to red-baiting, mass racist assaults and arrests without having the organized power to effectively counter these attacks. RUN meetings have been broken up by anti-busing ROAR vigilantes under the very eyes of plain-clothes cops. ROAR-connected city officials brand black families who fight back as "troublemakers."

At worst, some of the community defense groups have functioned as nothing more than police auxiliaries. In the aftermath of the notorious beating of black lawyer Theodore Landsmark at city hall, Harvard Business School graduate Stephen Burrell formed the "Community for Human Rights," a black citizens patrol operating out of the Roxbury Multi-Service Center. Backed by Roxbury businessmen, its purpose is not only to deter racist attacks but to "combat street violence" ... in collaboration with the racist cops, themselves perpetrators of much of the "street violence" suffered by ghetto residents!

Recent incidents of racist violence have centered on the Geneva Avenue area in Dorchester. On August 22 the home of a black family on Topliff Street was stoned; the following day a black man was stabbed and black motorists were stoned in the same area. In response, a group of white liberals formed the Geneva Avenue Citizens Group, attempting to set up community patrols equipped with Citizen Band radios for liaison with the police.

At an August 25 meeting, Brian Harrison, the group's leader, explained that the cops have refused to adequately protect black homes under attack. However, he then boasted that the racist-infested city council endorsed the idea of a CB patrol in the area, and that the local police had urged him to go ahead with the project! The meeting was attended by a contingent from ROAR and the paramilitary South Boston Marshals, whose specialty is breaking up RUN and EBPAR meetings. However, in this case their leader merely spoke during the floor discussion, contemptuously pointing out that the few assembled liberals didn't even have enough money to purchase an adequate supply of the radios which the Marshals themselves use to coordinate their night-riding sprees and jam police communications during skirmishes.

Why, indeed, should the Marshals fear the activities of liberal groups (even independent, anti-racist groups like EBPAR and RUN) which call for "community-based defense" in predominantly white neighborhoods? It is precisely in this arena that the racists have their strength. A long history of rigid segregation and ethnic clannishness has made "community" synonymous with race and ethnic group. In the absence of a powerful class-conscious working-class movement, poor and middle-class whites who live in racially shifting areas are ripe for the racist demagogy of ROAR-style "community leaders."

### For Labor/Black Defense!

As the result of unscrupulous bourgeois politicians, red-lining bankers and block-busting real estate sharks, integration is as racially inflamed a subject as school busing. The white homeowners, small businessmen and lawyers who dominate political and social life in communities like Dorchester see black neighbors as "lower property values." In turn, the tenants' organizations are based on an inherently unstable population group and lack any real social power to overcome the landlords. Consequently they are even less able to cut through hardened racist attitudes or win much support for their vaguely leftist programs.

Integrated trade unions are key to building effective anti-racist defense groups with support outside the beleaguered ghettos. Daily cooperation at the workplace between black and white workers tends to break down backward social attitudes. Common experience of social production and membership in unions uniting the workers against the bosses lay a basis for class unity that alone is capable of undercutting the racist prejudices bred in the neighborhoods.

For two years the SL has propagandized about the need for labor/black defense against the racist anti-busing offensive, in Boston and elsewhere. Actively participating in pro-busing demonstrations, the SL/SYL has combatted dangerous illusions in the benevolence of the bourgeoisie's cops and troops spread by the reformists. We have also called on such unions as the Amalgamated Meatcutters, United Electrical Workers and the Boston Teachers Union—all directly hit by racist attacks and the busing controversy—as well as black groups like the NAACP to take the lead in mobilizing a labor/black defense. But the response of the bureaucrats and black liberals has been uniformly negative.

This does not mean that integrated working-class defense is impossible. In the spring of 1975, Local 6 of the United Auto Workers at the International Harvester plant in Melrose Park, Illinois, successfully carried out just such a labor-based anti-racist defense. A Civil Rights Defense Committee, proposed by members of the Labor Struggle Caucus (a class-struggle opposition in the Local), was established by the union to protect the home of a black member which had been repeatedly firebombed and stoned by racist night-riders. The defense committee maintained a nightly guard for months, preventing further attacks. The integrated defense was effective precisely because the racists saw behind the guards the organized strength of the UAW.

The example of UAW Local 6 is immediately relevant to recent Nazi/Klan-led riots in Chicago's Marquette Park, to the continuing racist attacks in Boston and to the whole struggle against black oppression. Only by mobilizing the power of the labor movement and black community organizations can the racist mobilization be crushed. ■

## Frank Lovell Reveals Trade-Union Policy:

# SWP Gives "Uncritical Support" to Washington Post Scab

A recent (June 1976) internal bulletin of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) contains a contribution by Frank Lovell on union elections. With its recent "turn to the masses," the SWP leadership is no doubt concerned to clarify uncertainties in the party on the novel and unaccustomed matter of trade-union work. The choice of Lovell to lay down the party line is a natural one: he is a long-time trade-union activist who now writes "The National Picket Line," a regular column in the *Militant*.

Lovell's contribution is a how-to approach for burrowing into the lower levels of the trade-union bureaucracy. The first rule is not to antagonize the higher-ups. "There is nothing to be gained from complaining about what the union officials ought to do and fail to do," he advises sagely.

Socialist politics have no place in union election campaigns, according to Lovell. "When we run for public office we explain how society must be changed by the working class, and we try to speak before union audiences to present our message of socialism." However, this is "not appropriate in union elections. In these elections union members are mostly interested in choosing honest officials who will represent them against the employers."

Indeed, for the SWP, demands such as a workers government are entirely alien to their union work. In fact, according to Lovell, workers who listen to SWP speakers "are not asked to put their union on record for the socialist candidate." In other words, the SWP is content to allow the pro-capitalist bureaucrats to continue tying the unions to phony "friend-of-labor" Democratic Party politicians. Hence, their paper position in support of a labor party and class independence amounts to so much bunk.

Lovell's article also contains a polemic. Significantly, he has no criticism to make of the Communist Party (CP), the largest tendency on the American left. In actuality there are no fundamental differences between the reformist trade-union policies of the CP and those of the SWP. Lovell's quarrel is with the "ultraleft."

Frank Lovell

Militant

Lovell never identifies whom he means by "ultraleft," and from the vantage point of the social-democratic SWP, anyone to the left of the CP is "ultraleft." But Lovell blasts his "ultralefts" in particular for not supporting such trade-union bureaucrats on the make as Ed Sadlowski and Arnold Miller. For the "ultralefts," "the important thing is the program. And they mean the *full program*. The ultralefts are satisfied with nothing less than a statement that takes up all questions from the class nature of the state to transfer of power to the workers" (his emphasis). Since the Spartacist League (SL) is unique on the American left for withholding support from Miller and Sadlowski and in calling for the formation of caucuses in the unions based on the full Transitional Program, it is clear that Lovell is referring specifically to the SL.

As is characteristic of reformists, Lovell tries to build a case that while his party addresses issues of genuine concern to workers, its left opponents busy themselves with bellowing revolutionary-sounding proclamations "that often ignore the very issues that interest them [the workers] at this juncture."

This is pure hogwash. Lovell is well aware that his revolutionary opponents do not fail to intervene around even seemingly minor questions that affect the interests of the working class. What distinguishes the policies of reformists from revolutionaries is not that the former advocate intervening in particular struggles for limited demands, while the latter abstain. What is at issue is the *program* on which they base their intervention.

The SL holds up as exemplary work, for example, the action of the Labor Struggle Caucus of UAW Local 6 in initiating a union defense guard to protect a black union brother whose home in a predominantly white section in Chicago was being attacked by racist hooligans. In contrast, the SWP supported resolutions in the unions calling on federal troops to disband racist opponents of busing, treacherously placing the defense of blacks in the hands of the racist capitalist state!

### The SWP's Model Union Campaign

Lest anyone still be unclear as to his meaning, Lovell provides his readers with a "model" union electoral campaign. This was the campaign by a slate headed up by Tom Grubisich for the recent Newspaper Guild convention. During the protracted pressmen's strike at the *Washington Post*, Grubisich advocated leniency toward Guild members who were scabbing. While the strike was going on he was narrowly elected president of the Washington-Baltimore Local 35 over the incumbent Warren Howard, who at the time advocated disciplinary action against scabs. Having been put into office by scabs, Grubisich subsequently crossed the picket lines himself.

Lovell is kind enough to enclose the platform of Grubisich's "Unity/Reform" slate in an appendix. It certainly meets Lovell's criterion of ignoring general political and social questions. There is hardly anything in the platform that goes beyond parochial trade unionism—nothing about a labor party, a sliding scale of hours and wages, etc.

What does, in fact, this slate have to say for itself? The group modestly introduces itself by noting: "*Post* members on this slate respected picket lines at that newspaper for nearly five months or worked to persuade the unit to go out during the strike." In other words, some *Post* members of the slate crossed picket lines after five months, while others didn't even wait that long to scab!

Militant

**Militant forum last February on Post strike; left, Tom Grubisich of the Guild; right, James Dugan, president of press operators Local 6.**

The campaign flyer also explains the group's program for "unity" and for "reform." "Unity," to the Grubisich gang, means unity with scabs. The slate opposed challenging the International's decision not to allow charges to be brought against the *Post* scabs. To take such action, it seems, would be to "reopen hostilities" and thus destroy "unity"!

As for "reform," Grubisich & Co. wailed that the Local 35 leadership had acted in a coercive and bureaucratic fashion. Now, to be sure, the Local 35 bureaucrats do customarily carry out their policies in an undemocratic fashion. But what angered the Unity/Reform

*continued on page 11*


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## Anti-Apartheid Struggles...

*(continued from page 1)*

movement spread beyond the sprawling black labor compounds of the Witwatersrand around Johannesburg to "coloured" (mulatto) workers and youth in the Cape Town area. The progressive extension of the militant outbreaks to all sectors of the non-white population confirms the character of the revolt as an anti-tribal movement against white supremacy. And with several powerful general strikes in succession it is no longer possible for the government to pretend that the uprising is merely the work of hooligan youths.

Once they discovered they could not break the back of the protests simply by rounding up a few "ringleaders" and slapping several hundred suspects in jail as a warning, the South African authorities sought to turn the non-white masses against each other by sparking tribal clashes and inter-communal rivalries, hoping for something on the order of the 1949 Durban riots between blacks and Indians. During the three-day general strike at the end of August, police and employers incited migrant Zulu workers to form gangs of thugs (*impis*) to beat up strike pickets. But despite a number of deaths, the police provocation was unsuccessful in breaking the strike.

That strike involved at least 50 percent of the 250,000 black workers who daily commute to Johannesburg jobs. Despite police attacks, the strikers held firm, choking off the labor supply in South Africa's industrial nerve center. In another action last week, more than 70 percent of the workers reportedly stayed at home.

In late August leaflets of the banned African National Congress (ANC) were distributed around Johannesburg calling for the strike; in the latest case, leaflets of the Students Representative Council in Soweto called on workers to stay at home in protest against the hundreds slaughtered and the thousands arrested since mid-June. This does not indicate coherent leadership, however, as the stay-at-home strike is a traditional form of protest and also swept the country after the 1960 Sharpeville massacre.

In 1960, the Nationalist Party regime quickly suppressed the protest movement in the urban areas by tens of thousands of detentions. Now once again the iron fist of the police is being felt throughout the huge black ghettos, with more than 850 being held under "preventive detention" in the last three months. Expressing the views of the hard-line Afrikaner politicians, "Justice" Minister James Kruger dismissed the present "disorders" as "mere child's play," and announced: "The black man knows his place, and if not, I'll teach him his place" (UPI dispatch, 15 September).

### "We Won't Join White Laager"

While leaflets in late August called for a nationwide "stay-at-home," it was effectively limited to the Johannesburg area. The same was true at the beginning of last week's strike, but on the third day 100,000 coloured workers in Cape Town went on strike, with absenteeism in certain industries running as high as 80 and 90 percent. Since September 2, the Cape has been shaken by repeated violent protests, many led by coloured students who support the South African Students Organization (SASO) and identify with the "black consciousness movement."

This was an ominous development for the ruling class, many of whose more "enlightened" members had sought to use the coloured population as a buffer between whites and the black masses. Although they live in segregated areas, the coloureds are not subject to the infamous pass laws that govern the daily

movements of blacks. Hence demonstrations and clashes with police took place not only in the garrisoned townships but also in the very heart of Cape Town. For days the fashionable shopping streets of the city were filled with tear gas.

Nearly half of the country's 2.3 million coloureds live within 50 miles of Cape Town, far outnumbering blacks in the area. Descendants of Boer settlers and the aboriginal Hottentots and Bushmen, the majority speak Afrikaans. Well aware of the potential power of the coloureds, who dominate construction and many skilled and semi-skilled categories in the Cape's economy, the government announced a series of concessions on September 10. Segregated public facilities will be eliminated, coloured and Asians (mostly Indians) can set up businesses in previously restricted localities; obstacles to coloureds serving as union officials (some 200,000 are members of officially recognized unions) will be ended.

But as to the real thrust of the coloureds' struggle—universal suffrage, abolition of the industrial color bar, equal pay for equal work, decent housing to replace the shanties—Pretoria adamantly defends apartheid. In a speech on September 13, Prime Minister Johannes Vorster refused any demands for coloured representation in parliament. "I am not prepared to share power over myself and my people with any other people however well-intentioned they might be." A couple of days later the non-white workers in Cape Town responded to the paltry concessions with a massive stay-at-home. Even the liberal leaders of the coloureds have been forced to adapt to the present combative mood. In response to talk of a "Coloured New Deal," Norman Middleton, vice-chairman of the coloured-based Labour Party, defiantly announced: "We won't join the White *laager* [camp]" (*Star* [Johannesburg], 11 September).

### Smash Apartheid!

The architects of "separate development" (apartheid) have succeeded in laying the basis for a mighty alliance between coloured and black workers. A few relative privileges do not offset the intense racial oppression which Indians and coloureds experience in common with blacks. The Cape Coloureds were disenfranchised in 1956; tens of thousands were removed from their homes as racial boundaries were drawn more sharply in the cities. Families have been split up because darker children were classified as "Bantu" and the extremely light-skinned as white. Within the last year an infamous Coloured Cadets Act has forced youth between 18 and 24 to serve in compulsory labor camps to provide a "trained and disciplined" workforce to replace blacks who are being removed en masse from the western Cape Province.

Deepening of the black rebellion despite the most savage repression and the manifest solidarity of the coloured population opens the possibility of striking major blows at the apartheid system. The specific demands of the workers—abolition of the industrial color bar and discriminatory wage rates, the right to organize trade unions, a decent standard of living, elimination of the contract labor system—must be linked to more general democratic demands, including an end to the pass laws, abolition of all forms of public and residential segregation, free and equal public education, release of anti-apartheid political prisoners, an end to all police-state laws and a constituent assembly elected on universal suffrage.

The anti-apartheid revolt in South Africa is in grievous need of revolutionary leadership. It has demonstrated great solidarity and daring—evidenced by the inability of the police to capture the 19-year-old Soweto student leader Tsietsi Mashinini despite a ten-week manhunt. However, to the extent that the most militant elements have a coherent political outlook it is the vague

AP

"black consciousness" rhetoric. Thus Mashinini, the head of the Students Representative Council in Soweto and a leader of the SASO-linked high school movement, told British television news reporters in a clandestine interview that black nationalists in South Africa "want the tables to be turned so that the white man can get a taste of his own medicine and feel what it is like to be oppressed."

This diffuse anti-white anger is not capable of showing the oppressed non-white masses the road to victory against a powerful state and technologically advanced entrenched *Herrenvolk* (master race). Lacking a perspective of mobilizing the powerful South African working class, "black consciousness" will only oscillate between desperate outbreaks of undirected fury and blocs with oppositional white parties and the black petty bourgeoisie represented in Urban Bantu Councils.

Major sections of the bourgeoisie, both English-speaking and Afrikaner, are attempting to lay a basis for channeling the militancy of the non-white masses into a political framework guaranteeing the continuation of class exploitation and "reformed" white supremacy. The leadership of the major white opposition United Party (U.P.) has launched a "Save South Africa" campaign. It calls for a new government composed of the U.P., the Progressive Reform Party of gold magnate Harry Oppenheimer and disaffected moderate members of the Nationalist Party (*Observer* [London], 29 August).

This white coalition government would then convene a National Convention to draw up a new, multi-racial constitution. Embodied in the proposal for such a convention (a demand supported by the white opposition parties, the coloured Labour Party, the Indian Council, the majority of the Bantustan chief ministers and the Stalinist-backed ANC) is the concept of a federated relationship among the different sections of the population in which each group's political representatives would presumably exercise some form of administrative veto.

Such proposals, while quite radical in the South African context, are fundamentally counterposed to even bourgeois democracy. Rather than "one man, one vote," this is an attempt to institutionalize white minority rule by coopting the petty-bourgeois leaderships of the racially oppressed masses. Militant youth in SASO are violently opposed to such a perspective of reforming the present racist system. Yet they have no alternative but a continuation of spontaneous revolts in which the oppressed masses repeatedly lose and eventually succumb to demoralization. Guerrilla war will not bring down the apartheid juggernaut.

A Trotskyist party in South Africa would struggle for the broadest democratic rights while mobilizing the five-million-strong proletariat and its allies among the non-white population to overthrow the apartheid structure, creating the conditions for a black-centered workers and peasants government. Only proletarian revolution can overcome tribalism and communal divisions by expropriating not only the pig-headed Afrikaner bourgeoisie but also the "enlightened" financiers and mining tycoons who stand at the heart of South African capitalism. ■

**Smash Apartheid—For a Workers Revolution in South Africa**

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# WORKERS VANGUARD

## Kissinger...

*(continued from page 2)*

must leave it to him." As Kissinger left, the Zambian leader dabbed his eyes, saying, "God help your mission.")

Unable to break with imperialism, all the bourgeois African states—from the Angolan and Mozambique "people's republics" to glorified bantustans like Malawi—are incapable of liberating the workers and peasants. The key to emancipation for the oppressed non-white masses is the construction of a Trotskyist party, based on the powerful black proletariat of South Africa, to lead a struggle of permanent revolution, sweeping away the institutions of white supremacy and colonialism and installing a revolutionary workers and peasants government which alone is capable of providing democracy for the oppressed ■

# USec...

*(continued from page 3)*

went so far as to endorse the FUR's program of political confidence in the bourgeois MFA (capitalist "austerity," military control of the organs of "people's power," etc).

At the time of the Italian elections last June, Livio Maitan's Gruppi Comunisti Rivoluzionari (GCR) managed by the skin of its teeth to get into the Democrazia Proletaria (DP) slate. The French LCR waged a vigorously uncritical campaign for the DP slate, holding it up as a model of the appropriate way to "go beyond sectarian traditions" (*Rouge*, 19 June). The IMT, which maintains cozy relations with the "critical Maoist" Lotta Continua and lands it in much the same manner that it used to suck up to the Chilean MIR, has followed Maitan in his adoption of the centrists' slogan of a "government of the lefts" a formulation deliberately left open to eventual bourgeois participation and Alain Krivine did not rule out participation in such a government in a prominent interview (*Politique Hebdo*, 10 June).

The GCR is aiming higher than an electoral bloc, and longs to turn the DP conglomeration into a new "revolutionary" organization. The GCR has called for the continuation of DP as an ongoing formation in which to debate "the fundamental matrix of problems of a revolutionary strategy in developed capitalist countries" (*Bandiera Rossa*, 5 July).

For 25 years, Maitan has been the vanguard of Pabloist capitulation, but Alain Krivine and his LCR are not far behind. The LCR's December 1974 congress set forth a perspective of a fusion with the left-social-democratic Parti Socialiste Unifié (PSU) to form a "common revolutionary organization based...on a practice which sets aside any sectarian spirit" (*Rouge*, 27 December 1974). A more recent display of the same "spirit" was Mandel's offer to abandon any reference to Trotskyism "in 24 hours" to placate queasy left-reformists.

The LCR leadership has now made its main practical perspective the formation of joint electoral lists with the PSU for the 1977 local elections, prefiguring legislative elections in 1978. Recent polls indicate that if a general election were held today, the Union of the Left would obtain a majority. Accordingly, the LCR-PSU pact is based on voting for the Union of the Left at least on the second round. When a local by-election was scheduled in Avignon for September 12, "the LCR took the initiative of discussing with the PSU the possibilities of presenting a common candidate." An electoral bloc today, a common organization tomorrow, hopes the LCR, which termed the Avignon agreement a "test" which "takes on national importance" (*Rouge*, 31 August).

It is poetic justice that the USec revisionists who for years have howled that the charge of "Pabloism" was a meaningless label (after all, they and Pablo himself parted company in 1965) now find themselves negotiating with Pablo, *eminence grise* of the PSU left wing and personification of the strata with which the USec is trying to regroup. Mandel's pooh-poohing of "labels" recapitulates Pablo's abandonment of those "labels" some four years ago and coincides with sentiment of some elements within the LCR that references to Leninism are too "authoritarian" or "sectarian"!

A letter from Pablo to Mandel on February 11 referred to a meeting at which the two "shared" an "assessment of the European situation." Pablo noted that "the LCR...approached the PSU with a request to open discussion with a view to possible unification, a perspective we support." But he cautioned:

> "However, we see this eventual unification in the framework of a new organization that would not at the outset be part of any international formation, but would admit tendencies supporting the idea of joining one or another international organization at the proper time."

A few months later Mandel obligingly proclaimed his willingness to drop the "label" of "Fourth International."

There is no Trotskyist pole in the USec. The SWP's polemics against the IMT's popular frontism and capitulation to Stalinism are simply an "orthodox" cover for opposition from the right, in the direction of liberalism, as shown by its defense of the "right of free speech" for fascists and its calls for using the imperialist American army to "protect the rights" of U.S. blacks (would the LCR call on the French army to protect Algerians in Marseilles?). In the bewildering array of eclectic opposition groups in the USec none offers a political opposition to the capitulationist and maneuverist methods which have thus far kept the USec pasted together. Only a consistent struggle to defeat Pabloist revisionism can generate a programmatically centered, authentically Trotskyist alternative. ■

# Free All Victims of Apartheid Injustice!

*During the past three months of black and "coloured" uprisings in South Africa, thousands of anti-apartheid militants have been arrested, and 850 detained indefinitely with no legal rights whatsoever. These recent victims of racist, police-state terror, overseen by the internationally notorious Bureau of Security Services (BOSS), join tens of thousands of other class-war prisoners in a country with the highest per capita arrest rate in the world. Under the Internal Security Act many of these prisoners may legally be held until their deaths. Down with apartheid! Free all victims of apartheid injustice—Hot cargo goods to and from South Africa!*

*The Partisan Defense Committee has sent the following telegram. WV urges its readers to send similar telegrams of protest.*

**South Africa Permanent Mission to UN**
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**South Africa Embassy 3051 Massachusetts Ave., N.W.**
**Washington, D.C. 20008**

**We vigorously protest the arrest and preventive detention of the members of the South African Stodents Organization, the South African Students Movement, the Black Peoples Convention, and hundreds of other anti-apartheid militants, as well as the journalists arrested for attempting to reveal the scope of the South African regime's brutal repression of the black and colored demonstrators. We demand their immediate release!**

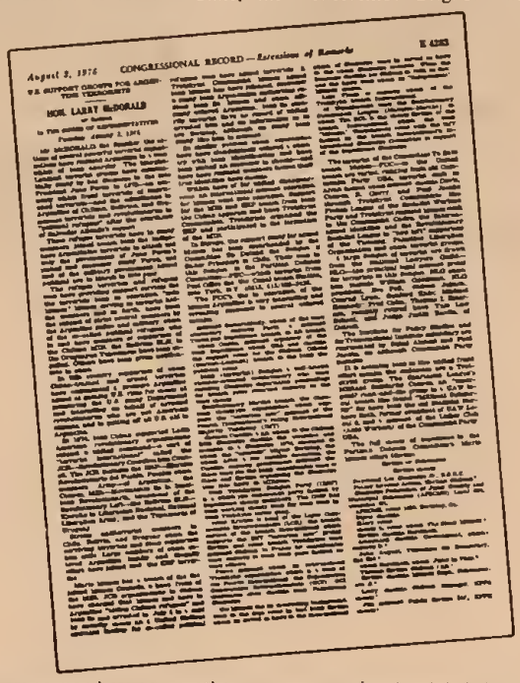
**Partisan Defense Committee**
**Box 633 Canal St. Sta.**
**New York, N.Y. 10013**

# Birchite Congressman Witchhunts Muñoz Campaign

Despite the liberals' talk of a post-Watergate decline in government witchhunting, there has been a marked recrudescence of McCarthyite "exposés" of left organizations in the pages of the *Congressional Record* of late. Last month the successful campaign to save Chilean miners leader Mario Muñoz was singled out as a target in this insidious smear campaign.

Under the title, "U.S. Support Groups for Argentine Terrorists," Congressman Lawrence McDonald inserted a slanderous article redbaiting the Muñoz campaign into the 3 August *Record*. Using the method of the Big Lie, the article indiscriminately labels Latin American political refugees in Argentina "Cuban trained terrorist[s]" and picks out a curious list of "well-known violence-oriented" individuals associated with the campaign in order to tar the co-sponsors, the Partisan Defense Committee (PDC) and the Europe-based Committee to Defend Worker and Sailor Prisoners in Chile, as terrorist support organizations.

Using a standard McCarthy technique, the Congressman then reproduces the entire "very interesting and revealing" two-and-a-half-page list of individuals and organizations that endorsed the campaign to save Muñoz. During the 1950's such lists were used by local anti-communist zealots to label liberals and left-wingers as members or endorsers of "Communist front organizations" "cited in the *Congressional Record*." Using such purported official validation and guilt-by-association innuendo, often supplemented by hearings of the infamous House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC), thousands were thrown out of their jobs and otherwise persecuted.


August 3, 1976 CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — Extensions of Remarks E 4283

U.S. SUPPORT GROUPS FOR ARGENTINE TERRORISTS

HON. LARRY McDONALD

Statement by congressman McDonald published in August 3 Congressional Record.

The Muñoz campaign is far from being the first target of McDonald's attacks. Last year, for instance, he inserted a lengthy "report" on the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), which he characterized as part of the "terrorist Fourth International." The report focused on the Internationalist Tendency (IT), the supporters of Ernest Mandel's International Majority Tendency of the United Secretariat within the SWP, and quoted "secret" SWP documents (presumably obtained from the numerous FBI and right-wing informants/provocateurs planted in the party) which, of course, failed to substantiate any of McDonald's wild charges.

Who is this professional red-baiter? Lawrence Patton McDonald was elected in 1974 to the U.S. House of Representatives from Georgia's Seventh District, a largely white, rural area known locally as "Lockheed Country." The *Congressional Quarterly* (4 January 1975) describes him as "stand[ing] virtually alone as an extreme conservative" among first-term Democrats in the House.

McDonald proudly boasts that he is the youngest member of the National Committee of the John Birch Society, and a look at his voluminous contributions to the *Congressional Record* reveals his mission as a demagogic witchhunting fanatic. Since Congressmen cannot be sued for slander or libel, McDonald is free to print anything he wants in the *Record*, and he does so at great length.

In one recent two-month period, entries under his name include attacks on the PDC, SWP, October League, National Lawyers Guild, Bay Area Research Collective, George Jackson Brigade, Prairie Fire, U.S.-Cuba Health Exchange, *Counterspy* magazine (one of his special bugbears), the July 4th Coalition and the People's Bicentennial Commission (two other favorites), the Communist Party, Non-Intervention in Chile, the Venceremos Brigade and other groups variously labeled as "subversive," "terroristic," "communist" and "revolutionary."

In diatribes against the Lawyers Guild and the People's Bicentennial, McDonald complains that "It is to be deeply regretted that we in the House no longer have an Internal Security Committee [the renamed HUAC] to investigate subversives and extremist organizations" (*CR*, 5 May 1976). In its absence, the Georgia Congressman has set himself up as a one-man HUAC operating on the Birchites' paranoid conspiracy theories that everyone to the left of their leader, retired candy manufacturer Richard Welch, is either a "commie," a "com-symp" or "dupe."

When not busy compiling or reprinting lists of sponsors for one or another demonstration, McDonald's principal hobby horse is decrying Mexico's alleged "slide into communism." For those who may not have noticed, he

warns that a "Cactus Curtain" is about to descend south of the Rio Grande because the Mexican government is accepting refugees from right-wing military dictatorships in South America. Among the legislative "achievements" of this self-appointed guardian of true-blue "Americanism" are proposed resolutions to put more restrictions into the 1965 Voting Rights Act and to enlist Vietnamese and Cambodian refugees in the U.S. armed forces.

For McDonald, "Americanism means an adherence to the belief that free men secure their 'unalienable rights' from a Supreme Being and not government," and therefore democratic rights should not apply to godless communists. In his mission to cleanse America of "subversion" he goes to incredible lengths, his latest gambit being the suggestion that the "Legionnaire's Disease" in Philadelphia was "a terrorist act," possibly a fiendish plot by Soviet or Chinese agents.

Despite the "lunatic fringe" quality of his diatribes, McDonald is a dangerous person. His information, though generally inaccurate and distorted, reveals a considerable range and depth of material. What are his sources? Besides the FBI and CIA, *Counterspy* (Spring 1976) details the career of one of his aides, S. Louise Rees, as informant and agent provocateur in several left groups. She and her husband put out the right-wing newsletter *Information Digest*, which compiles published information as well as reports from spies in various organizations. According to *Counterspy*, this newsletter has been used by various intelligence agencies and the New York State Police as a source for "investigations" and harassment of left groups.

While today McDonald may appear to be nothing but an isolated far-right extremist in Congress, he draws on the support of a host of reactionary forces, from the Birch Society to government spy and police agencies. It is reactionaries of his ilk who spearheaded preparations for the bloody Chilean coup with the benevolent approval of urbane "statesmen" such as Henry Kissinger. Exposure of the pernicious activities of such rabid witchhunters, and their ties to more "respectable" officials, can alert the workers movement to the mortal danger they represent. ■

# Washington Post

*(continued from page 8)*

slate was the fact that the Washington-Baltimore Guild local leadership had demanded that its *Washington Post* unit respect the picket lines of striking craft workers. The scab majority at the *Post* unit consistently failed to do this. Grubisich's "reform" of the Guild constitution would permit units to ignore instructions from their locals to honor picket lines. Such "reforms" all trade unionists could do without.

Now, one would think it bad enough that a would-be socialist group would even offer the most qualified kind of support for a scab candidate like Grubisich. But this is not sufficient for Lovell and the SWP. Lovell hastens to assure us that "Neither do we propose in this case to give 'critical' support and issue our own statement to distinguish ourselves from them. On the contrary we join this ticket and give full support to it"! Full-blown opportunism, not half-hearted conciliationism for these reformists!

So much for the SWP's model of "practical" trade unionism. Their utterly shameless defense of scabbing should make it crystal clear that the SWP's "turn to the masses" will result in no fundamental change in its class-collaborationist policies. The SWP has long since abdicated the defense of the Transitional Program. Today it is only the Spartacist League that carries on the historic struggle to implant the program of revolutionary Trotskyism in the American working class. ■

# Ford Strike...

*(continued from page 12)*

strike. The Woodcock bureaucracy, which shackles auto workers to capitalist politicians such as open-shop, "ethnic-purity" peanut boss Carter, must be ousted through a struggle for a workers party, based on the trade unions, to fight for a workers government.

### "Oppositionists" Seek to Pressure Woodcock

UAW skilled workers, in particular, have been mistrustful of the gang of sellout artists in Solidarity House for some time. In 1973, tradesmen at Local 600 (River Rouge) voted down the contract under constitutional provisions giving them a veto right, only to have Woodcock declare the pact in force anyway. Attempting to capitalize on the legitimate anger of skilled tradesmen is the reformist Independent Skilled Trades Council (ISTC), led by Pete Kelly and Al Gardner.

The ISTC held a rally at Ford world headquarters, site of the contract negotiations, on the day of the strike deadline. Rather than using the occasion to demonstrate unity of skilled and production workers around class-struggle demands, the organizers only sought to pressure the bureaucracy. "We're not demonstrating against our leadership," Gardner told *WV*. The demands were both particularist and limited: wage parity with the building trades (defined as $10 per hour), a cost-of-living allowance (COLA) for retirees, a 30-hour week, union control of subcontracting and a "true" COLA formula. Gardner later spelled out his reformist, step-at-a-time version of the shorter workweek: "We've got to get down to a four-day week. If it takes three years, fine."

The Coalition for a Good Contract (CGC), which is uncritically endorsed in the pages of the International Socialists' *Workers' Power*, supported the ISTC demonstration and also refused to directly criticize the UAW bureaucracy. Likewise the CGC failed to call for an industry-wide strike, saying only that Chrysler and GM workers should join the rally. In fact, the CGC and ISTC demands were so minimalist they allowed the Communist Party-backed Auto Workers Action Caucus (AWAC) to appear more militant by comparison. AWAC is calling for "30 for 40," a shop steward for every 35 workers, an end to racist practices and no national settlement until all local disputes are resolved. But the reformist CP's abiding concern not to anger the bureaucracy was evident in an astounding *Daily World* (15 September) headline describing the strike as a "lockout." The intent to cover for Woodcock, who didn't want a strike, was obvious.

The previous week had seen a demonstration at the bargaining site by yet another reformist pressure grouping, the Auto Workers United to Fight in '76 (AWUF), which is backed by the Maoist Revolutionary Communist Party. The demonstration was on a program of six demands which Woodcock himself could easily adopt. While calling for "extending" the right to strike and "improving" COLA, the AWUF said nothing about job security and the need for an industry-wide walkout to bring the full force of the UAW to bear.

### Elect Strike Committees! Shut Down All Auto!

The presence of considerable militant sentiment among the UAW ranks was shown by the turnout of several hundred angry skilled tradesmen September 16 at an ISTC meeting on the strike. Rather than discussing a strategy for victory, however, Gardner and Kelly treated the audience to a barrage of empty rhetoric, announcing plans to take a delegation to Solidarity House to demand..."truthful disclosures" and "the beginnings of a shorter workweek."

Many of the workers present wanted to take on the defeatist Woodcock bureaucracy, but they were sidetracked by the shifty ISTC leaders. Workers shouted out, "Shut down *all* the auto plants!" Amendments were raised to mobilize skilled workers to accompany the delegation to UAW headquarters, and for a one-day shutdown of the entire industry. But although these and other proposals were well-received, they were bureaucratically ignored by the chair. Even the fury over the porous picket lines and continued operation of Dearborn Engineering was deflected, as Gardner replied that some of the maintenance workers entering the plants were there "for a purpose."

WV Photo

**Coalition for a "Good Contract" called for 32-for-40 at skilled trades demonstration at Ford headquarters September 14.**

Reformist outfits such as the ISTC have no perspective beyond the tactic of gently pressuring Woodcock into greater militancy. In order to accomplish this they are prepared to drop all criticism of "our leadership" in Solidarity House. The International Socialists (I.S.) and CP-backed elements who in turn tail the ISTC uncritically, tailoring their programs to suit the Gardners and Kellys, thus also play into the hands of the Woodcock regime. But victory for auto workers requires a complete break with Woodcock and the formation of a class-struggle leadership and program.

The first point in such a program is shutting down all of Ford and all of auto (and agricultural implements) throughout the U.S. and Canada, not just for one day or one week but until auto workers win! No more porous picket lines or secret "contacts" with the companies to make sell-out deals while the membership remains in the dark! For elected strike committees to open up the bargaining through daily reports to the membership, to enforce solid picket lines through mass picketing whenever necessary, and to spread the strike through linking up with militants from the other companies and Canada!

Such strike committees could hammer out and present a program of demands representing the real needs of auto workers, including a shorter workweek with no loss in pay —"30 for 40" or better —and combating speed-up through turning back and freezing line speed in the contract! For unlimited local right to strike without International authorization and a steward for every foreman!

Militants must also demand full SUB benefits for every worker from the date of hire and for the full duration of all layoffs and prepare to struggle against all future layoffs through militant plant seizures. Both skilled trades and production workers need a big pay boost and full cost-of-living protection, and in order to break down the discrimination which has kept the skilled trades overwhelmingly white, militants must call for an end to discrimination through union control of hiring and upgrading and union-controlled training programs.

The core of the Woodcock bureaucracy's opposition to a class-struggle program is its commitment to capitalism, as expressed most clearly through its ties with the Democratic Party. Despite the obvious fact that these ties have a direct and immediate conservatizing effect on trade-union struggles, the reformists cringe before Woodcock through their opposition to raising any "political" demands. Yet class-conscious workers must be the first to point out this relationship, and demand the severance of these ties: Out with the class-collaborationist bureaucracy! Expropriate the auto barons! For a workers party based on the trade unions to fight for a workers government! ■

# Strike Ford Canada Now!

**TORONTO—Auto workers at Ford Canada plants are still on the job, working without a contract under orders from the Canadian wing of the UAW bureaucracy, while U.S. Ford workers strike. Workers at the Oakville assembly plant near Toronto told *WV* salesmen that there is tremendous disgruntlement in the union ranks, reflected in an overwhelming pro-strike vote last week and almost weekly walkouts by workers refusing overtime. But despite this militancy and the bitter resentment at wage controls imposed by the Trudeau government in Ottawa, Canadian UAW bureaucrats have clamped the lid on strike action.**

**On September 13 Canadian UAW director Dennis McDermott issued a leaflet directed at Ford workers at Windsor, Oakville and St. Thomas plants announcing that no strike deadline will be set until *after* the U.S. strike is settled! The bureaucracy's rationale is that there's no point in striking now, since shipments of parts from the U.S. to Canadian assembly plants will dry up in a few days anyway, and workers might as well get unemployment benefits by being laid off instead.**

**However, according to Oakville workers, a big shipment of engines was just received this week from California and large-scale layoffs have yet to materialize. McDermott's "smart" tactics are in fact extremely dangerous. There is no guarantee whatever that Ford Canada will accept the results of a U.S. settlement, nor (despite UAW leaders' claims to the contrary) is there any reason to believe that the self-serving Woodcock bureaucracy would extend the U.S. strike a single day to benefit the (non-striking) Ford Canada workers.**

**The no-strike strategy is a deliberate attempt to set up the Canadian UAW membership to face Trudeau's wage control board alone, without the added strength of their U.S union brothers and sisters backing them up. This also means that *wage parity* with American auto workers—a vital achievement, won after a lengthy struggle in 1967—is in grave danger.**

**Militants must demand that UAW members on both sides of the border be mobilized for a militant international industry-wide auto strike, which should also be the spark for a cross-Canada general strike to smash Trudeau's wage controls!**

WORKERS VANGUARD

## Shut Down All Auto!

# Woodcock-Approved Scabbing Weakens Ford Strike

### Ford Ranks Must Elect Strike Committees!

DETROIT, September 19 In the first week of the nationwide auto walkout, strikers faced not only the hard-line bargaining stance and unprecedented "take-away" demands of Ford Motor Company, but also backstabbing treachery from the Woodcock leadership of the United Auto Workers (UAW). From the first day of the strike hundreds of cars have streamed past picket lines at Ford's giant River Rouge complex in Dearborn, their drivers bearing official union passes allowing them to work at so-called "essential" jobs during the strike. Hundreds more are being allowed to enter the struck plants by displaying their salaried personnel badges.

Similarly, in Canada some 34,000 Ford workers have been ordered by UAW tops to remain on the job. "We're all brothers," a Ford worker told a television reporter across the river in Windsor, Ontario, "and we should all be called out together." But Solidarity House says no, making a mockery of its pledge to uphold wage parity. And while official negotiations have lagged, local agreements are being signed as rapidly as possible in order to build up pressure for a return to work. Most importantly, more than half a million UAW members at General Motors, Chrysler and American Motors have not been called out due to Woodcock's defeatist "one-at-a-time" strategy.

Solidarity House has done its best to defuse militancy and disorient the ranks, while demanding next to nothing from the companies. This has led major liberal newspapers to attack the strike as "unnecessary" (*New York Times*) or merely "baffling" (*Detroit Free Press*), and blame the negotiators for not trying very hard to "divert it" (since Big Four profits were admittedly at record levels, and a "moderate" settlement could have been easily attained). But there is nothing baffling about it: the companies evidently feel a strike is necessary in order to let auto workers blow off steam, and Woodcock is obligingly supplying a little bluster.

#### Militants Demand: Shut Down Engineering Center!

Despite reported widespread apathy about the strike (deliberately encouraged by the union leadership), there is plenty of anger among the UAW ranks, directed both against the companies *and Woodcock*. Particularly infuriating to union militants is the International's order to keep Ford's Dearborn Engineering Center open during the strike. A few hours before the strike deadline last Tuesday, UAW officials instructed all members of Local 245 to remain at work, on the grounds that "essential" emission control work had to be completed

One Local 245 committeeman, Walter Tomczakr was quoted on the eve of the strike as saying that his members "don't want to be branded as scabs." Tomczakr told *WV* that a picket line would definitely be honored by the membership, but that officials had threatened to withhold strike benefits if the workers went out. Pickets at historic Gate 4 at River Rouge – the overpass where the Reuther brothers were beaten by company goons – said, "A strike is a strike, and that goes for Local 245 as well."

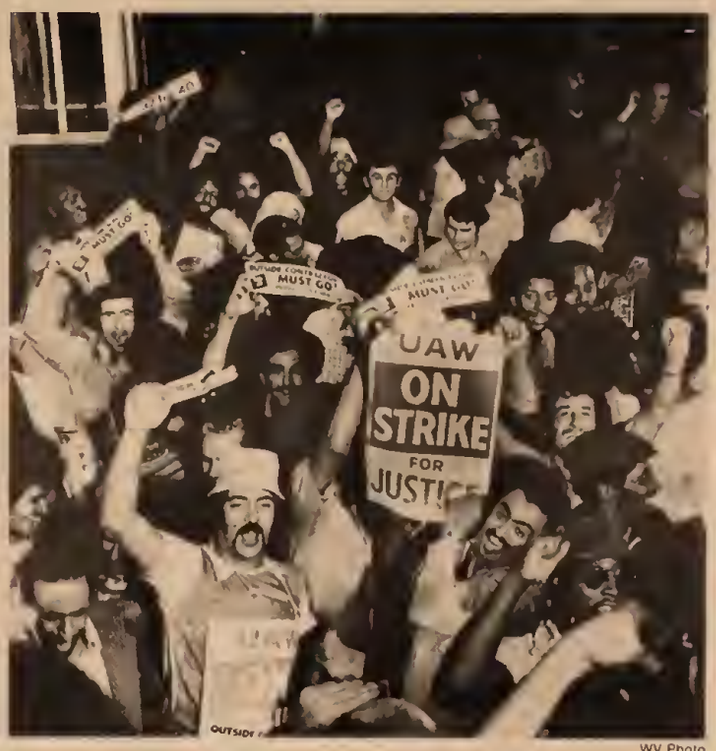
Strikers at the numerous gates of the Rouge facility have been incensed at the official union policy of allowing hundreds to cross the lines. At one gate they began tearing up official passes, and fighting resulted in minor injuries to one picket. Local bureaucrats, however, have been vigorously enforcing the International's rules. Some of these bureaucrats –ironically wearing jackets inscribed with "UAW Flying Squad," reminiscent of the militant pickets who combatted strikebreaking in the 1941 strike that unionized Ford – informed a *WV* reporter that the people going in had the "right to work." "Their [the bureaucrats'] concern is to get people in the gate," said one disgruntled picket

#### "Lock the Place Up Tight!"

A union committeeman reported that workers behind the lines are being pushed to the limit by management. When one worker protested about harassment, the foreman told him, "You haven't got any union representation, you're on strike." One striking skilled tradesman complained, "You just can't have people crossing the picket lines and call it a serious strike." The only way to win, he said, "is to actually lock the place up tight."

The excuses for the officially approved scabbing are as full of holes as the picket lines. Local officials say that the union members are crossing the picket lines only for such purposes as banking blast furnaces and coke ovens and shutting down power plants. But equipment requiring such elaborate procedures should have been shut down *before* the strike deadline! This would have served notice of the union's determination and prodded company negotiators.

The leaky picket lines represent a serious weakness of the strike. One union committeeman told *WV* that the union doesn't even know what the strikebreaking workers are doing inside, and another official said that two of the four coke ovens at Rouge were being kept in operation. The fact that so far there has been no attempt to actually produce cars during the strike is due to the historic strength of the UAW, and to the fact that Henry Ford II and the other auto bosses have someone looking out for their interests: the Woodcock bureaucracy of the UAW.




WV Photo

**Autoworkers at Ford's Rouge walking out at midnight September 14.**

Militants must demand that picket lines be made effective. No one must be allowed into any struck plant, and all Ford facilities must be closed down at once! A militant strike committee must be elected by the membership to dump Woodcock's sell-out policies and implement an immediate industry-wide shutdown of all auto and agricultural implement companies throughout North America!

#### Takeaway of Giveaway?

Official negotiations were broken off six hours before the strike began, but unofficial "contacts" between Ford and UAW officials have been reported as "fruitful." The closed-door wheeling and dealing was said to be centered on Woodcock's request for a "time-bank" plan for one day off per month in return for perfect attendance. Although touted in the press as a shorter workweek demand to make more jobs, UAW officials are quick to point out that their thoroughly "practical" proposal will not cut into Ford's skyrocketing profits or lower productivity. "What it all boils down to is that they'll be making a hell of a lot more cars with only a five percent increase in hours worked between 1976 and 1990," said one UAW official (*Detroit Free Press*, 19 September).

The official union position is so minimal that it doesn't even address the question of overtime, still largely compulsory. What is needed is a militant struggle by all auto workers to shorten the workweek at no loss in pay (30 hours' work at 40 hours' pay) and impose stringent restrictions on overtime. But the Woodcock bureaucracy is implacably opposed to expanding the fight beyond what is acceptable to the companies.

The UAW misleaders' defense of capitalist interests logically extends to the political sphere as well, as seen during campaign appearances in Michigan last week by the tweedledum/tweedledee candidates of big business. Speaking at the state AFL-CIO convention which was addressed by Democrat Jimmy Carter, Woodcock said he hoped both Carter and Ford would remain neutral on the Ford strike. "It's not their business," said the UAW leader, adding that he would not welcome a visit to the picket lines by Carter. Woodcock simply wants to save Carter – who is also endorsed by Henry Ford II! – from the embarrassment of taking sides in the

*continued on page 11*

WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

No. 127 1 October 1976

## Tweedledumb Defeats Tweedledee in "Great" Debate

# Ford/Carter: Dull and Dangerous

Disturbed by predictions that voter turnout for this year's presidential elections will be a record low, the bourgeois media tried to stir up a little interest in the contest between Tweedledum and Tweedledee with a televised "great debate" on September 27. With all but the candidates of the twin parties of capital excluded, Ford and Carter squared off for the pointless talkathon before 90 million people. The *New York Times* busied its research staff with the historic Lincoln-Douglas debate of 1858. Public television replayed in their entirety the Kennedy-Nixon debates of 1960. And *Time* magazine set itself to explain "what makes the coming elections so gripping"!

But when Gerald Ford met Jimmy Carter jaw to jaw in Philadelphia the result was far from a great debate. It wasn't even a good debate. In fact, it wasn't much of a discussion. The losers were the millions of working people who will be stuck with one of these two super-cops of U.S. imperialism for the next four years. For the multi-million unemployed, the 170,000 striking auto workers, as for all working people, the "debaters" spoke in political chorus: more of the same.

The debate was a political insult, media hustle and bore for the most obvious reason: the candidates disagree about nearly nothing, certainly nothing of any importance. Even Jimmy Carter's brother Billy reportedly tuned out early, remarking, "I'm too busy with my peanut business." A recent *New York Times* editorial attributed the soaring statistics on anticipated non-voters to "poverty and ignorance" while confessing itself disturbed by the attitude that "it doesn't make any difference who wins."

But it doesn't make any difference who wins. While both capitalist parties always promote the general interests of the bourgeoisie, minor ruling-class squabbles (often over nothing more than timing and salesmanship) are usually discernible amidst the electioneering. But in this campaign there is an amazing symmetry even on particularities. From the budget to busing, these candidates can find barely an issue that even rhetorically divides them.

Both candidates recognize that the bourgeoisie's game plan for the present economic conjuncture is to slash social services and continue gouging the workers' wages. Both sum it up with the same formulae: "balancing the budget" and "providing incentives for the private sector." The "great debate" gave the electorate a chance to compare Ford's promise of "lower unemployment" with Carter's stated goal of reaching an "overall unemployment of 4 to 4 and a half percent." The much-touted Humphrey-Hawkins Bill calls for three percent unemployment. Big deal there are presently almost eight percent jobless even though the Republicans are in the White House and the Democrats control Congress. It is the anarchy of the labor market which "decides" the unemployment rate as long as the bourgeoisie is the ruling class. Ford and Carter have the same program for the prospect of an economic downturn: more layoffs.

UPI

**Candidates of capitalist reaction: Not a dime's worth of difference.**

With an eye on the reactionary mobilizations in Boston, Chicago and Louisville, both candidates have come out firmly against "forced busing." Keeping pace with Ford's well-known commitment to cop "justice," in Phoenix Carter said he favored "a shifting back toward the removal of technicalities which obviously prevent the convictions and punishment of those who are guilty" (*Village Voice*, 27 September). On the emotionally charged abortion issue, Carter said he "did not rule out the possibility that some anti-abortion amendment that he could accept might later be drafted" (*Time*, 13 September). Henry Kissinger finds Carter's foreign-policy views "fairly consistent" with his own, while the peanut king busily tries to show he would be more aggressive against the USSR.

The manifest lack of issues in this quintessential American bourgeois election campaign is what is behind the mushrooming of concern with the cosmetic theology of bourgeois electoral politics. Nixon's efforts to deal with his five o'clock shadow before his televised Kennedy debate are now common myth. The presumably decisive "issues" of the Ford-Carter confrontation were anxiously debated: Would Ford and Carter sit or stand? Would they bring notes? Would Ford get his presidential seal? Would they have a "revealing" lectern?

The arguments presented were riddled with lies, distortions and stupidities. Carter claimed Ford had vetoed more bills than any other president since the Civil War; in fact, Ford trails at least Roosevelt and Truman in that department. Ford claimed that his tax proposal would save a family of four $1,000 a year, a wild distortion of the $140 quoted by the *New York Times* (25 September). Ford cited testimony of Carter's successor in Georgia, George Busby, as evidence that the state's medicare program was a shambles. Later Busby explained he had been speaking of the federal program. And so on.

### How Carter Lost to a Born Loser

The "great debate" had nothing to debate, but Jimmy Carter managed to lose it nevertheless. The liberal press initially pronounced it a "standoff," but the Gallup poll showed Ford a clear winner. One might legitimately ask how one wins or loses a debate when the contestants have the same positions. And it certainly can't be easy to lose a debate to a candidate of a political party that has the loyalty of about a quarter of the electorate, a candidate who inherited the legacy of Watergate, who was never elected to the presidency, who is the leading spokesman for the policies of skyrocketing inflation and the highest unemployment in 40 years, whose name is synonymous with social reaction and who is in general regarded as a subliterate bumbling fool.

Ford's political edge is rooted in the phony appearances the capitalist parties like to project. In this insidious game the demagogues pretend that the voters can go to the polls and at least choose between "different philosophies"—between high unemployment represented by the Republicans or high inflation represented by the Democrats. In fact, both parties offer both high inflation and higher unemployment.

The battleground for the "image-fixing" that replaces political debate among bourgeois politicians is the traditional rhetoric of the two parties. Ford, presiding over the largest deficit budget in U.S. history, moans about how Carter is a "big spender," while the millionaire peanut boss charges that the Republicans represent the "special interests of big business."

With most of the audience now well aware that both parties represent the interests of big business, wearing the label more or less forthrightly confers a credibility advantage. And in an election between two liars, relative credibility is a big asset.

Carter's attempt to don a "New Deal" mantle isn't working. For one thing, Rooseveltian "progressivism" was a fraud then, and moreover it is obvious that today's Democrats have no such schemes in the hopper. So Carter simultaneously insists he will balance the budget: "I might say, too, that if we see these goals cannot be reached ...then I would cut back on the rate of implementation of new programs in order to accommodate a balanced budget by fiscal year '81." The net effect of the combination of classical Democratic verbiage and the attempt to out-Ford

*continued on page 11*

## Break with the Bosses Parties! Build A Workers Party!

WV Photo

**Protest demonstration against imperialist chief Gerald Ford, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, September 15.**

# Editorial Notes

## Leon Davis Gets What He Asks For

Last July, Leon Davis, head of District 1199 of the National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees, called off the biggest hospital strike in U.S. history after 11 days on the picket lines. The union's 40,000 members were sent back to work in New York City's "voluntary" hospitals with an agreement to submit their contract demands for binding arbitration.

On September 16, the federal arbitrator, Margery Gootnick, produced her decision: to freeze the wages of the District 1199 hospital workers for six months (retroactive to the contract expiration date)! After that the members will receive a 4.5 percent bonus for another six months, but it will not be added to their base pay. Then the contract will be reopened for the second year, and if the issues are not resolved it will go back to arbitration.

As to the union's other key demands—for a cost-of-living increase, a one-year contract, larger pensions and vacations, and increased sick leave—the *New York Times* was unable to find out what had happened to them and the office of Moe Foner, executive secretary of 1199, refused to tell a *WV* reporter if these issues had simply been dropped. In addition, the hospitals will no longer have to pay pension benefits for new and part-time employees, while the probationary time for technical and professional employees was extended.

Leon Davis and the District 1199 bureaucracy are in no position to complain about this outrageous arbitration "award," which is a gift to management in every respect. The union leadership from the very beginning made arbitration its main demand. 1199 demonstrators in front of Governor Carey's office carried signs proclaiming, "The last thing we want is a hospital strike." And at a rally outside the Democratic convention at Madison Square Garden, the speakers podium was draped with a banner reading, "End the strike—Arbitrate now!" Leon Davis & Co. got what they asked for.

But the "progressive" labor fakers were not the only ones to shove arbitration down the throats of NYC hospital workers. The Communist Party's *Daily World* (14 July) hailed long-time Stalinist hack Davis' words to a strike rally, claiming that "the strike would continue until the issues are settled the only responsible way—through arbitration." Another union spokesman was quoted as bragging, "if we went into arbitration, we know we could win."

The Socialist Workers Party (SWP) went through a few more contortions to defend the betrayal perpetrated by

WV Photo

**1199 president Leon Davis addressing rally outside Democratic convention in July.**

brothers Davis and Foner. The 30 July *Militant* came out with the line that while arbitration is risky "in general," in *this* case it signalled a "union victory" because it meant a "major retreat in the union busting offensive by the employers and Democratic politicians." The SWP cooed, "This stands as an example to the rest of New York labor."

We hope the union misleaders and their reformist tag-alongs enjoy their "victory," but the District 1199 ranks should be furious at this sellout and draw the lessons of this defeat. We recall the fact that our article "1199 Tops Call Off Militant NYC Hospital Strike" (*WV* No. 119, 23 July) warned in the headline, "Binding Arbitration Equals Defeat," and clearly stated: "While the 1199 leadership claims a victory, the settlement guarantees that hospital workers will receive at most a minimal wage increase and probably nothing else."

Our accurate prediction wasn't based on crystal-ball gazing but on the Marxist principle that the working class cannot rely on the bosses' government to defend their interests. The Spartacist League called for opposition to arbitration and a class-struggle program to spearhead a drive by all NYC labor to smash the capitalist austerity program. Among our demands were: city takeover of the "voluntary" hospitals and free medical care for all; a joint strike by 1199 and AFSCME hospital workers, for more jobs through a shorter workweek together with a substantial wage increase; and a democratically elected strike committee. A mobilization around this militant program could have secured victory for the 1199 strikers; instead, the "realistic" and "practical" bureaucrats and reformists produced a stinging defeat.

## Varga's Follies

"I would come only to denounce this regroupment," bellows Michel Varga in his 3 August letter refusing to appear before the international Commission of Inquiry investigating the "Varga affair." This bluster from the head of the apocalyptic personality-cultist LIRQI ("International League Reconstructing the Fourth International," which has now renamed itself the "Fourth International") only reveals the total failure of Varga's hysterical two-year attempt to browbeat the Commission of Inquiry into aborting its undertaking.

The "Varga affair" grew out of charges levelled by the French OCI against its former co-thinker at the time that they politically parted company. The OCI claimed, without substantiating its charge with documentation, that Varga had been (or still was) an agent of the CIA and/or KGB from the time that he became an opponent of the Stalinist bureaucracy in Hungary.

From the outset, the international Spartacist tendency (iSt) urged the LIRQI to initiate an authoritative commission of inquiry to investigate the matter in the impartial fashion that characterized the Dewey Commission's investigation of Stalin's slanderous frame-up of Trotsky over the 1936-39 Moscow Trials. The Spartacist tendency alone responded to the OCI's public offer to give copies of the Varga archives to interested working-class organizations. For nearly a year the iSt struggled with the LIRQI and two French centrist groups, LO and the LCR, over the elementary principle that LIRQI (or OCI) members could not participate on an impartial commission.

The OCI never furnished more than a portion of the promised documentary "proof," although the materials it published enabled the Spartacist tendency to make a tentative assessment of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# Letters

## South Africa

New York
25 September
To the editor:

*Workers Vanguard* No. 126 quoted the Soweto student leader Tsietsi Mashinini as asserting that black nationalists in South Africa "want the tables to be turned so that the white man can get a taste of his own medicine and feel what it is like to be oppressed." The article goes on to criticize this "diffuse anti-white anger" because it cannot show the road to victory. However, this is not all that is wrong with "black consciousness" politics.

The courage and militancy of activists like Mashinini is unquestioned, and socialists must of course solidarize with a revolt by the oppressed non-white masses even where led by petty-bourgeois nationalists rather than proletarian communists. Nonetheless, Marxists are irrevocably opposed to the extermination or subjugation of *any* people, including oppressor peoples, such as South African whites.

It is true that the driving force of the South African proletarian revolution will be the oppressed non-white masses, in particular the black working class, and not the relatively well-off, largely petty-bourgeoisified and conservative white workers. However, unlike Rhodesia, the white South African minority is fairly substantial (20 percent) and the well-armed, well-equipped South African army is entirely white. To threaten racial extinction or expulsion would only cement the entire white population to the South African ruling class.

Apartheid is an elaborate structure of police state measures to enforce rigid segregation and white supremacy. This has resulted in an increasingly large percentage of white workers shifting into supervisory (foreman) and semi-supervisory (lead workman) positions, with much of the remainder in skilled jobs. The limiting of the better and more skilled jobs to whites has produced an extremely favorable bargaining position for these workers. White workers enjoy a standard of living *15 times* greater than black workers and three or four times as high as Asian and coloured workers. This plays a key role in fostering the enormous conservatism and bitter-end loyalty to apartheid displayed by white workers.

However, while it has its political assets, apartheid is also a major encumbrance on the drive by the South African capitalists to convert their country into an imperialist power. Apartheid ensures an acute shortage of skilled labor (consequently driving up wages), as well as an ill-trained and unstable non-white proletariat. This is why some of the top South African capitalists, such as mining magnate Harry Oppenheimer are opposed to strict apartheid, favoring partial reforms to pacify the masses and increase profits by lowering wages.

Even under Vorster's rigid Nationalist Party rule, the demands of a modern capitalist economy have forced the government to tolerate a substantial number of non-whites—mostly coloured and Asian workers—in occupations traditionally held by whites. Thus in 1973 there were 222,000 whites but also 50,000 "coloured" and Asian artisans and apprentices employed in the major industrial trades. Coloured and Asian workers have also succeeded in penetrating (though in still subordinate roles) one of the two legal trade union federations, TUSCA. Of the roughly 600,000 workers in South Africa organized into trade unions, coloureds and Asians make up one third of the total.

The government has also been forced to tolerate a trickle of blacks into skilled occupations. Interestingly, where the government negotiated the right to put skilled black building tradesmen on jobs previously worked only by whites, the chauvinist whites-only Building Workers Union insisted that they receive the "full rate for the job," out of concern to defend their own standards. The development of a non-white skilled proletariat can be a significant occurrence in neutralizing the hostility of the skilled white workers to the aspirations of the oppressed non-white masses.

There are of course real limitations to the degree to which apartheid can be broken down in South African capitalism. Even the most liberal wing of the bourgeoisie could not support universal suffrage or the wholesale sweeping away of the industrial color bar. To do so would fundamentally undermine the continued existence of the white-supremacist regime. Thus, under South African capitalism the white working class will remain a privileged caste located within the labor aristocracy, whose contacts with the non-white proletariat will necessarily be limited.

Nonetheless, even a limited breakdown of the rigid racial and tribal barriers of apartheid will provide the South African communist vanguard the opportunity to demonstrate to the white worker that the oppressed non-white masses do not seek to deprive him of his life, political rights or job. As against the bourgeoisie, who will seek to use the reforms of apartheid to cut the wages of the now-sheltered skilled worker, Marxists raise as central demands the need for racially integrated trade unions that would fight for abolition of the color bar; the upgrading of black, coloured and Asian workers into more skilled positions; and equal pay for equal work at the highest level. To neglect such a program in favor of a nationalist solution is to invite the black proletariat into a bloody and suicidal racial conflict with a desperate, well-armed and technologically advanced people.

Comradely,
J. Brule

Varga as a "highly dubious figure." The LIRQI never ceased to demand that a denunciation of the OCI's "slanders" be the precondition for participation on a commission to investigate the charges and insisted on its "right" to sit on its own jury. When the international Spartacist tendency won LO and the LCR over to a principled position for an impartial workers commission, foiling the LIRQI's attempts to create a stacked whitewash commission to use as a factional club against the OCI, the LIRQI constituted a rival "commission" of its own supporters.

Winning the vacillating centrists over to the proposition that they could only besmirch themselves by allowing the LIRQI to block an impartial investigation of the "Varga affair" was a real victory for the international Spartacist tendency and drove the livid LIRQI into an ever-increasing frenzy. The LIRQI walked out of the critical meeting, howling imprecations against LO, the LCR and the American SWP for "capitulating" to the Spartacists, who in turn were called the "lawyer" for the OCI's "apprentice Vishinskys."

Varga's 3 August letter, published along with a lengthy diatribe against the Commission of Inquiry in the 31 August issue of the LIRQI's *Quatrième Internationale*, dares to complain that the Commission never called him to testify! This follows repeated attempts to contact Varga through his French organization, as well as statements by two LIRQI members in testimony before the July 20 meeting of the Commission that Varga was prepared to appear. A meeting to hear Varga's testimony was scheduled for September 16 but the star witness failed to show up.

The article is nothing but an attempt to make the Commission of Inquiry into a political amalgam between its participants and the OCI, no doubt master-minded by the sinister Spartacists. The participating groups are labeled "OCI accomplices" and "Stalinist apprentices" while the representative of the Spartacist tendency, Comrade J. Lesueur, is termed the OCI's "lawyer." The Commission is queried: "What secret deals have you made with the OCI?"

At a previous meeting of the Commission early last spring, the two leading OCI members were grilled for several hours about the promised "proofs" which have never been furnished. The OCI's criminally irresponsible raising of the most serious charges and refusal to adequately substantiate them calls into question the integrity of the OCI in the "Varga affair." Comrade Lesueur insistently requested that the OCI provide an accounting of just how and when it "learned the truth" about its long-time collaborator, whom it exposed only when the factional parting of the ways took place. The question raised by the LIRQI of the OCI's practice of violence within the workers movement has also been taken up by the Commission and depositions from responsible militants who witnessed OCI hooliganism at first hand have been solicited.

The LIRQI's hysterical attempts to paint the Commission of Inquiry as a political "regroupment" are nothing but a cover for the dismal failure of the LIRQI's own puppet "commission" to challenge the legitimacy of the impartial inquiry constituted at the insistence of the international Spartacist tendency. Increasingly, what holds the Vargaites together is their grandiose estimation of their own importance and their hatred for the Trotskyists of the Spartacist tendency.

The same issue of *Quatrième Internationale*, in an interview with the LIRQI's Spanish group, the PORE, provides an instructive illustration of the flagrant mendacity of the LIRQI. The interview is devoted in large part to the systematic misrepresentation of two short articles which appeared in *WV* No. 113 (11 June): a defense appeal on behalf of arrested militants in Spain and an article on the LIRQI's voluntaristic construction of a Potemkin village "international."

The interview tries to equate *WV*'s call for a workers republic in Spain with the OCI's reformist position that the current task of the Spanish proletariat is to overthrow the monarchy and return to the pre-1936 bourgeois republic! To make this amalgam, the LIRQI is reduced to outright lies, counting on the ignorance of its readers. The LIRQI spokesman asserts:

> "I don't know what is the content they give to this 'workers republic' since they are careful to say nothing about the program of this 'republic.' But behind this silence surely lurks a 'republic' of the CP and SP, the same policy of the French OCI and USec in Spain. In other words, it's a question of opposing the fight for a workers and peasants government, for the united socialist states of Europe."

The LIRQI's temerity is beyond belief. *WV*'s defense appeal for the victimized Spanish militants prominently featured the slogan, "For a workers government and a socialist federation of the Iberian peninsula in a socialist united states of Europe!"

The interview also insinuates that the charge of LIRQI adventurism contained in *WV*'s article on the Vargaites' international pretensions was based on the LIRQI's "struggle for democratic rights" in Spain. Unfortunately for the LIRQI and its Spanish comrades, this group's "struggle" consists of acting as if democratic rights existed. As the *WV* article reported, LIRQI publications featured a photograph of a Barcelona demonstration, without taking the elementary precaution of blacking out the participants' faces; and just in case a negligent police official failed to notice, the caption obligingly pointed out, "in the first rows certain leaders of the PORE can be recognized." This mock-heroic play-acting can have only disastrous consequences.

The LIRQI's organizational megalomania typified by its assertion that it is second only to the CP as a left political force in Spain and its blatant disregard for the security of its own supporters suffice to condemn its adventuristic self-aggrandizement. Unless the militants of the LIRQI confront the political questions posed by the Spartacist tendency in the first place concerning its highly dubious chief, Michel Varga it will be reduced to the parasitic existence of a grouping whose main motive for existence is its hatred for the authentic Trotskyism of the international Spartacist tendency. ■


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# For A Labor Boycott of South Africa Now!

The heroic revolt of the oppressed black and "coloured" (mulatto) masses in South Africa has shaken the apartheid system to its foundations. It is urgent and imperative that the maximum protest be marshalled through worldwide working-class support for the victims and opponents of white-supremacist rule in South Africa. A labor boycott of goods and transport to and from South Africa is an essential element of international solidarity with the current anti-apartheid rebellions.

Militant unionists and socialists must point out the importance of repeated, effective "stay-at-home" strikes in the black and coloured revolt. Suppressed by police-state apartheid measures and massive military force, South Africa's non-white working masses have done everything they can to organize a nationwide general strike. For dockers to load goods for Cape Town or pilots to fly to Johannesburg today amounts to out-and-out strikebreaking on behalf of Vorster's racist mass murderers!

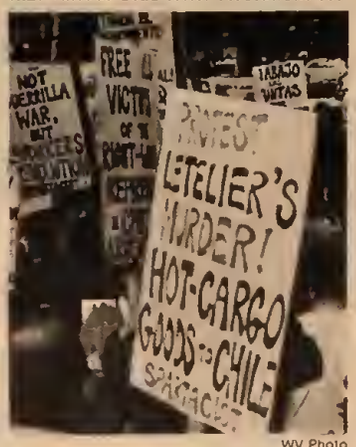
As opposed to the petty-bourgeois moralists on the left, the Spartacist League does not favor permanent, "on principle" boycotts against reactionary regimes like South Africa, Spain, Chile or Iran. Unlike liberals, Marxists do not believe that such pressure/protest tactics will bring down repressive dictatorships. Under normal conditions, the contraction of trade and of the economy of such countries weakens and demoralizes the working class and further impoverishes the masses, who are the real source of revolutionary change. It is in periods of mass upheaval, where the workers themselves are seeking to disrupt the economy, that a total international labor boycott is a powerful demonstration of proletarian solidarity, for the duration of the crisis (see "International Labor Boycotts: When and How," *WV* No. 50, 2 August 1974). Thus class-struggle militants in the ILWU have supported and called for implementation of a motion by the San Francisco longshore local to boycott cargo to and from Rhodesia and South Africa.

By way of contrast, in the summer and fall of 1974, the United Mine Workers of America (UMW) demanded a boycott of South African coal, ostensibly on the grounds that it was mined by "slave labor." We opposed this action because it could serve no other purpose than increasing unemployment among South Africa's black miners. Furthermore, the Miller bureaucracy of the UMW was simply using the super-exploitation of black labor in South Africa as a pretext for chauvinist economic protectionism. This was demonstrated when shortly thereafter the UMW also called for boycotting Australian coal, which is mined by unionized "free" labor.

The same tactical principles governing labor boycotts against South Africa also apply to Chile. If effective a general trade boycott of Pinochet's regime would actually weaken internal resistance by the working masses.

Rather than counterproductive permanent boycotts as a question of principle, labor boycotts can be effective as part of directed international protest campaigns: for example, a boycott of military goods around demands to free imprisoned unionists and other victims of junta terror in Chile. In the NMU, class-struggle seamen have campaigned for "hot-cargoing" military goods to Pinochet, and on several occasions (such as immediately after the 1973 coup) for a total labor boycott of Chilean cargo and ports.

It is interesting to note that in the ILWU the class-struggle oppositionists who call for boycotting military goods to Chile, South Africa and Rhodesia have been in the forefront in demanding that various dead-letter resolutions for




WV Photo

**New York, September 22.**

"total boycotts" be implemented. They were the ones, for example, who put into effect on Bay Area docks the two-day boycott of Chilean goods called by the International Transport Workers Federation in September 1974. But the Stalinists, who favor permanent, total boycotts as a moralistic gesture aimed at winning liberal support, are afraid of annoying the bureaucrats, employers and government, and so *have actively sabotaged implementation of their own resolutions* (see "Stalinists Scuttle ILWU South Africa Boycott," *WV* No. 123, 3 September 1976).

The assassination last week in Washington, D.C. of Orlando Letelier, a former minister in Allende's Popular Unity government, undoubtedly at the hands of Pinochet's death squads, produced a wave of outrage extending even to liberal bourgeois circles. To give the protests over Letelier's assassination a militant, proletarian character, we called for a boycott of goods to and from Chile. If, when the news came out that a junta bomb had killed Letelier, dockers in California or London had dumped shipments of Chilean copper in the San Francisco Bay or the Thames, such a protest would go far in staying the hand of the butchers in Santiago. ■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# Orlando Letelier Victim of Junta Death Squad

SEPTEMBER 27 The assassination of Orlando Letelier, former Chilean ambassador to the U.S. under Allende, has stirred up indignation among the many opponents of the vicious Pinochet junta In New York City (see article in this issue) and at a Washington rally addressed by Allende's widow, thousands gathered to mourn Letelier and to accuse the notorious Chilean secret police, the DINA, of responsibility for the wanton murder

The bomb which exploded in Letelier's automobile on Embassy Row in Washington also touched off a shock wave among liberals. The unprecedented murder of a foreign dignitary on American soil prompted 131 members of Congress to sponsor a resolution denouncing the assassination.

Letelier being led out of the Moneda Palace in Santiago September 11, 1973, the day of Pinochet coup.

The sadistic Pinochet junta, which in 1973 imprisoned and tortured Letelier on the antarctic Dawson Island and only two weeks ago revoked his citizenship, sanctimoniously claimed it "lamented" the killing and pointed the finger at the "far left." The *New York Times* immediately echoed this slander in a nauseating editorial on 22 September which expressed disbelief that "even as bam handed a regime as Chile's junta" would carry out anything so unpleasant as an assassination on U.S. territory and suggested the real culprits could well be "left extremists unwilling to stop at anything."

But throughout the week mounting evidence pointed straight to Pinochet as the engineer behind the savage murder. Letelier, one of the last high officials of the Allende government remaining alive, had told a *New York Times* reporter during a brief stay in Venezuela in 1974, "they're [the DINA] going to kill me." On September 22 it was revealed that William Wipfler of the National Council of Churches had reported to Congressman Donald Fraser (who passed it on to the FBI) that a high-ranking DINA official had been seen disembarking an airliner which arrived in New York from Santiago last August 25. Recent rumors in Chilean exile circles in Venezuela indicate that as of September 24 the FBI had in its possession a letter from a Chilean military officer advising Letelier of talk in the armed forces of a plot to eliminate him The liberal Mexican paper *Excelsior* (23 September) quoted Sra. Allende's press conference statement that Jack Anderson knew of the existence of a list of Chilean residents in the U.S. "who were to be eliminated"

The affront of a messy murder on American soil is making it difficult to sweep the evidence implicating the DINA under the rug. Congressman Larry McDonald was roundly booed on the floor of the House of Representatives when he pulled his usual act of trying to link the murdered man to leftist terrorists (see "Birchite Congressman Witchhunts Muñoz Campaign," *WV* No. 126, 24 September). Congressman Donald Fraser called a press conference to denounce the FBI's failure to come up with a single suspect.

Orlando Letelier began his political career in 1960 as a senior economist for the Inter-American Development Bank. A long-time member of the Chilean Socialist Party and a close collaborator of Allende, he was made ambassador to the U.S. in 1970.

In the later months of 1973, Letelier became minister of defense. Following the abortive June 27 coup, there occurred massive popular mobilizations in defense of the government, characterized by demonstrations of thousands of workers and protests in the armed forces against rightist generals. The popular-front government, in its last-ditch efforts to appease the Christian

# Stalinist Exclusion at Letelier Assassination Protest

NEW YORK Before a crowd of well over 1,000 demonstrators, many of whom looked on in amazement, Stalinist hacks called on the cops to expel a Spartacist League Spartacus Youth League (SL SYL) contingent from a picket line thrown up outside the Chilean consulate here September 22 in protest against the assassination of Orlando Letelier.

Letelier, former ambassador to the U.S under the popular-front government of Salvador Allende, was killed the day before when a bomb exploded inside his car, approximately six blocks from the Chilean embassy in Washington, D.C. Also murdered in the blast was Ronnie Karpen Moffitt, a colleague of Letelier's at the Institute for Policy Studies. Mrs. Moffitt's husband was seriously injured in the blast.

The SL was expelled from the picket because it refused to submit to bureaucratic political censorship by the Communist Party (CP)-led National Chile Center (NCC), and instead raised signs with such slogans as "AVENGE ORLANDO LETELIER!" and "Smash the Bloody Junta, Workers to Power!" The NCC decreed that there be no signs or banners at the demonstration...except its own liberal nationalist "CHILE WILL BE FREE!"

The Stalinists' ban on (everybody else's) politics was aimed at enforcing an atmosphere of passive mourning so as not to offend liberals. However, the protest drew many militants of the NYC left, expressing militant outrage against the Pinochet junta's heinous crime. When the SL raised its banner and signs, the CP hacks could not count on popular support for its censorship, and went instead to the police.

The cops obligingly cordoned off the area and forced the SL SYL contingent out of the line and across the street where a counterdemonstration was held. The offending banner was set up and the 70 militants, including class-struggle unionists and the Partisan Defense Committee (PDC) as well as supporters of Communist Cadre, chanted militant slogans such as "Chilean Workers Will Rise Again to Avenge Their Martyred Dead." The Socialist Workers Party and Youth Against War and Fascism remained with the Stalinists in cowed anonymity.

As usual, the Stalinists called for reliance on the "democratic" U.S. imperialist bourgeoisie to put pressure on the "fascist" Chilean junta. Spokesmen for the CP's liberal mouthpiece, the NCC, called on the government to expel the present Chilean ambassador to the U.S., Manuel Trucco. A leaflet by NICH (Non-Intervention in Chile) demanded in addition recall of the American ambassador of Chile and for Henry Kissinger to break diplomatic and economic relations with the Pinochet regime! In contrast, an SL leaflet handed out at the demonstration, while demanding the arrest and prosecution of Letelier's assassins, expressed no confidence in the capitalist government to do so. SL signs at the demonstration demanded, "Protest the Murder of Letelier—Hot-Cargo Goods to Chile!"

The most ludicrous aspect of the Stalinists' exclusion of revolutionary politics was their sanctimonious attempt to pass this off as an extraordinary measure "out of respect to Mr. Letelier." Not only did the martyred Socialist leader not request an "apolitical" protest, but the CP's endless procession of Chile committees have *always* resorted to exclusionism, goon attacks and calling on the cops to keep Trotskyists out of anti-junta demonstrations. They have repeatedly sought to exclude or rip up SL signs and banners which warn against popular-front illusions and call for workers revolution to smash the Pinochet dictatorship. On this occasion, NICH, a group which claims to have split from the CP-dominated Chile Solidarity Committee due to the latter's gangster tactics, did not raise a finger against the SL's exclusion by the NCC.

Across the street from the main demonstration, the SL/SYL chanted "Avenge Orlando Letelier, Smash the DINA [Chilean secret police] and the AAA [Argentine anti-communist death squads]," and "Chilean workers will not forget, Popular front made Pinochet!" Signs of militant seamen called for a labor boycott of goods to and from Chile, and other signs protested the plight of tens of thousands of Latin American left-wing refugees threatened by the Videla junta in Argentina. A Partisan Defense Committee sign highlighted the danger facing comrades of Chilean miners' leader Mario Muñoz who are still trapped in Argentina.

At the conclusion of the demonstrations, the SL/SYL-led protesters sang the workers anthem, "The Internationale," with raised fists. As if to underline the contrast, the Stalinists on the other side of the plaza ended up by intoning the Chilean national anthem. ■

WV Photo

Stalinists called, on the cops to exclude SL/SYL contingent from 22 September demonstration at UN.

WV Photo

Excluded demonstrators picketed across the street.

Daily World

Orlando Letelier

Democrats and head off the coup, allowed the armed forces to round up leftists and disarm the workers.

But Letelier was not assassinated because of his participation in the criminal popular-front betrayal of the Chilean working class. It was his painstaking work against the junta following the coup which goaded Pinochet's butchers to eliminate him. At the time of his murder, Letelier, as head of the Transnational Institute of the Washington-based left-liberal Institute for Policy Studies, was involved in documenting the collusion of American corporations with the coup. In a recent article in the *Nation* (28 August) he had documented the disastrous economic policies of Milton Friedman and Arnold Harberger, Pinochet's University of Chicago braintrusters. He was also

*continued on page 9*

## Brother of Mario Muñoz Arrested in Argentina

On September 21, military authorities in the Argentine province of San Juan arrested Carlos Damián Muñoz Salas, intending to deport him to the torture chambers of the bloodthirsty Pinochet regime.

A 25-year-old Chilean trade unionist, Carlos Damián Muñoz is the brother of Mario Muñoz, the persecuted Chilean miners' leader who last month secured safe exit from Argentina as a result of an international campaign of militant protest. Now his brother has fallen into the hands of Videla's butchers. Already in October 1975, an expulsion decree was issued for Carlos, branding him as "very dangerous for the internal security" of Argentina.

The life of Carlos Damián Muñoz is in grave peril—the international proletarian solidarity which saved his brother must once more be raised: **FREE CARLOS DAMIAN MUÑOZ! STOP HIS DEPORTATION TO CHILE—RELEASE HIM FROM THE PRISONS OF THE ARGENTINE BUTCHERS!**

The Partisan Defense Committee urges readers of *WV* to send telegrams of protest to: General Jorge Videla, Casa Rosada, Buenos Aires, Argentina

## Catholic Church Backs Stalinist Austerity Program

# Free the Imprisoned Worker Militants in Poland!

The strikes and demonstrations of Polish workers against the sharp food price increases decreed last June temporarily stymied the Gierek regime. Little more than 24 hours after the workers had mobilized, the government's edict had become a simple "proposal for discussion." Later, Premier Piotr Jaroszewicz tried to push through scaled-down increases for meat products only, but by mid-September the regime had abandoned all plans for price rises before 1978.

However, the government's vicious reprisals against workers who participated in the demonstrations indicate the tentative character of the Polish workers' victory. On July 20 seven workers from the Ursus tractor plant near Warsaw were convicted of damaging state property and blocking rail traffic. They were sentenced to prison terms ranging from three to six years for the action in which railroad tracks were torn up and barricaded, stopping the international Paris-Warsaw Express, and a locomotive was overturned by determined workers.

At the same time even harsher prison terms were handed six participants in the demonstrations at Radom, 60 miles south of Warsaw. This, the largest protest among many throughout the country on June 25, ended in a battle with police in which two workers were killed and 75 policemen injured. The local Communist Party headquarters was set on fire and stores were looted. At least one protester got a sentence of 10 years.

The international workers movement must come to the defense of these workers as well as others awaiting trial! The repression must be stopped and a general amnesty declared! Those demonstrators fired from their jobs must be immediately reinstated, and the workers and students drafted into the army as a reprisal must be released! The responsibility for the violence that broke out in response to Gierek's "modest proposal" of 30-100 percent food price increases lies squarely on the shoulders of the Stalinist bureaucracy that leaves the Polish proletariat no choice but direct industrial action.

### Down with the Repression—Free the Militants!

Appeals for release of the jailed Polish strikers have come from all sides. Italian Communist Party leader Enrico Berlinguer made a widely publicized intervention, calling on Polish United Workers Party head Gierek to treat the demonstrators with "moderation and clemency."

Recently an open letter from 13 Polish intellectuals and professionals was published by the *New York Review of Books* (30 September) detailing how the regime has not made the slightest pretense of fair trials or respect for the democratic rights of the defendants.

> "The trial was conducted under conditions which violated the principle of openness of judicial proceedings. Only the close relatives of the accused were permitted to be present; entry to the courtroom was totally prohibited to the foreign journalists, numerous intellectuals, and students who wished to attend. The accused workers were charged with 'active participation in acts of hooliganism.' There were only officially nominated defense counsel. . ."

Denouncing the government's destruction of even "elementary forms of workers' democracy" such as the workers councils created in 1956, and the fact that the unions had been turned into "a fictitious, dead organization completely subordinated to the ruling apparatus," the letter ended:

> "We appeal to all who feel solidarity with the struggle of the workers the world over for the liberation of labor. Demand the release of imprisoned Polish workers!"

Even as it was backing down from its ill-considered and socially regressive price rises, the embarrassed bureaucracy attempted to regain the initiative with a campaign of vilification against the demonstrators. Official reports of the events grossly underplayed their magnitude and gave the impression that the workers were simply vandals drunk on looted alcohol. Obligatory rallies were held around the country in support of Gierek; resolutions were passed expressing "profound indignation" at the acts of "irresponsible elements." But the rallies and resolutions did not explain why the government capitulated to "social parasites," nor how such a powerful mass of "hooligans" had come to exist.

### Economic Crisis of Polish Stalinism

The government of former Silesian miner Edward Gierek came to power in the wake of the powerful 1970 strikes which closed down the ports of Gdansk, Gdiny and Szeczin. As a "reformer," Gierek prided himself on opening lines of communication with the sullen population through barnstorming "consultations." But following the June outbreaks, it became clear, as one party official put it, that "we had been talking to ourselves" (*New York Times*, 22 September). Out of 50 first secretaries of provincial party committees consulted beforehand, it is reported that only one predicted popular unrest.

The origins of the government's dilemma is the sharp economic crisis in Poland. As one observer aptly put it, "the party decided to stuff the people's mouth with sausage so they would not talk back, and now there is no sausage." Responding to the 1970 workers revolt, the Gierek regime had frozen consumer prices and undertook an ambitious industrial development program. However, the plan relied heavily on Western credits for the importation of modern technology, leading to a foreign debt with the capitalist countries of some $7-9 billion.

The world capitalist depression of 1974-75 severely cut into Poland's export market, causing the country to become a net importer of food for the first time. To freeze consumer food prices in the face of rampant inflation in the capitalist world has required massive subsidies to Poland's overwhelmingly private farms. The price structure is now so distorted that it reportedly would be cheaper to feed livestock bread rather than fodder! Faced with rising costs, Poland's farmers are demanding greater subsidies and/or higher prices for their produce.

A political revolution leading to a soviet government of workers democracy is essential to break out of this economic impasse. Only such a workers government, responsible to the proletariat and recognized by the workers as their own, can liberate the creative energy of the proletariat and utilize the capacities of the technical intelligentsia in the cause of socialist development. Capital investment alone will not maximize productivity when applied to an indifferent or hostile labor force.

A revolutionary workers government would also spur the collectivization of agriculture, not only increasing productivity in that key sector, but also strengthening the social basis of proletarian class rule. Of course, encouragement of agricultural collectivization should be through political persuasion and economic incentives, and not state coercion of smallholding farmers.

The profound problems of the Polish economy cannot be resolved within the framework of this deformed workers state. The disastrous impact that the world capitalist depression has had on the Polish economy points to the need for the economic integration of East Europe and the USSR, a policy which the nationally centered Stalinist bureaucracies now in power will not implement, and the overthrow of capitalism in the West. The key to solving Poland's economic crisis is a Socialist United States of Europe, through political revolution in the East and social revolution in the West.

### Catholic Reaction Raises Its Head

Retraction of the price increases was a victory for the Polish proletariat. However, the government's economic crisis can also be exploited in the interests of pro-capitalist reaction. The main organizational focus of such counterrevolutionary forces in Poland (and some other East European Stalinist-ruled states) is the Roman Catholic Church, whose considerable social base centers on peasant smallholders, some quite wealthy by East European standards.

While raising the popular demand for clemency for the imprisoned Radom and Ursus workers, Poland's church hierarchy has also endorsed Gierek's austerity measures and called on the masses to make "sacrifices." Gierek's program is to try to resolve the economic crisis at the expense of urban wage-earners, centrally the proletariat, for the benefit of the agricultural petty bourgeoisie. Thus Polish Stalinism fosters the very conditions which strengthen capitalist-restorationist forces.

The present campaign to free the jailed worker militants can be of great importance in developing a revolutionary Trotskyist party in Stalinist-ruled Poland. The dissident intelligentsia has reacted strongly on behalf of the imprisoned workers, and support for the victims of the bureaucracy's austerity program is widespread in the West European labor movement. The Gierek regime is on the defensive in Poland and internationally. If the Stalinist rulers are forced to free these workers, the effect in raising the morale and combativity of the proletariat throughout East Europe will be enormous. *Free the imprisoned Polish worker militants!* ■

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## As Convention Meets

# Wall Regime Threatens to Shipwreck NMU

The 17th convention of the National Maritime Union (NMU) convenes in New York on October 4. The NMU, once one of the most powerful maritime unions, has suffered a considerable decline in recent years. Today it is a relatively small and weak union whose convention this year meets under the shadow of a federal grand jury investigation into notoriously corrupt practices by NMU officials.

For years the shipowners have been registering their ships abroad in order to take advantage of cheaper labor and non-union conditions. Today only five percent of U.S. ocean-borne commerce is carried aboard U.S. flag ships; this has been by far the greatest factor in the decline of NMU jobs. In 1971 the union lost thousands more jobs when the passenger fleet was laid up, with barely a protest from the union officials. The bureaucrats have also given their approval to unlimited cutbacks in manning scales, so that newer, automated ships frequently crew up with as few as 16 seamen.

The loss of jobs has greatly weakened other aspects of the contract. Given the nature of the industry, a good pension plan is extremely important. At one time the NMU had a fairly strong plan, which provided a pension at any age to seamen with 20 years of service. Today, however, there is an age requirement of 55 years, and 25 years' service in order to get a minimal ($300 per month) pension.

The NMU and a rival seamen's union, the Seafarers International Union (SIU), have historically competed against each other, offering successively worse sweetheart deals to the companies in an attempt to attract new contracts and new jobs. Under pressure from George Meany, the NMU and the SIU announced in 1974 that they intended to cease their squabbling and would seek a merger of the two unions. However, this maneuver exploded in an orgy of raiding a year later. The NMU eagerly grabbed ships traditionally crewed by SIU-affiliated unions on the West Coast; the SIU retaliated by raiding NMU ships on the East Coast. While providing no net jobs for seamen of either union, this only heated up once again the traditional and harmful rivalries on the waterfront.

While seamen have fared poorly, the NMU bureaucracy—one of the more corrupt and venal in the American labor movement—has certainly managed to feather its own nest. Although the NMU is a small union, its officials receive some of the top salaries in the AFL-CIO. A year ago a federal grand jury launched a major investigation—still pending—into corrupt practices by the NMU leaders. Charges included taking kickbacks, embezzling and accepting money from the companies to quash any union opposition to the lay-up of the passenger ships.

### The Roots of Class-Collaboration

The NMU was founded in 1937 as a split-off from the ISU, the AFL union, as part of the mass labor organizing drive of that period. It affiliated with the CIO and was the first sea-going industrial union with a racially integrated membership. At that time, the SIU was formed out of the remnants of the ISU which adhered to the policy of excluding blacks. The more militant NMU was then several times larger than the SIU and had markedly superior contracts.

For its first 10 years the NMU leadership was in the hands of the Stalinist Communist Party (CP). The CP gradually frittered away the authority it had gained as leaders of the organizing drive. Its bureaucratic maneuverings won it the enmity of many seamen. Once Germany invaded the Soviet Union, the NMU leadership vigorously supported the imperialist World War II, embracing the no-strike pledge and accepting a retractable "war bonus" instead of a genuine wage increase. It eagerly clamped down on all rank-and-file rebellions against the profit-gouging shipowners and even tried to extend the no-strike pledge after the war.

Following the demise of the wartime Stalin-Roosevelt alliance, the NMU's demagogue president Joe Curran broke from his former CP allies. Curran's ability to win over disgruntled seamen was certainly facilitated by the Stalinists' history of class collaboration and their manipulative practices within the union. At first the CP leadership tried to maneuver, and it even voted for a red-baiting resolution against outside political interference by the Communist Party at the 1946 CIO convention. This groveling availed nothing. After an extended power struggle, with the assistance of the cops, the Coast Guard and the Waterfront Commission, Curran managed to purge all leftists from the union, getting rid of socialists, Trotskyists and other militants as well as supporters of the CP. Thereafter he successively eliminated other would-be rivals from the bureaucracy, revised the relatively democratic NMU constitution and inundated the union with shoreside workers to establish virtual one-man rule.

From the time of the purge, the NMU has lined up with the most right-wing elements in the labor movement. As the State Department mounted a cold war drive in the international labor movement, Curran grasped the opportunity for a mutual backscratching deal with the government and the bosses. Going from CP ally to anti-Communist demagogue in less than one year, this consummate opportunist was soon collaborating with right-wing dictatorships around the world. Yet the workers of these countries—poor and without unions to defend them—ultimately provided the cheap labor source which generated the massive emigration of U.S.-flag companies abroad! The NMU has never made any determined attempt to organize these workers. Curran also worked hand in glove with the AFL-CIO in sponsoring company and government-controlled "sweetheart" unions in foreign countries. If today the NMU leadership complains about the "runaway shipping practices" of the companies, it is only the grossest hypocrisy!

Curran's hand-picked successor, Shannon Wall, has continued this reactionary and self-defeating policy of economic nationalism. Having frittered away the bulk of its sea-going jobs, the NMU is a mere shell of its former self. The union is reduced to futilely begging the government to pass various trade quota bills that would provide a guaranteed share of trade for U.S.-flag shipping. AFL-CIO maritime unions, including the NMU, recently co-sponsored a demonstration with American-flag companies demanding that the Soviet Union pay higher freight rates to import grain. The union bureaucrats hope that by combining anti-communism with demands for more money to the bosses, they might win the ear of the government. With higher rates the corporations might find it profitable to increase their grain trade—and perhaps throw a few crumbs to seamen.

The NMU was one of the first unions to endorse Jimmy Carter. Partly, this comes out of a desire to back a winner in bourgeois electoral politics—and perhaps have some of the heat taken off the grand jury investigation in return. It is also based on a desperate hope that Carter will fulfill his campaign promise to "build up the American merchant marine" (as Nixon also promised before him!). However, the American government has made it clear that at present it will not subsidize additional maritime jobs until the unions make even more concessions in wages, manning scales and other standards than they have already.

There is a grouping in the union that has presented a class-struggle opposition to the Curran/Wall regime, namely the Militant-Solidarity Caucus, which publishes the *Beacon* and has been actively campaigning for convention delegate posts. A spokesman for the Caucus underscored to *WV* the policies that set the Caucus apart from other would-be oppositionists. In particular, unlike other opponents of the Curran/Wall regime such as liberal-backed Jim Morrissey, the Caucus opposes any government intervention into the union's internal affairs and demands that the membership itself clean up the NMU. The spokesman emphasized that the demand of full trade union independence from the capitalist state has a particular relevance to the NMU. In the past the government has attempted to intervene in the maritime unions to purge militants and break the union hiring hall in the interests of a "disciplined merchant marine." And when, in the early 1960's, the NMU leaders made a short-lived attempt to organize Honduran seamen, a U.S. court handed down an injunction against international organizing (to which Curran obediently knuckled under).

The Militant-Solidarity Caucus opposes raiding and calls for joint seamen-longshoremen unity against the bosses. It demands that the hiring hall be strengthened and calls for "integrated labor defense squads against racist

*continued on page 11*

NMU Pilot

**NMU president Shannon Wall (right) with Jimmy Carter in Baltimore. Announcing NMU endorsement, Wall hailed Navy man Carter as the candidate who would "carry out concept of total seapower."**

WV Photo

**Protectionist, anti-Soviet NMU demonstration in NYC in August for higher profits to maritime bosses.**

## RESOLUTION

The following resolution was presented by a member of the Militant-Solidarity Caucus of the National Maritime Union at the September 27 New York Port meeting where it was ruled out of order by the chair.

*Whereas*, it is in the interests of the labor movement to smash all forms of racism and racial oppression; and

*Whereas*, the vicious apartheid regime in South Africa has been responsible for the subjugation and butchery of millions of non-whites; and

*Whereas*, hundreds of thousands of workers and students are now striking and demonstrating in a struggle to overthrow the hated apartheid regime,

*Therefore be it resolved* by the NMU members at this meeting that:

1) The NMU initiate a total boycott to "hot cargo" all goods destined for or originating from South Africa, in support of the current struggle there against apartheid,

2) The NMU call on all other unions, particularly the longshoremen's and seamen's unions in the U.S. and around the world to join this job action;

3) A committee of five NMU members be elected at this meeting to coordinate the implementation of this call

## Union "Lefts" Knuckle Under to Wage Restraints

# Labour Government Shaken by Seamen's Strike Threat in Britain

LONDON, September 23—The British ruling class and the Labour Party government breathed a sigh of relief yesterday as the executive of the National Union of Seamen (NUS) voted by nine to seven to accept a compromise settlement with the employers, negotiated under tremendous pressure from the Trades Union Congress (TUC). When the NUS leadership had issued a strike call two weeks earlier, it threw the annual TUC conference into a panic and sent shivers through the City financial district where the pound crashed to a new low of $1.71.

The strike threat arose over the NUS demand for a £6 pay raise backdated to July. A year previously the NUS had won a 37-percent increase, to be paid in three installments. However, under the terms of the government's voluntary wage restraint ("social contract") negotiated subsequently with TUC leaders, the seamen will not be eligible for another wage hike until next January. When it became clear that the seamen would not receive their raise due this July, a ballot of the NUS membership showed a narrow majority in favour of "industrial action."

A seamen's strike would have been the first direct challenge to the social contract. This program of stringent wage restraints is the heart of the Labour government's social-democratic program for propping up sagging British capitalism. With inflation during the last 12 months of over 14 percent, discontent is rife in the working class and a seamen's strike could have unleashed massive union struggles against the TUC/Labour policy of "solving" the economic crisis at the cost of the workers.

### "We'll Cripple You!"

The fear of just such an explosion sent waves of alarm through the British bourgeoisie, the Labour government and the TUC bureaucrats. The deputy chairman of the British Steel Corporation wailed, "Our first concern is that any breach of the Government's pay code arrangements might well unleash demands in our own industry" (*Guardian* [London], 10 September). The General Council of British Shipping warned of the "catastrophic effect on sterling and Britain's trading position," and the *Financial Times* index for shares on the London Stock Exchange dropped to its lowest point this year. Meanwhile, the Labour government began laying plans for declaring a state of emergency. Prime Minister James Callaghan immediately called a meeting of senior cabinet ministers, then postponed his visit to Canada until after the initial crisis had passed.

The job of dealing with the seamen was left to the bureaucrats of the Trades Union Congress. At the TUC conference at Brighton the vote in favour of the social contract was so overwhelming that it was not even felt necessary to count the ballots. However, with the seamen's strike call threatening to undo the best-laid plans of these "labour statesmen," the TUC leaders began to apply massive pressure to the NUS executive. Bill Sirs, general secretary of the Iron and Steel Trade Confederation, complained that his union had a better

Newsline

**Although seamen were eager to strike, union tops postponed the strike for two weeks.**

Newsline

**Jim Slater, general secretary of the National Union of Seamen. "There will be a strike. Nothing will stop it."**

case for special treatment, and that "If the seamen were to break it [the wage pact], our own members would be clamouring for the same treatment."

The TUC warned the seamen that they could expect no official support. They threatened to suspend the NUS, meaning that no other union could help and that dockers and railwaymen would be told by their leaders to cross seamen's picket lines. At one point in the negotiations, TUC general secretary Len Murray vowed, "By God, we'll make sure no union supports you. We'll cripple you." And AUEW (metal workers) leader Hugh Scanlon, who had formerly claimed to oppose the £6 limit imposed on his own union, chimed in, "You might kid yourself you support the social contract, but you don't kid us" (*Observer* [London], 12 September). Under pressure, the NUS executive caved in and postponed the strike two weeks in order to allow for further negotiations with the TUC and employers.

### Solidarity From the Ranks

Feeding the bureaucrats' anxiety to get the strike called off quickly were clear indications that their hostility to the seamen's claim was definitely not shared by the union rank and file. Within the NUS itself, it is clear that the most militant sections did not see their claim as just a "special case," but the beginning of an attack on the whole "social contract"/wage freeze. Seamen based in the port of Felixstowe had taken strike action already several days in advance of the September 11 deadline. The NUS also claimed it had assurances of support from the Indian Seamen's Union representing the 22,000 Asian seamen who work British flag ships and who continued to work during the 1966 seamen's strike.

Significantly, there were statements of support from dock workers' leaders. In 1966 the effectiveness of the maritime strike had been limited by the dockers' allowing ships to be moved from one berth to another. This time Jack Lydon, chairman of the Merseyside docks and waterways of the Transport and General Workers Union and a member of the national docks shop stewards committee, stated: "You can rest assured that if the seamen go on strike, Merseyside dockers will give them every support and will certainly not scab."

From a delegate conference of the Scottish miners came a statement of support with a condemnation of the TUC for pressuring a postponement of the strike, along with an offer of

Economist

**Prime Minister Callaghan**

financial support. Michael McGahey, Communist Party (CP) leader of the Scottish area National Union of Miners, said that this was "in order to repay the debt we owe to them for supporting us during our disputes in 1972 and 1974." And at the TUC conference, 324 delegates and visitors signed a petition supporting the seamen's stand.

### "Left" Bureaucrats Cave In

Throughout this whole affair the NUS executive, which is fairly evenly divided between "moderates" and "lefts" (including CP supporters), acted with timidity. In polling the membership, the executive did not call forthrightly for a strike but only for some form of "industrial action," not even specifying that it affect all ports, or else acceptance of the TUC/Labour government wage restraints. This effectively discouraged many union militants, who assumed that such industrial action would be limited to impotent gestures like a ban on overtime.

Even after the membership voted down the TUC pay policy and a strike was scheduled, the NUS executive strenuously argued that it did not oppose the wage restraints and that its demands were within the confines of the social contract. NUS general secretary Jim Slater has consistently supported the social contract. Last May when the NUS conference narrowly rejected a call to scrap wage restraints, Slater opposed this motion strongly, saying that "if you carry this motion it is the biggest kidology you have ever perpetrated on your members" (*Times* [London], 8 May). Left-wing members of the executive like Gordon Norris were also reluctant to mount a political challenge to the Callaghan government: "We do not want to find ourselves being the whipping boys for the downfall of the Labour Government" (*Times*, 11 September).

Although the chances of a seamen's strike now appear negligible, the TUC tops have by no means demonstrated an ability to ram the social contract down the throats of British workers. The prospect of solidarity actions in support of the seamen by other sections of the working class was quite real. Well aware of this, the union leaders were forced to agree to more fringe benefits in lieu of a pay increase. Even though thankful for the avoidance of a strike, influential news media voiced concern that the effect of this award could well be to trigger renewed working-class struggle on a broad front.

Following announcement of the settlement, NUS officials, shipowners, government and TUC all insisted that the pact adheres to the social contract guidelines. The agreement indeed provides for *no wage increase whatever*, until January when seamen will receive from £2.50 to £4 per week. Certain fringe benefits—centering on subsistence payments for food, lodging and travel expenses and compensation for periods when seamen are unemployed—will be increased. However, another key item in dispute, extending the "overseas currency allowance" (presently limited to the North American and Central American dollar zone) to other high-

*continued on page 11*

# Cops, Mayor Push "Anti-Crime" Hysteria in Detroit

DETROIT, September 20 Led by "liberal" black mayor Coleman Young, 2,000 demonstrators marched down Woodward Avenue Sunday to show support for the city's recent "law-and-order" campaign against street gangs. The main theme of the march was to promote unity with Detroit's overwhelmingly white and notoriously racist police force.

The demonstrators were largely drawn from among cops and city government employees, who were no doubt encouraged to attend by their boss, the mayor. Also prominent were the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). A few small trade-union contingents, notably from the Teamsters and transit workers, participated.

### Black Liberals Endorse Cop Rampage

This pro-cop demonstration comes after a month of a widely publicized crackdown on street gangs, which was triggered when several hundred black youth assaulted the audience at a rock concert at Coho Hall in downtown Detroit. The main aim of the campaign is, of course, to beef up the police. Some 450 cops were recalled from layoff, their salaries paid by using nearly all of a recent allotment of $15 million in federal aid.

The size of the Tactical and Gang Squad has been tripled and the number of patrol cars greatly increased. There is also widespread talk of re-establishing the hated STRESS squads, notorious for their racist assaults which resulted in

WV Photo

**Detroit mayor Coleman Young at "anti-crime" march.**

the deaths of scores of black youth. Eliminating STRESS was one of the important issues in Young's 1973 mayoral campaign.

This former Communist Party sympathizer has now adopted the "law-and-order" rhetoric of George Wallace and Spiro Agnew. Young is currently calling for emergency detention centers, a new county jail, tougher juvenile laws and "a civilian police reserve" (vigilantes) of "strong men and women" who are ready to "support the police" (*Detroit Free Press*, 25 August).

The most vicious and anti-democratic action of Young's campaign against "crime in the streets" is a 10 p.m. curfew on *all youth under 18*. Hundreds of innocent teenagers, overwhelmingly black, have been rounded up and put in

WV Photo

**Teamsters march in September 19 Detroit "law and order" demonstration.**

detention pens. The curfew is so manifestly oppressive, unjust and unpopular that in the past few weeks it has not been systematically enforced. However, the curfew ordinance remains on the books as a weapon to harass and victimize black youth. And at the September 19 demonstration, Young reaffirmed that he would maintain the curfew "as long as necessary." Repeal the curfew ordinance!

Prominent among those local leaders whipping up the anti-crime frenzy in Detroit have been NAACP officials headed by Joe Madison. (Madison, it should be noted, has in the recent past worked closely with the National Student Coalition Against Racism led by the reformist Socialist Workers Party.) The NAACP's particular contribution to the "anti-crime" campaign has been a drive to get prostitutes off the streets, if necessary by jailing them.

While it is an extreme and degrading form of social pathology, prostitution is not a crime. It is not an act of violence or theft against innocent persons. The real victims of prostitution are the women themselves. Prostitution should be decriminalized

### Against Union Vigilantes!

From the standpoint of the workers movement, the most ominous aspect of the city's "anti-crime" mobilization is the support given to it by the local United Auto Workers (UAW) bureaucracy. Region 1-A director and long-time union black spokesman Buddy Battle has sponsored several city-wide UAW leadership meetings with the police and Mayor Young. Echoing Young's "civilian police reserve" scheme, Battle has called for UAW-backed "community crime patrols...walking or driving through neighborhoods to keep an eye open for trouble and to report trouble to police" (*Detroit Free Press*, 21 August).

The Woodcock bureaucracy of the UAW has refused to organize flying squads to protect picket lines against scab attacks; it has refused to take action against the anti-busing activities of its own Louisville local. And it now offers the union's services to Detroit's racist cops in policing the black ghettos!

The several hundred thousand assembly line workers in the Detroit metropolitan area who slave 50 to 60 hours a week to maintain a modest standard of living are understandably incensed at the city's high level of violent crime. There is a certain sympathy in the (largely black) auto plants for a "smash the street gangs" campaign. But anti-crime vigilante groups, whether organized through trade unions or in some other manner, will result in indiscriminate racist terror. Class-conscious workers must oppose any and all efforts to involve the unions in policing the ghettos.

It is probably no coincidence that Battle's proposal to set up UAW vigilante squads comes during the contract period. What a convenient way to deflect the ranks' attention from militant struggle against the auto bosses. Detroit's campaign against street gangs, like the "law-and-order" issue in general, is used to divert workers from attacking their real enemies—the source of mass unemployment, wage-slashing inflation and health-destroying working conditions the capitalist corporations and their political henchmen.

A revolutionary workers party and a class-struggle labor movement would be able to mobilize black youth around such demands as a shorter workweek with no loss in pay, to open up more jobs; a massive public works program at union wages; and free, quality education and recreation facilities. Mass communist organization and agitation within the ghetto would tend to isolate the hard core of criminals from the broader layer of restless, alienated youth now drawn to the gangs.

Violent crime will exist so long as the capitalist system continues to produce (because it requires it) an impoverished and desperate lumpen population. The only real means of eliminating "crime in the streets" is by eliminating the economic base of lumpenism, through socialist planning under a workers government ■

WV Photo

**Pickets outside forum in Detroit protest sectarian exclusion by the International Socialists.**

# I.S. Excludes Ford Workers from Strike Forum

DETROIT—The social-democratic International Socialists (I.S.) provoked an angry demonstration of militant Ford workers and Spartacist League (SL) supporters Sunday when it refused to allow them to attend its widely-advertised "public meeting" entitled "Showdown in Auto." The I.S.' refusal to admit striking auto workers to its forum on the auto strike is only the most outrageous example of its policy of sectarian exclusion, however. This is the fourth such instance in the last year.

This time, however, the excluded militants responded with a picket line and placards denouncing both the I.S.' undemocratic practices and its uncritical support for such reformist trade-union formations as the Coalition for a Good Contract (CDC) and the United National Caucus (UNC), which have a history of dragging the unions into the bosses' courts. It is to avoid answering for these betrayals that the I.S. is forced to resort to the exclusion of class-struggle militants from its "public" forums.

Inside, those few who managed to pass I.S. inspection were treated to an attack on the SL by I.S. national secretary Glenn Wolfe, a series of unserious and apolitical speeches and a list of "demands" which did not include even the minimal call for an industry-wide auto strike.

Following a brief "discussion period," during which all questions regarded as critical or embarrassing were shouted down, Wolfe took the floor to attack the SL a second time and to clarify I.S. trade-union "strategy": a policy of dealing with people where they are at politically (i.e., capitulating to the bureaucrats) and later casting off those who no longer serve the I.S.' maneuvers. When asked if the United Mine Workers strike-breaking president Arnold Miller, whom the I.S. supported, fits into this category, Wolfe replied: "That's a hit below the belt" and refused to answer.

In fact, the I.S. has no answers to any of the crucial questions facing the working class. The only class-struggle politics raised at the "Showdown in Auto" forum were raised outside on the street by communists and the excluded strikers. ■

*Spartacus Youth League Pamphlet*

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# Ford Strikers Demonstrate Against Union-Authorized Scabbing

DETROIT In the second week of a nationwide contract strike by the United Auto Workers (UAW) against Ford Motor Company, the outrageous, officially approved scabbing by Local 245 at the Dearborn Engineering Center was finally ended after striking skilled tradesmen picketed the facility. A week later the skilled workers again demonstrated, this time at the UAW's Solidarity House headquarters. However, in both cases, rather than presenting a class-struggle opposition against the pro-company bureaucracy, the militants' leaders sought to act as a pressure group on the Woodcock gang.

When 200 picketers from striking River Rouge Local 600 arrived at the gates of the Dearborn facility September 21 to confront the scabs, they found an equal number of local police and private Ford guards waiting for them. The Engineering Center's 1,600 union tradesmen had been previously ordered by the International to keep the facility open on the grounds that "essential" emissions work was being done. Faced both with this virtual army of cops, and with leaflets from Local 245's acting president Virgil Dare warning that because "these pickets are illegal," no strike benefits would be forthcoming, most of the union members drove straight through the lines.

Unable to stop the scabs, the angry pickets then marched over to the Local 245 hall to confront the officials. The strikers entered the hall but were quickly pushed out. One militant yelled out, "Are we in the right place? Is this a scab local?" When a Local 245 official asked, "Don't you know what our situation is?" the militant responded, "I know what a scab is!" The confrontation was abruptly ended, however, with the arrival of former Local 600 skilled trades unit president Al Gardner who entered the hall and arranged for a local meeting, only to be told a few moments later by the International representative that there would be no such meeting.

The strikers then left, promising to return for the following shift and for the ones to follow. By the end of the day, however, the Local 245 executive board in consultation with the International decided to pull out the Local, which had already voted weeks ago by a 76 percent margin to honor the strike.

While pulling out the scabbing local was a partial victory, Dearborn Engineering Center continues to operate with salaried workers. At the planning meeting for the action —called by the Independent Skilled Trades Council (ISTC) Gardner (who is also an ISTC spokesman) told the assembled militants to let the salaried employees through the lines, saying also that if Local 245 members *wanted* to work, they should be allowed through the lines! At the gates, the sight of the pickets politely waving to Ford's salaried employees through the lines, often with a "good morning," or "have a nice day," turned the demonstration into a mockery, amounting to an open invitation to scab! Faced with the army of cops and the need to effectively close the Dearborn Center's 18 gates, a mass mobilization of the entire Local 600 was needed, not just a few hundred men.

A real fight against Ford depends upon the forging of unity between the skilled tradesmen and the production workers based on a program of class struggle which meets the needs of both. Yet the ISTC, always narrowly focused on the skilled trades, has now boiled down its minimal and parochial program even further. In its leaflet to the Local 245 members, the only demands were for wage parity with the building trades ($10 hour) and an end to subcontracting.

When massive subcontracting is used by the capitalists to break the militancy of certain union locals, for instance, it must be strongly fought. But in this case the ISTC cynically opposes all subcontracting in order to "end unemployment" by snatching for itself the jobs of other workers, replacing the fight for jobs for all with backstabbing by one group of workers against another. In the past Woodcock himself has protested against subcontracting as an excuse to rail against foreign capitalist competition in the U.S. auto market.

The September 27 demonstration at Solidarity House again underscored the ISTC's bankruptcy as an opposition to Woodcock. As the group of 125, mostly skilled tradesmen, marched in front of the UAW International headquarters the ISTC could only chant "We want more dough," and similar slogans. When militants marched past the gate on Jefferson Avenue, and up to the main door, the role of ISTC secretary Charles Dewey was to direct them back onto the street while calling on Woodcock, Bannon and Fraser to "Come on out and lead your army."

This pressuring is one side of the ISTC's strategy. Al Gardner admitted the other side to *WV*: "If the International denies our skilled tradesmen the right to reject the contract, then there's a possibility of legal action." In fact, when the International threatened to withhold Local 245's strike benefits should the members honor picket lines, Gardner's first response at the planning meeting was again to hint at legal action. Thus, as they unsuccessfully tried in 1973 ISTC leaders are again preparing to substitute "struggle" in the bosses' courts for militant mass action.

As the bureaucrats and staff began leaving Solidarity House at 5 p.m., they had to drive through a gauntlet of angry workers. Cops appeared to "direct traffic" and one, Officer Carr, told a nervous driver, "Roll your windows up and run over them if they get in your way." One demonstrator was bit and seriously injured.

As the agonized brother lay on the ground waiting for an ambulance, a black bureaucrat told the demonstrators that they were all wrong in their attitude. He got his job by being an Uncle Tom, he confessed, and urged the militants to do the same. He paid for this insulting advice with a few punches from a furious striker. The fight was broken up with ISTC leaders Gardner and Pete Kelly again leading the demonstrators back to Jefferson Avenue. As the workers began to drift away one yelled, "What do we do now?" There was no answer from the ISTC.

Reformist oppositions like the ISTC can do no more than try to cajole Woodcock into greater militancy. What is needed is a complete break with the Woodcock bureaucracy and the formation of a class-struggle leadership to fight for the real needs of auto workers. Such a program must include the demand for a shorter workweek at no loss in pay, for the unlimited local right to strike without International authorization and for a steward for every foreman. There must be a fight for full SUB benefits for every worker from the date of hire, a big pay boost for both skilled trades and production workers, a full cost-of-living escalator and union control of hiring, upgrading and training programs to end racial discrimination in the skilled trades.

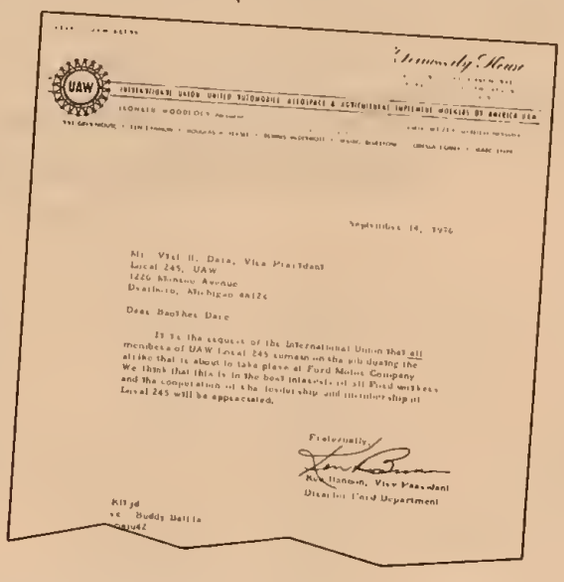
The skilled tradesmen's efforts to stop the scabbing at Dearborn Engineering Center were an important act of labor solidarity. But unfortunately, the bureaucrats' attempts to sabotage the strike are far more numerous (thousands of workers around the country are still scabbing with union permission, for example). Union militants must call for the formation of an elected strike committee to keep the ranks informed day by day on the bargaining and to enforce solid picket lines through mass picketing.

As the Dearborn situation indicates, even the Ford facilities in the U.S. are not totally shut down. In addition the 34,000 UAW members of Ford's Canadian operations are still working without a contract. Also at work are the more than half a million UAW members at GM, Chrysler and American Motors! A victory for the auto workers requires shutting down all of Ford and all of auto (and agricultural implements) throughout the U.S. and Canada!

Woodcock's ties to racist "right-to-work" Democrat Jimmy Carter and his hopes for a cabinet post in a new Democratic administration are behind his present conservative one-company, one-country sellout strike strategy. Class-struggle militants can defeat the bureaucracy and its defeatist policies only by providing a political answer to its support for strikebreaking capitalist politicians. Labor must break these criminal ties to the Democratic Party and struggle for a workers party to be formed based on the trade unions, to fight for a workers government. ■

Striking UAW skilled tradesmen confront Local 245 (Ford Research and Engineering Center) officials demanding that they stop scabbing on national UAW strike.

WV Photo



Letter from UAW vice president (Ford Department) Ken Bannon "requesting" Local 245 members to scab on national Ford strike.

## Letelier...

*(continued from page 5)*

influential in the investigations by liberal Congressmen such as Edward Kennedy, Frank Church and James Abourezk, who want the junta replaced because its arbitrary totalitarian excesses and irrational economic schemes are an embarrassment to the U.S. Letelier had also helped instigate a boycott of Chilean products by Dutch dockworkers and a campaign against a $63 million Dutch mining investment in Chile. It was for this that he was assassinated.

The wanton murder of Orlando Letelier is a crime against all foes of the junta. The attempted whitewash of the DINA must be exposed. The bloodthirsty Pinochet regime will stop at nothing to maintain its grip. But the Chilean proletariat will rise again to avenge its martyred dead. ■

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SL/SYL

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Room to be Posted

**CHICAGO**

# UMW...

*(continued from page 12)*

Party's *Militant*, and they also were forced to leave the press area. Outside the convention center, the *Call* reporters and a salesman were physically assaulted (the salesman suffered a broken nose) and chased down the street. Subsequently, the press credentials of reporters from *WV* and the Workers League's *Bulletin* were also revoked.

Delegates demanded (and Miller consented) that the Credentials Committee investigate several union members whom they charged were "card-carrying Communists." A 15-minute recess was voted "to clean house." As a band played polka tunes, delegates brought their charges to the committee. A particular target was a delegate from West Virginia who belongs to the Right to Strike Committee, a group involved in the 1975 wildcat.

Miller and his staff responded to the red-baiting by first attempting to ignore it and then capitulating to it. A letter dated 31 January 1975 was circulated denouncing IEB member Patterson for "shooting off his mouth" about "communists" on the union staff. Rather than defending the democratic rights of union members, the letter merely bemoaned the fact that a union official would "smear the good name of innocent people." Distribution of the letter was also intended to discredit red-baiter Trbovich, who had signed it before he switched loyalties from the MFD to ex-Boyle supporter Patterson.

Although the Credentials Committee did not take any action against the accused delegates, this is no credit to Miller, who has never challenged the union constitution's anti-Communist clause. Miller has also worked hand in glove with his opponents on the IEB to discipline rank-and-file militants who challenge the bureaucracy's collaboration with the coal bosses. Following the four-week wildcat in the summer of 1975, the national leadership voted itself the right to "try charges against members who, by their actions, in willful and deliberate defiance of International directives, seriously jeopardize the integrity of the union." Subsequently, Bruce Miller, a Right to Strike Committee member, was suspended from the union for a year.

*Workers Vanguard* reporters who protested the anti-communist press exclusions were given a runaround by Miller's staff members, ranging from apologetic evasions to unsubtle red-baiting. Press secretary Bernie Aronson told a *WV* reporter who had covered the meeting on Thursday and Friday: "For your own protection and safety, I just don't think you should try to come back.... We're just not going to be able to let you in." Another staff member, Ralph Burgess, was asked on what basis press credentials would be distributed for the remainder of the convention. He bluntly responded: "It depends on what kind of articles you people produce."

In an article in today's *New York Times* reporting on the exclusion of *WV* and the *Bulletin*, Jack Landau, executive director of the Reporters Committee for Freedom of the Press, is quoted as saying, "This appears to violate the protections of the 14th Amendment to the Constitution.... This is a classic example of prior restraint, forbidden by the Constitution." Also, *Miners Report*, a pro-Miller but non-union periodical whose reporter was also thrown out of the convention press area, obtained a warrant against one of the delegates involved in the exclusion. A dangerous climate is being stirred up which could serve to launch a court attack on the UMW.

Communists and all militant unionists must denounce this bureaucratic expulsion of the left press from a normal business meeting. However, we hold the independence of the workers movement a higher principle than bourgeois-democratic rights. (Don't forget, moreover, that unions themselves were once considered unconstitutional as a restraint of trade.) Thus we recognize the right of unions to exclude the bourgeois press (though this is generally uncalled-for) and to hold closed meetings, and we sharply condemn any attempt at court action against the UMW. Violations of workers democracy must be fought out within the labor movement, not in the bosses' courts!

The hypocrisy of Miller (not to mention his demagogic opponents) is revealed by this exclusion of working-class newspapers while the bourgeoisie's press is allowed to remain. Moreover, while left-wing groups are undemocratically barred from disseminating their literature at UMW (and other union) conventions the union-busting Labor Department and Bureau of Mines are allowed to set up information tables and generally are treated as honored guests.

At this convention, for example, Robert Barrett, head of the Federal Mining Enforcement and Safety Administration, was invited to address the delegates. Barrett praised the union leadership for its "strong and effective safety programs to safeguard the life and health of American miners." The hollowness of such praise from an agent of the ruling class was underscored by an earlier announcement that a 21-year-old apprentice miner had been electrocuted on the job in West Virginia, the 391st death in the mines since the 1973 convention. Many of these deaths are directly attributable to the bureaucracy's refusal to fight for an unrestricted right to strike over safety hazards.

It is no accident that Trbovich has attempted to capitalize on the issue of "outsiders" in union affairs. The MFD, led by Miller and brainstrusted by liberal lawyers and politicians, took office in 1972 after a successful court suit overturning the 1969 elections and ordering a Labor Department-supervised rerun. Having provided that opening wedge, the Miller regime has repeatedly invited the government into union affairs. Consequently, Miller is blamed by much of the membership, not without cause, for the estimated $400 million in lawsuits brought by coal companies against the UMW.

The courts and coal bosses took careful note of the bureaucracy's craven refusal to struggle for a contractual right to strike and to sanction and back up the wildcats as well as Miller's wretched record of using organs of the bourgeois state against fellow union members. Emboldened by this prostrate "leadership," the miners' enemies have slapped fine after fine on UMW locals in an attempt to crack rank-and-file unrest.

Having abandoned Miller's largely discredited regime, Trbovich seeks to pin the entire blame for court interference on Miller and his "outsiders." He told *WV* reporters that he would not personally take Miller to court (!) *and that the MFD had lost votes to the blatantly corrupt Boyle because of miners' resentment at the court suit.*

Trbovich brazenly tries to ignore his own role as a plaintiff in the Miners for Democracy court case and even pretends that his recent instigation of a Labor Department financial investigation was a service to the union membership. His caterwauling about "outsiders" is an attempt to tap legitimate hostility at Miller's reliance on the government while descending to the cheapest mudslinging at a few young liberals on the union staff and sponsoring a purge attempt in the union ranks. Like Patterson, whom he now calls the "staunchest" member of the IEB, Trbovich hopes to play on both the defensive union consciousness of the ranks and their social and political backwardness.

The real bone of contention between Miller and the Trbovich/Patterson bloc, of course, is not "outsiders." Both factions serve outside interests, namely those of the ruling class. The real issue between the bureaucratic cliques is which can better control the ranks, stifle the reds and stop the wildcats. Miller has fought against all the same strikes which Trbovich railed against—"the shift rotation strike, the textbook strike, the gas strike, the right-to-strike strike and the injunction strike" (all but the second being important instances of class struggle impulses in the union).

Patterson's record, from the bureaucrats' point of view, is unblemished. According to Trbovich, the only wildcat in his district occurred when Patterson was not there.

That Trbovich could joint with Patterson without abandoning the MFD platform testifies to the unprincipled nature of the original group. Miller's opposition has now turned the cut-rate rhetoric of "rank-and-fileism" against him. But on the right to strike, on government intervention in the labor movement and on independent working-class political action all wings of the bureaucracy line up against the interests of the union ranks.

Almost alone on the left, the Spartacist League did not support Miller in the 1972 election, pointing out that the MFD had brought the bosses' government into the union. We said then, as now, that only a class-struggle program and leadership that consistently counterposes the interests of the workers to those of the class enemy can defend labor's past gains and prepare for the coming battles. ■

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# WORKERS VANGUARD

# Carter/Ford...

*(continued from page 1)*

Ford skewered Carter in the debate.

Carter's ceaseless invocation of Georgia, where the union shop is illegal, as an example of paradise on earth does not go over big with urban workers. Meanwhile, his attempt to offset his image as a born-again puritanical witch-burner with a titillating interview in *Playboy* is a further blow to his credibility. Trying to fill its pages with news about a campaign without issues, the bourgeois press had a field day badgering Carter's wife about her husband's admission of sublimated lust, while Carter's use of words like "screw" and "shackup" started a flurry questioning his "presidential taste."

If most people are far from sold on Carter, there has been one bizarre conversion to the Georgia messiah's personality cult: writer Norman Mailer. In a feature article in the *New York Times* Sunday magazine, Mailer—clearly the only intelligent man on earth who takes seriously the political pretensions of Norman Mailer—intones, in terms befitting a second-rate born-again toady:

> "His aura was hardly the same as other people's. Happiness came off him. It was as if God had given him intelligence and good work that would make sense, and so he could give his strength to the world ... That helped to explain his smile."

Not since Sammy Davis, Jr., hugged and kissed Richard Nixon has there been a similarly repulsive display of debased talent in the service of murderous reaction. But neither Mailer's dime-store existentialist flattery nor *Playboy*'s titillation can generate confidence among working people in Jimmy Carter and his ominous smile.

### Labor, the Left and the Elections

Jimmy Carter arouses no enthusiasm from the ranks of labor. But the bureaucratic tops have pledged the power of the union movement to the electoral victory of this virulently anti-labor candidate. AFL-CIO head Meany promises Carter the best "political machine in the country," while UAW chief Woodcock angling for a Carter cabinet post—is not too busy selling out the Ford strikers to sell out the elementary interests of all working people by lining up the auto union behind Carter's candidacy.

It has never been more obvious that the working class needs a political party that expresses its historic interests. If rampant discontent among the ranks were all that were necessary for such a movement, it would already exist. But a powerful class-struggle trade-union opposition committed to breaking the ranks from the stranglehold of the pro-capitalist bureaucrats, has not been built.

From Gompers to Meany, the labor bureaucracy has fought against every impulse toward independent working-class politics. To begin with, "politics," they counsel, "should be kept out of the unions": no political resolutions and demonstrations, no political strikes. Then when the time for the bourgeois electoral shell game rolls around, the bureaucrats call on the workers to support "lesser evil" candidates of the bourgeoisie since, thanks to the very same union tops, these Tweedledee-Tweedledum contests are, like the proverbial crooked crap game, "the only game in town."

Some self-proclaimed defenders of the working class are also mounting electoral campaigns. But far from being vehicles to expose parliamentary cretinism and counterpose a class-struggle program to the pro-capitalist program of the labor bureaucracy, the campaigns of the Communist Party (CP) and Socialist Workers Party (SWP) are thoroughly reformist bids for the eventual status of power-broker to the class-collaborationist labor tops. At bottom, therefore, they constitute back-handed support to the Democratic Party.

The CP—goaded by the nomination of downhome reactionary Carter as well as his hints that Kissinger-Ford are "too soft" on the Russians—is running its noisiest election campaign in years. Old time CPers, accustomed to running frankly token "independent" campaigns while beating the drums for a "lesser evil" Democrat to "fight the right"—may find themselves a bit uncomfortable with the banner headlines heralding the Gus Hall/Jarvis Tyner campaign. The CP's shift reflects the virtual impossibility of passing off Carter as a "progressive" and "friend of labor," but also some problems the Stalinist leadership experienced among its ranks over the transparency of the CP's facade of "independence" from McGovern in 1972, when (according to the CP Central Committee in a hypocritical post-election self-criticism) "30 percent, maybe 40 percent [of the party]...did not vote for the Communist Presidential ticket."

The CP is crusading against the "lesser evilism" of the vote for the Democratic Party that has been their electoral stock in trade in recent years. It is rare indeed to see Gus Hall on TV demanding 30 for 40: "a six hour day with no cut in pay." Of course the usual program which promises to "step on the toes of the big corporations and the Pentagon" are included in their phony "left" flirtation with electoral "independence." In fact, their support to the liberal wing of the Democratic Party remains as part of their well known projection for the "anti-monopoly coalition."

The splashier Communist campaign has produced long television ads and has surfaced the CP at a number of college campuses, but is generally off-limits (or at best, soft-pedalled) in the trade unions, where CP-supported opportunists are as usual backing the Democrats. Despite the hoopla, the Stalinists' program is still the same reformist claptrap aimed at refurbishing the Democratic Party. The *Daily World* tries to separate out the "ethnic purity" candidate from the Democratic Party platform of empty promises, focusing on its pet project: the phony-baloney Humphrey-Hawkins "full employment" bill.

As usual, the CP platform adds to the Democratic platform in a minimally incremental way. Do the Democrats call for reduced military spending while maintaining "national security"? Then "we Communists say in our program, 'slash the military budget 80%,' we mean that this can be accomplished in the course of international agreement which protects the security of the United States" (Gus Hall, *Daily World*, 14 August). Do the Democrats call for laws to end racial discrimination? Then the CP demands "stiff laws to end racial discrimination." To the Democrats' proposal of tax reform, the CP adds the catchy slogan, "Make the rich pay!"

The campaign of the ex-Trotskyist SWP is no better. In fact, whereas the CPers see their campaign as a vehicle for classless "anti-monopoly" propaganda, one wonders if some of the less experienced reformists of the SWP might not be running simply to get elected. Ever more enamored of reliance on civil-libertarian court suits, the SWP seems to expect that the bourgeois state (which it calls upon to protect black schoolchildren with federal troops) will be forced by the "consistent democrats" of the SWP to implement the "socialism" which will come to town when Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid are elected.

The centerpiece of the SWP campaign is its "Bill of Rights for Working People"—a scheme to make the SWP's Sunday "socialism" a constitutional amendment. The document is nothing but an assertion of the ultimate reformability of the capitalist state. While some "transitional demands" are merely watered down and explained away until they seem to dissolve into the white spaces of the page, the "Bill of Rights for Working People" explicitly abandons elementary principles, such as the demand for the expropriation of the monopolies without compensation. Instead, Camejo motivates a more benevolent administration of the private ownership of the means of production:

> "Of course the owners of industry and big stockholders would have their profits reduced because they would be paying out more in wages."
> —*Militant*, 7 February 1975

Camejo was quoted in an interview (*New York Times*, 21 April) as calling for "cutting the war budget."

Revolutionists should assist any organization in the workers movement to get on the ballot in the face of restrictive election laws, and should oppose all governmental funding of parties and the monopolization of free media time by the capitalist parties. But revolutionists cannot give even the most critical electoral support to the 1976 presidential campaign of the CP and SWP.

Critical electoral support to a reformist working-class formation may be indicated when such a party has a significant proletarian base, as a tactic to drive a wedge between the working-class ranks and the pro-capitalist leadership. The tactic may also be applicable toward organizations which are not mass working-class reformist parties when some central programmatic aspect provides a vehicle for clear revolutionary propaganda. In 1940, for instance, Trotsky urged the then-revolutionary SWP to consider critically supporting the Stalinists when, under the influence of the Hitler-Stalin pact, they temporarily counterposed themselves to Roosevelt over the crucial question of imperialist war. But the CP and SWP of today are merely the largest of a number of left propaganda groups, and their programs lack even a hint of the program for working-class independence through the class struggle.

Election years are supposed to be times of heightened political interest. But the impact of the present Ford-Carter contest is heightened apathy and cynicism. Ford vs. Carter is no choice for workers. The fake-lefts are no alternative. The only real choice is the struggle to build a workers party to fight for a workers government. This fight must be waged above all in the labor movement, the mass organizations of the working class, and entails a clear programmatic counterposition to the "labor lieutenants of capital" who work to tie the proletariat to the Democrats and Republicans. ■

# British Seamen...

*(continued from page 7)*

cost regions (Scandinavia and Australasia) was rejected by the TUC and shipowners. Increased monetary compensation for "captive time" (unpaid time in which seamen must remain aboard ship in port) was delayed until "pay policy permits."

There is still considerable unease in British ruling-class circles that the settlement will spur renewed trade-union struggles that would jeopardize the social contract. An editorial in the influential *Financial Times* (23 September) entitled "A Dangerous Agreement" asserted that the settlement was a "mixed blessing" and that "the danger of a rush to break through the wage-restraint policy is clear."

While no major defeat was inflicted on the seamen, it is nonetheless evident that the NUS leadership surrendered a major opportunity to deliver a sharp blow against the class-collaborationist social contract. The anxiety of the British ruling class and their labour lieutenants shows that they surely saw the danger. Without the construction of a revolutionary leadersip in the unions—a leadership resolutely opposed, not only to the TUC/Labour Party bureaucracy, but also to the pervasive illusions in Labourism and the belief that this capitalist government somehow represents the workers who must make sacrifices to maintain its electoral following—British workers will continue to see their living standards and welfare decline along with the fortunes of moribund British imperialism. ■

# NMU...

*(continued from page 6)*

attacks." It also calls for a struggle for jobs for all through a shorter work period with no cut in pay (four-watch system) and increased vacation time. To protectionist schemes it counterposes a militant campaign of international organizing.

It demands equal rights for all union members, opposing the group system (which provides second-class shipping rights for lesser seniority seamen) and the exclusionary anti-red clause. And against Wall's support to Carter, the *Beacon* program urges that, "Seamen and the rest of labor must build a genuinely independent political party of our own, based on the trade unions, counterposed to the capitalists, and based on a class struggle program." ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

UMW vice president Mike Trbovich launches anti-communist tirade at UMW convention.

WV Photo

Miners delegates at Cincinnati convention.

## Bureaucratic Power Struggle in Wake of Mass Wildcats

# UMW Convention Explodes in Red-Baiting Fury

### Left Press Thrown Out

CINCINNATI, September 27—Coming after a series of mammoth wildcat strikes in the coalfields during the last two years and with a union leadership split down the middle, everyone expected fireworks when a special convention of the United Mine Workers of America (UMW) opened here last week. But few were prepared for the explosion of anti-communist witchhunting, chaos and thug violence that began with the opening gavel rap and has continued unabated ever since.

In the maelstrom of frenzied red-baiting and bureaucratic squabbling, top officials traded scurrilous charges. Heated exchanges among delegates erupted into fist fights. A McCarthy-style purge of so-called "card-carrying Communist" union members was attempted, and to top it off reporters from a half-dozen left-wing newspapers were physically menaced and excluded.

For over a year, a majority of the UMW International Executive Board (IEB) has been maneuvering to dump phony reformer Arnold Miller from the union's top post. Nearly four years of empty rhetoric and unsuccessful attempts to discipline the ranks have landed Miller in the unenviable position akin to his corrupt and murderous predecessor, Tony Boyle—a liability to the bourgeoisie and a ripe target for opponent bureaucrats on the make.

The convention is taking place against a background of growing militancy in the ranks and almost total alienation from the Miller regime. The membership is far younger than in years past: due to a long decline of the industry and then a huge expansion in the last few years, half of all UMW members are under 35 and a third in their twenties. This makes coal miners one of the youngest labor forces in the country and has produced a tremendous generation gap in the union.

The past two years have seen three major coalfield revolts—practically the only examples of real labor militancy during the current depression conditions. In December 1974 district after district refused to accept Miller's miserable sellout contract, which gave up the demand for the right to strike over local grievances. The next September, some 120,000 miners wildcatted over demands for the right to strike. Again this past summer half the entire industry was shut down to protest anti-labor injunctions and fines by a West Virginia court.

An amalgam of one-time Boyle flunkies and former Miller supporters has now latched onto the discontent of an embittered UMW membership in an attempt to dump the president. The convention itself was scheduled by the dissident IEB majority nearly a year earlier than Miller had planned. They intend in particular to move up the date of next year's union elections in order to depose the incumbent before the opening of national negotiations with the bituminous coal operators. Some delegates wore "Lee Roy Patterson for President" tags, boosting the declared candidacy of this former Boyle loyalist and outspoken Miller opponent on the IEB.

In contrast with the lockstep convention run by Miller in 1973, when he controlled the IEB, this year's meeting is a zoo. From credentials and rules reports to the parliamentarian's rulings, delegates have hucked the president at every turn. Although Miller at first seemed to be weathering much of the tumult, Saturday's anti-communist eruption paralyzed the session for hours, indicating that he is losing control of the convention.

More than one chicken has come home to roost in Miller's coop during the course of the battle. Mike Trbovich, UMW vice-president and former co-leader of Miller's Miners for Democracy (MFD), rubbed the president's nose in unfulfilled campaign promises—greater autonomy at district level and moving the national office into the coalfields. Trbovich also aimed at his former associate the weapon which the MFD used to gain power in 1972—government intervention into the union. In a prepared speech distributed Friday morning, Trbovich told delegates:

> "After being repeatedly ignored, I did what I felt had to be done and with the cooperation of a sizable majority of the IEB filed a complaint with the U.S. Department of Labor ... My representatives were told that there was lax bookkeeping, inadequate documentation of records and statutory violations involved with the distribution of strike benefit checks in several Western states."

In no position to denounce on principle such an outrageous attack on trade-union independence from the state, Miller's staff countered by distributing a lame statement showing that, after an intensive four-month investigation of "nearly every check, financial ledger and record," the federal snoopers declared the union's accounts "in compliance with the law."

Trbovich, however, shelved his prepared remarks in favor of a table-thumping tirade on what has been the most volatile issue thus far in the convention—"outsiders" and "socialistic elements." Trbovich began with a scatter-shot attack on Miller and his supporters. He charged the bumbling betrayer with "weak and indecisive leadership," a judgment acknowledged by government officials, coal bosses, scheming bureaucrats and union militants alike. The vice-president also accused members of Miller's staff of being "socialistic, revolutionary and Communistic." According to Trbovich, this "elite group," some of them former VISTA volunteers, "runs the president like a puppet."

This blatant appeal to the most backward elements in the union created an uproar. Miller's opponents shouted "lay it on them, Mike," while the president's supporters screamed, "out of order" and "stop campaigning" at Trbovich. One angry delegate even moved that the remarks be stricken from the record. Others called for expulsion of reporters, who were labeled "outsiders ... taking part in miners' business."

Although Miller ignored demands to exclude all the press on Friday, the following day he capitulated to the purge atmosphere created by Trbovich, acquiescing in the expulsion of left-wing newspapers and an ominous attempt to launch an internal witchhunt.

At the start of Saturday's morning session, a group of delegates moved a resolution to expel two reporters from the *Call*, newspaper of the Maoist October League. They were charged with "distributing Communist literature," a standing ban which Miller like his predecessor, Boyle, has enforced. The resolution was passed, and the two reporters were removed by union goons. Other delegates began shouting at reporters from the Communist Party's *Daily World* and the Socialist Workers

*continued on page 10*

**SEPTEMBER 28—As we go to press, the UMW convention has voted to amend the constitution to push the elections for union president forward more than five months to June 7. This was a defeat for the Miller faction in the stormy clique fight among the union tops. The amendment provides that the newly elected president will head up the bargaining, and eliminates the possibility that Miller, if he is a lame duck, will be chief negotiator.**

WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

No. 128 8 October 1976

# Auto Contract Stinks— Vote It Down!

DETROIT, October 5—United Auto Workers (UAW) president Leonard Woodcock and Ford Motor Company's chief negotiator, Sidney McKenna, walked into the press room at Ford World headquarters in Dearborn at 10:30 this evening to announce that a settlement of the three-week-old auto strike had been reached. However, no details were furnished by either side.

After reading a brief statement, Woodcock refused to answer even whether he considered it a good pact or not. In response to a question from a *WV* reporter, McKenna said that the agreement did not affect Canada. (Woodcock's statement referred only to U.S. workers.)

From the beginning of the bargaining a news blackout has remained in effect. Only those with "highly placed sources"

*continued on page 10*

**How the Reuthers Tamed the UAW . . . . . 6**

Auto strikers at River Rouge as Ford strike began, September 14. WV Photo

## Police Are Strikebreakers, Not Workers!

# Down with NYC Cop Rampage!

New York cops demonstrating outside City Hall last week. WV Photo

OCTOBER 2—New York City cops are rampaging through the streets, openly defying civilian authority, menacing the rights and safety of working people, and in general behaving like the armed thugs of the bourgeoisie that they are. Although ostensibly the result of a "labor dispute" over wages and schedules, the police outburst is, in fact, a reactionary political mobilization in defense of their special privileges.

Sections of the population normally inclined to rally round the "boys in blue" were taken aback when the tranquility of petty-bourgeois white neighborhoods was shattered by a week of late-night police demonstrations. Off-duty cops blew whistles, chanted, hurled firecrackers and banged garbage can lids, while blocking traffic and directing confused motorists down dead-end streets. Their uniformed cohorts merely grinned and set off squad car sirens in sympathy.

An outraged governor Hugh Carey denounced the cops as "rowdies" after his limousine was dented in the melee caused by several thousand police demonstrating outside Yankee Stadium Tuesday night. "New York's finest," in and out of uniform, encouraged hundreds of youths to try to crash the gates at the heavyweight championship boxing match. Numerous ticket-holders were robbed and mauled in clear sight of the picketing cops, some of whom actually cheered the lumpen hoodlums.

Indeed, the lawless marauding of police protestors in the last week demonstrated how thin the line is between anti-social criminal elements and the swaggering, macho cops who supposedly protect society. That line is maintained mainly by their badges and social "respectability."

From the stadium, several hundred cops drove to the home of police commissioner Michael Codd in Queens where they rampaged drunkenly

*continued on page 11*

## UE Faces Union-Busting Attack in Boston

# Support the Cambion Strike!

CAMBRIDGE, Mass., October 4 - The Spartacus Youth League (SYL), youth section of the Spartacist League, last Thursday sponsored a benefit at Boston University for the workers of Cambion-Cambridge Thermionic Corporation, a locally based electronics firm with international manufacturing operations. The workers have been on strike for nearly half a year. Ever since Cambion's 270 employees 50 percent women and 50 percent immigrants (mostly Portuguese) voted to recognize United Electrical Workers (UE) Local 262 as their union in June 1974, Cambion president Frank Lyman has made clear his intention to bust the union by any means necessary.

After provoking the current strike, the Cambion management rented a round-the-clock special detail of Cambridge police to harass the striking workers. The rent-a-cops have so far been responsible for the arrest of 14 picketers and the injury of at least seven others. (One woman striker injured in May required a back operation, and another picketer hospitalized on September 20 required several stitches for a deep head injury.) The UE estimates that the cost of this private mercenary force $300,000 exceeds the total cost of the union's rather modest demands!

However, even after numerous arrests and incidents of police brutality against the pickets, the union leadership still kowtows to the myth of the "neutrality" of the bourgeois state. At a City Council meeting on September 27, shop chairman Sandi Polaski (who faces frame-up charges of assault and battery with a deadly weapon) "asked whether the Council would back a request that the police 'retain their neutrality' at the picket line" (*Cambridge Chronicle*, September 27).

The current UE contract establishes conditions considerably below those prevalent elsewhere in unionized industry. Cambion workers have no pension plan whatever and next to no medical coverage. Piece-rate workers, the great majority of whom are women, start at a base rate of $2.50 an hour. When a wage reopener on the union's two-year contract came up this April, management threatened to lock the workers out at midnight unless the union accepted the company's offer zero wage increases, zero benefit increases. On the afternoon of the deadline, April 13, the company offered an insulting wage increase of 20 cents an hour to hourly workers and 13.8 cents to pieceworkers. The workers responded with an overwhelming vote to strike.

By moving production from the Cambridge facility to four smaller plants scattered across the globe, all of which are non-union, Cambion has maintained partial production from the start. And although Teamsters have refused to handle scab products in both Massachusetts and New Hampshire, Cambion has successfully used scab trucks to handle its goods. In July, foremen were brought back to the struck plant and some production recommenced. On September 13 Cambion started bringing some non-union workers back to the plant. According to the union leadership, Cambion has now achieved a company-wide production level of 70 percent.

The hard core of picketers has demonstrated perseverance and militancy, repeatedly attempting to halt scabbing despite vicious police assaults. But since mid-September, the number of scabs has been slowly creeping upward. Meanwhile, support for the Cambion strikers from the rest of Local 262, the International and the rest of the Boston-area labor movement has thus far been pitifully inadequate. The UE International is currently sending Cambion strikers benefits totaling a measly $1,000 a week—which works out to slightly over $3 per striker! The disgraceful lack of financial support from the International is matched by the capitulation of the Cambion Local leadership, which has urged the majority of the strikers to get full-time jobs rather than build massive picket lines.

WV Photo

**Boston cops attacked UE pickets at Cambion plant September 24.**

The Cambion workers have been successful in obtaining financial support from rank-and-file workers in other plants and unions and from other supporters of the strike, but only the most token reinforcements for the picket line have been obtained from the rest of the 1,000-member Local 262, not to speak of other Boston unions. Although considerable numbers of Cambridge students and radicals have been mobilized on occasion to man the lines, they are no substitute for a massive labor mobilization.

At the SYL benefit for the UE strikers on September 30, SYL speaker Bonnie Breen called for students to support the strike through financial contributions and picket duty, but pointed out that in the last analysis, "it will be the workers who really win this battle at Cambion." She pointed out that it was not accidental that the Cambridge police had viciously assaulted the strikers, because "that's exactly what cops are for." The hypocritical behavior of Cambridge mayor Alfred Vellucci, who claims to be a "good union man," was typical of Democratic Party "friends of labor." She called for students to join the SYL in order to help build the Spartacist League, the nucleus of the revolutionary party in the United States.

Other speakers included Cambion shop chairman Sandi Polaski, Boston University professor James Higgins and maritime militant Jon Brooks. Polaski presented a history of the UE at Cambion and of the current strike. Higgins (a co-author with founding UE leader James Matles of the well-known history, *Them and Us, Struggles of a Rank-and-File Union*) stated that although he and the Spartacist League "may have political disagreements, we certainly have no disagreements on the need for solidarity among the working people of the U.S." He then proceeded to underscore his disagreements with the SL by calling for a "reduction" (not elimination) of the military budget and by uncritically praising the Stalinist governments of Cuba and the USSR.

Jon Brooks of the Militant-Solidarity Caucus of the National Maritime Union (NMU) spoke on the tasks of class-struggle unionists and the strategy needed to win battles like the Cambion strike. He said that workers at Cambion, which has foreign plants and is part of a highly international industry, would do well to look at the American maritime industry, which heavily utilizes non-U.S.-flag ships. In both cases it is not even possible to wage serious strikes with simple economist reform demands; these struggles are directly political and international in scope.

However, the politics which the UE and NMU bureaucrats put forward are those of patriotic class collaboration. While the reactionary NMU tops beg Congress to enact quotas for U.S.-flag ships on Soviet grain deals, the "progressive" Communist Party-supported UE leadership hatches another protectionist panacea: a Congressional bill to tax firms with runaway shops. In contrast, the Militant-Solidarity Caucus calls for international organizing campaigns and joint strike actions. The local union leaders' legalistic refusal to fight against scabbing by clerical and management personnel has been opposed by militants within the strike committee.

One opposition group at Cambion, supported by the Maoist Revolutionary Communist Party, limits itself to calls for slightly more militant strike tactics. Members of a second group, the Committee for a Democratic Union (CDU), participated in the discussion at the strike-support meeting. The CDU's program for the strike includes demanding increased support (financial and otherwise) from the UE International. It denounces the strategy of the union leadership as being aimed at "persuad[ing Congressman] Tip O'Neill and the Cambridge City Council to intervene with the NLRB or the police."

Although it earlier campaigned on a two-point program—union democracy and working-class independence—the CDU had occasionally called for a break from Republican and Democratic politicians and for a "political party and political leaders who will fight for working people." But the CDU's program is essentially to call for a more militant local leadership to pressure the

# Mississippi Court Tries to Bankrupt NAACP

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) is the target of a vicious legal broadside of the racist Mississippi courts aimed at bankrupting the 67-year-old civil rights organization. In August, a Piggly Wiggly supermarket and a group of white merchants in Port Gibson, Mississippi, won their $1.2 million damage suit against the NAACP, Mississippi Action for Progress and 132 individuals. The state court said that the successful NAACP-initiated boycott of 1966 had "wrongfully combined and colluded a civil conspiracy."

To begin a legal appeal of the verdict, the NAACP is required by Mississippi law to post 125 percent of the judgment—nearly $1.5 million! NAACP spokesman Gloster Current reported that the organization isn't doing so well in its fund drive to raise the money by the first week in October. "Far from half" of the sum has been raised, he said.

It is ironic that the liberal NAACP should be having such trouble with the courts. The court system, after all, was its great hope to redress the oppression of black people. Now it is this same court system that threatens to destroy the legalist NAACP.

When the NAACP complains that it is being "sued to death," the time is long overdue to recognize the failure of the liberal civil rights movement. In its heyday of pacifist liberal court actions, the NAACP legal fund would have had no trouble collecting the money from the liberals whose main concern was to keep the movement within respectable bounds. Now, in a period marked by the erosion of even the token gains of the civil rights movement, such support is less popular on all sides.

All those who fight against the oppression of blacks must protest this racist attack by the Mississippi court system. A victory by the NAACP-busters would add another reactionary weapon to the government's arsenal in its battle to undo even the limited gains achieved by the old civil rights movement. ■

International a hit further to the left. Moreover, at a union meeting last Monday the CDU put forward a parochial and defeatist motion that "*if* the membership does not replace the present leadership ... the only way to save our union is to return to work"!

As to the group's weak call for a party that will "fight for working people," the recent UE convention came out for "independent political action" and long-time International president Al Fitzgerald has occasionally said some nice words about a labor party. In a heavily Stalinist-influenced union such as the UE, the need for a full transitional program for working-class struggle should be even clearer than elsewhere. Without it would-be militants will capitulate to the bureaucracy and/or sink into irrelevancy as a reformist local opposition.

On the morning after the SYL forum, two CDU members, who sat on the strike committee by right as elected shop stewards, were expelled from the strike committee by a two-to-one margin. Their "crime" was calling for the removal of the current union leadership and dissenting from the positions of the strike committee in the union and in public. The SYL resolutely condemned this expulsion, which is a serious blow to workers democracy, and has sent a letter to the UE Local 262 Strike Committee, noting in part:

> "We wish to point out that when we initially approached Sandi Polaski to request that Local 262 send a representative to the forum, the SYL explicitly stated that all supporters of the strike were invited to participate in open and democratic discussion, including criticism, as is always the case at SYL forums.
>
> "Another reason given for the expulsions...is that the SYL was disturbed at their intervention at the Thursday night forum and that therefore we did not come to the picket line Friday morning. This is not the case. In fact, several SYL supporters went to the line on Friday afternoon to deliver the $68.12 we collected for the strike fund at the forum. We will continue to mobilize support for the strike and be present on the picket lines to the extent that our forces allow.
>
> "To expel...elected stewards...from the strike committee for their political views and criticisms of the strike leadership is a violation of workers democracy. As such, expelling them can only undermine the unity of the strike and is counter to the interests of Cambion workers.
>
> "Victory to the Cambion strike!" ■

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# Letters

20 September 1976

Dear Editor,

There are a few salient points that can be added to your article "Who Mourns Mao?" (*Workers Vanguard*, 17 September 1976). Those self-described (and wrongfully so) "Trotskyists" who hold that Mao was a proletarian revolutionary with essentially Bolshevik politics run up against two insurmountable problems. First of all, if Mao was a Bolshevik up until 1972 what caused Mao to degenerate and why at that particular point. I have yet to read any explanation of this in the ostensibly Trotskyist publications. Secondly if Mao was a revolutionary up until then and became a political counter-revolutionary how did it occur so "peacefully"? In the Soviet Union under Stalin it took the physical liquidation of virtually the entire Bolshevik Party and most of what was left of the working class after the Civil War. In China this did not happen in 1972 or after. What these "Trotskyists" believe is that there wasn't a political counter-revolution but a political counter-*evolution* in 1972. This is simply the reverse side of the endemic Pabloist belief in "revolution from above" (bureaucratic self-reform) as the road to Soviet democracy in the degenerated/deformed workers' states.

Of course Maoist politics never really have changed. In 1935, I believe, Mao wrote "China is not ready for socialism. Only Trotskyites and metaphysical phrase-mongerers hold that it is." A brief list of Mao's Stalinist politics would include the following points: (A) When Mao was trying to form his bloc with Chiang in the 1930's he suspended land reform in those areas *already* under his military control in order to placate the Kuomintang war-lords and capitalists. (B) In 1965 when Sukarno was ousted from power in Indonesia by a bloody counter-revolution that wiped out one of the largest Communist Parties outside the workers' states (a CP which by the way was in political agreement with Mao!), Mao uttered not a single word of protest. (C) Both Yahya Khan, formerly dictator of Pakistan, and the Shan of Iran—leaders of "Third World" countries who have wiped out students, leftists, and worker-militants—received enthusiastic welcomes in Peking before 1972. (D) When the Guevarist JVP led a rebellion in Sri Lanka (Ceylon) in 1971 China rushed military aid to Mrs. Bandaranaike in order to crush it. This list could be expanded *ad nauseum*, but that wouldn't bother the Pabloites. Their minds are made up and they do not wish to be confused by the facts.

Comradely,
Al Greengold

*WV replies:* The writer is quite correct in pointing to the dilemma of the Pabloist revisionist current embodied by the United Secretariat (USec), which wants to uncritically embrace Mao as the architect of the third Chinese revolution, and therefore equivocates over the fundamental characterization of Maoism as a national variant of Stalinism. A recent example of how the USec, when it wants to appear "orthodox," modifies its position without admitting it was provided by Ernest Mandel's obituary for Mao. Now that Mao is dead, the USec's chief theoretician suddenly discovered that "the Chinese revolution was a bureaucratized revolution from the beginning" (*Rouge*, 10 September).

In the 1950's and 1960's the Pabloists politically supported Mao, including backing the Mao faction against its bureaucratic rivals in the "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution." Only in 1969 did the USec first, cautiously and sporadically, call for political revolution in China. Just as it failed to explain then what was the decisive dividing line which made a political revolution necessary, likewise, today Mandel casually remarks that the revolution was deformed "from the beginning," but says nothing about why and how this fact escaped the attention of the USec and its predecesssors *for more than a quarter of a century!*

A naive observer might conclude that if the USec is willing to admit that the Mao regime is bureaucratically deformed it must now be willing to characterize the Chinese Communist Party as a Stalinist party. Not so. A typical recent article in *Rouge* lauds the "authentic Maoism" of Mao and "his immediate followers," as exhibited in the Cultural Revolution. *Rouge* argues that Mao was a Marxist because he always "wanted to establish close contacts with the masses," and concludes that therefore "Maoism cannot be confused with Stalinism" (*Rouge*, 20 September).

The U.S. Socialist Workers Party (SWP), which is in the process of breaking to the right from its fraternal associates of the USec (whose centrism the SWP has long since transcended by its own degeneration into consistent reformism), has attempted to use the USec's capitulation to Stalinism (in particular to popular "Third World" varieties) to gild its own fake-orthodox cover. Thus over the Cultural Revolution, the SWP took a formally correct line of no support to either wing of the Chinese bureaucracy, and its recent obituary for Mao took pains to appear "orthodox."

Following the original 1950-53 split between the Pabloist wing (now the USec) and the International Committee (IC), the IC led by the then-revolutionary SWP sought despite serious theoretical weaknesses to maintain the Trotskyist program of political opposition to Stalinism combined with unconditional defense of the gains of the Chinese revolution. At the "Fourth World Congress" in 1954, the Pabloists had made explicit their refusal to call for political revolution in China (see "Mao's Jails for Revolutionaries," *WV* No. 63, 28 February 1975). The SWP and the IC, on the other hand, correctly insisted on "the iron necessity of political revolution against the bureaucratic caste" ("The Third Chinese Revolution and its Aftermath," [SWP] *Internal Bulletin*, October 1955).

The SWP's present posture of orthodoxy over China is cheap and empty. Its opposition to Stalinism in China has nothing in common with the Trotskyist opposition to Stalinism, *but proceeds rather from a desire to disavow anything labeled "communist" by the bourgeoisie whose reformist tail it seeks to become.* Thus its obituary for Mao makes no mention of the need to unconditionally defend China against imperialist aggression and against any domestic counterrevolution seeking to reverse the gains of the Chinese revolution: the expropriation of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of a deformed workers state.

The real content of the SWP's hollow "orthodoxy" over China was already shown in the extremely acerbic disputes which occurred within the USec over Vietnam. Capitulating to petty-bourgeois idealization of "Third World" struggles, the USec majority presented the Vietnamese Stalinists—who repeatedly sold out the struggle of the Vietnamese workers and peasants during and after World War II—as revolutionary, even as unconscious Trotskyists who had "assimilated the fundamental lessons of the Permanent Revolution." This political capitulation to non-proletarian strata was a display of the consistent Pabloism of the USec majority.

The SWP (whose bloc with the Europe-centered Pabloists in 1963 had created the USec) criticized the uncritically pro-Stalinist line of the USec majority. For internal USec consumption it frequently sought to camouflage its opposition with orthodox arguments, but its motivation was fundamentally *opposite* to that of authentic Trotskyists. The SWP refused to call for the military victory of the Stalinist-led forces in Vietnam, in order not to antagonize the liberals with whom it was attempting to form a "single-issue" alliance within the antiwar movement. While the centrists enthusiastically tailed after Stalinism in its Maoist or Guevarist variants, the suit-and-tie "radicals" of the reformist SWP hastily washed their hands of anything labeled "communist" and refused to come out for the military defeat of their own bourgeoisie in Vietnam. In the service of maintaining its rotten-bloc organizational alliance with the SWP, the USec majority deliberately avoided any attack on the popular-frontist role of the SWP in the antiwar movement.

As the factional warfare within the USec intensifies (see "USec on the Brink," *WV* No. 126, 24 September) oppositionists within both pro-majority and pro-SWP groupings must come to grips with these questions. Those who empirically rebel against the opportunism of the USec majority but are unable to locate its source in the essential revisionism of the Pabloist current as expressed in the 1950-53 split, will find themselves disoriented and duped by the pseudo-orthodoxy of the SWP. Those who flinch from the recognition that the SWP's opposition to the majority proceeds from a rightist, reformist program will be derailed from any possibility of a principled opposition to the USec majority. It is around these fundamental questions that the battle to reforge the Fourth International must be waged.


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# Muñoz Family Reunited in Paris

Olga Meneses Ihaseta arrived in Paris from Buenos Aires September 30 to rejoin her companion, Mario Muñoz. In early August Muñoz, the exiled Chilean miners' leader who had been the target of a vicious police manhunt, won safe conduct out of Argentina and received asylum in Europe. Accompanying Olga Meneses were the couple's five children and four nephews. On hand as well to welcome the family were representatives of the Partisan Defense Committee (PDC), the Trotskyist League of France, the international Spartacist tendency and the Committee to Defend the Worker and Sailor Prisoners in Chile.

The family's long-awaited reunion marked the successful conclusion of the work of the Committee to Save Mario Muñoz which, in its effort to rescue Muñoz, served to widely publicize the plight of the tens of thousands of Latin American left-wing refugees who were trapped in Argentina by the Videla coup. A spokesman for the Committee to Defend Worker and Sailor Prisoners in Chile which had co-sponsored the defense campaign told *WV* that "the campaign had a great importance, not only because it saved Mario Muñoz and his family, but also because at one point it succeeded in breaking through the criminal silence of the European governments on the tragic events in Argentina."

Olga Meneses

WV Photo

"This campaign has been the most important one carried out since the Pinochet and Videla coups," he went on. "Above all because of the class line which we maintained from the very beginning; we carried out a campaign without capitulating, but at the same time were able to achieve the support of many organizations which made our success possible."

In an interview with *WV* in Paris, Olga Meneses recounted the roadblocks she had encountered in her final weeks in Buenos Aires and described the conditions faced by the refugee community there. She reported that she had to wait 25 days for the French visas to be reconfirmed. Moreover, the Argentine officials at first would only let her and eight of the nine children leave the country, refusing to let the youngest child (who was born in Argentina) go until they obtained a birth certificate.

Olga Meneses denounced the fact that "many Uruguayan businessmen are obtaining visas to leave Argentina, but there are many compañeros who have appealed for visas months ago but have not been accepted by any country. These workers leaders are in very hard conditions and there is no security for them. They are picked up at any time and never are seen again as happened to Moroni." (Ricardo Moroni, a former Socialist Party leader of the miners federation in Chile, was last seen when he went to the Chilean embassy in Argentina to obtain papers required on a Canadian visa application. He is now believed to be dead.)

She reported that under an ominous new decree giving foreigners illegally in Argentina until October 30 to register with the immigration department or else face deportation, Argentine refugee authorities were requiring the completion of a 21-question sworn statement. "But many are afraid to give information," she said, "because the list can be obtained by anyone and at any moment."

"After you fill out the forms," she said, "they send a copy to Chile so the Chilean police can verify that you said the truth. They don't let you leave the refugee hotel until they have received back information."

She reported that shortly before she left, four men who arrived in a black car such as those used by the intelligence service were seen on the terrace on top of the hotel but the police who were supposed to be guarding the hotel said they had no idea who the men were.

In an announcement hailing the successful conclusion of the Muñoz campaign, the Partisan Defense Committee pointed to the continued danger facing all Latin American left-wing refugees in Argentina, as well as Argentine leftists and trade unionists. The PDC has highlighted the cases of six compañeros of Mario Muñoz in Argentina, as well as nine remaining prisoners of a group of 13 (mainly Chilean) who have been imprisoned in Buenos Aires without charges since last November.

Particularly alarming, said the PDC statement, is the decree issued on August 31 requiring registration with the government of all "illegal aliens" in Argentina within 60 days. If refugees who have arrived clandestinely (a total estimated at close to 100,000, compared to 16,000 officially registered with the

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WV Photo

# PDC Demo Demands Freedom for Muñoz' Compañeros

Approximately 80 people picketed the Argentine consulate in New York October 1 demanding safe conduct out of Argentina and political asylum elsewhere for six Chilean leftists—Jorge Henrrique Pereira, Manuel Garrido Vargas, Juan Manuel Asmay Cruses, Eduardo Crus Farías, Daniel Flores Matamala and Luis Tapia López—facing Videla's repression. The six are compañeros of exiled Chilean miners' leader Mario Muñoz, who recently escaped the hands of the Videla junta and secured asylum in Europe as a result of a campaign of international protest on his behalf. Their plight was driven home by the news last week of the arrest of Muñoz' brother, Carlos Damián Muñoz, in San Juan province of Argentina.

Today's demonstration was called by the Partisan Defense Committee (PDC), whose spokesman told the protesters that the situation of the tens of thousands of left-wing Latin American political prisoners trapped in Argentina grows ever more desperate. He pointed to the announcement on August 31 by the Videla junta that all foreigners have 60 days to show documentation of their status or be deported from Argentina. For the thousands of Chileans—many of whom, like Muñoz, clandestinely crossed the Andes to escape Pinochet's police—as well as for the exiled trade-union militants and leftists from countries such as Uruguay, Paraguay and Brazil, deportation will mean imprisonment, almost certain torture and in many cases death!

The PDC spokesman called for continued international protest to stop the rightist terror, noting that the announcement by six countries of willingness to grant 2,000 visas for Latin American refugees in Argentina was in part a result of the campaign to save Muñoz. The situation of Muñoz' compañeros underlines the perilous gap between promises and results. The PDC spokesman also announced the good news that Muñoz' family had finally arrived this week in Europe to join him.

Picketers at the consulate today included a large contingent from the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League (SL/SYL), representatives from the Revolutionary Socialist League, Communist Cadre and International Workers Party as well as a spokesman from the Solidarity Committee with the Argentine People (NY-SCAP). Rank-and-file seamen from the National Maritime Union and a member of the Militant Solidarity Caucus of striking UAW Local 906 were also on hand.

Immediately prior to the demonstration, members of the consulate staff were seen lounging around the front door chatting with police and passers-by. But the gates were locked tight upon the demonstrators' arrival and efforts to gain admittance to the building to deliver a letter in behalf of the threatened militants went unheeded. Outside a Latin American photographer, no doubt from some secret police agency, snapped pictures of the demonstrators, fleeing when he was himself photographed by *WV*.

For over an hour the protesters marched outside chanting "Stop the witchhunt, Hands off the leftists," and "Chile, Argentina, Smash the AAA and DINA." In addition to signs demanding safe conduct for Henrrique, Garrido, Asmay, Crus, Flores and Tapia, other SL/SYL signs read "No popular-front illusions, For workers revolution," and "Avenge Orlando Letelier—Smash the Bloody Junta, Workers to Power!"

WV Photo

**Photographer outside Argentine consulate refused to be identified.**

Signs of the seamen called for "Boycott all military goods to Argentina and Chile."

Speakers for each contingent were invited to address a short rally concluding the demonstration. Natalio Guerra of SCAP asked for support to the Koch/Fraser Bill providing visas to the U.S. for Latin American political refugees. Joel Myers, spokesman for the guerrilla enthusiast Communist Cadre made the absurd and incredible claim that the guerrillaist actions of the Argentine Peoples' Revolutionary Army (ERP), led by the "real Trotskyists of the PRT," were "the struggles which freed Muñoz"! Not only has the PRT renounced its former professed allegiance to Trotskyism, but the "victorious" ERP is now reeling under the blows of vicious junta repression, with PRT/ERP leader Mario Roberto Santucho assassinated in late August.

*continued on page 9*

## Break with the Liberals! Oust Schmidt/Brandt!

# Social Democrat/FDP Coalition Squeaks By in German Elections

OCTOBER 4—Chancellor Helmut Schmidt's Social Democratic Party (SPD), in coalition with the bourgeois-liberal Free Democrats (FDP), squeaked through to electoral victory in West Germany yesterday. The SPD will retain its trusteeship of the German capitalist state with 212 seats in parliament which, combined with the FDP's 40, give the Social Democratic government a razor-thin majority of eight seats over its electoral rivals, the Christian Democrats (CDU) of Helmut Kohl.

The SPD narrowly withstood an aggressive electoral challenge from the CDU and its Bavarian sister party, the CSU of arch-reactionary Franz-Joseph Strauss. Early in the campaign it appeared that widespread working-class apathy and disillusionment with the SPD's abandonment of its "reform" promises would allow the CDU to win by default. But the strident anti-socialist, anti-union campaign waged by the CDU backfired by goading the labor movement to rally behind the Social Democrats in self-defense.

Under the slogan "Freedom or Socialism," the CDU sharply attacked the "excessive power" of the trade unions. Commercials aimed at Germany's prosperous and conservative middle class showed left-wing demonstrators attacking police, goose-stepping soldiers of the East German army and refugees attempting to scale the Berlin Wall. Meanwhile the CDU launched an "invasion" of the industrial Ruhr area, a bastion of SPD support, where secretary-general Kurt H. Biedenkopf proclaimed, "It is intolerable that union leaders can openly throw their unions' support behind the Social Democrats," and "We want unions in which Christian Democrats can hold up their heads as high as Social Democrats" (UPI, October 2).

The CDU may have had some success in playing on petty-bourgeois fears of the powerful trade unions and on the deeply-rooted anti-Communism focused on East Germany, but the hard rightist campaign forced the Social Democratic bureaucracy to timidly counterattack. Chancellor Schmidt claimed his party had no fear of the word "socialist," invoking rhetoric not heard since the SPD, at Bad-Godesberg in 1959, formally abandoned its self-designation as a party of the working class in favor of the classless "people's party." Heinz Oskar Vetter, head of the trade-union federation, had earlier assured the electorate that a CDU victory would not "automatically mean an end to social peace," but the labor bureaucracy was forced to launch a last-minute attempt to mobilize the rank and file behind the SPD.

### "The German Model"

The florid overkill of the CDU campaign goaded the German working people into turning out behind their historic party, the SPD, despite its unbroken record of class betrayal. In 1972, a similarly aggressive CDU assault against SPD chancellor Brandt's *Ostpolitik* (diplomatic rapprochement with East Germany) had touched off massive working-class demonstrations in support of the SPD. But this time around the SPD, although its social composition is based on the trade unions, was programmatically virtually indistinguishable from the CDU in the campaign.

The Social Democrats have campaigned under the slogan of a "German model" of prosperity and reform. But if West Germany under the SPD has been a "model" of anything it is of authoritarian regimentation of the working-class movement on behalf of the capitalist state. The only "reforms" the SPD has actually carried through have been reforms designed to strengthen the repressive state apparatus against internal dissent and working-class struggle, and to maintain high profits through wage controls and expulsion of several hundred thousand foreign workers during the economic downturn since 1976.

Most of the SPD's 1972 campaign-promised "reforms" have been subverted or abandoned. The reform of Paragraph 218 prohibiting abortion was overturned by the supreme court and a diluted version—providing for legal abortion only where there is a prospective deformed child or danger to the mother's health—was substituted. Even this measure is not being carried out in south Germany, where predominantly Catholic health institutions have consistently refused to perform any abortions. The SPD/FDP coalition has also instituted massive cutbacks in public education, closed whole faculties of study to new high school graduates at the universities and decreased the size of the teaching force.

In the SPD's actual practice of internal repression, even the CDU finds little to criticize. Perhaps the most striking political event during the SPD's decade in office has been the show trial of members of the so-called "Baader-Meinhof gang" of anarchists, in a specially constructed prison-"court," during which one defendant died in a hunger strike while another was found hanged in her cell. In the course of this persecution, in which some defendants have already been in jail for five years, elementary bourgeois-democratic norms such as the right to confer with counsel have been explicitly abrogated.

Der Spiegel

**CDU candidate Helmut Kohl, left, with SPD candidate chancellor Schmidt.**

New repressive measures attacking the civil rights of so-called extremists (characterized legally as "enemies of the constitution") have been instituted while a campaign of harassment of "radicals" in government employ, instigated under Brandt, has resulted in an orgy of witchhunting. Only a few hundred have been fired, but over a half million Germans have been "investigated" under this *Berufsverbot* law. The SPD guardians of capitalist "law and order" have also beefed up the federal border police into an internal security force of heavily armed shock brigades.

For the labor movement, the most trumpeted aspect of the Social Democratic "German model" were schemes that go by the general name of "social partnership": "concerted action" (tripartite contract bargaining with management, labor and government) and above all *Mitbestimmung* (workers' supposed co-management of industry). Although originally begun in 1952 as a scheme by the Western Allied occupying powers in order to curb the powerful coal and steel magnates, it also served as a myth of a grand "workers capitalism" by and by. This encouraged the unions to keep their wage demands down until the explosion of labor unrest in the late 1960's.

The aim of this class-collaborationist utopia is to further institutionalize the role of the labor bureaucracy in economically policing the workers in the interests of higher capitalist profits. So in 1972 *Mitbestimmung* was extended to 400 additional enterprises and a total of over 6,000,000 workers. However, due to pressure from the Liberals, last year all pretense was dropped of achieving parity on boards of directors (irrelevant in any case, since the real decisions are made by management outside the board). Provisions such as guaranteeing tie-breaking votes to the board chairman (management) and the requirement of "confidentiality of information" openly affronted the illusions which the bureaucrats had zealously instilled.

Among the concrete results of "workers' representatives" sitting on management boards can be listed union acquiescence in the firing of some 25,000 "superfluous" Volkswagen workers during last year's recession. A similar "victory" for the working class under SPD "leadership" was the fact that no one was fired from the massive Tyssenhütte steel plant at Duisburg during recent economic contractions—instead everyone was cut back to a 24- or 32-hour week with a corresponding pay cut (*New York Times*, 27 June 1976).

### Critical Support?

The Social Democrats' campaign was based on maintaining their seven-year coalition with the bourgeois FDP. Alarmed that this parasitic little liberal

*continued on page 8*

Arbeiterkampf

**Frankfurt cops protecting neo-Nazi rally attack leftist demonstrators in August.**

# How the Reuthers Tamed the UAW

ITEM: This year's negotiations between the auto manufacturers and the United Auto Workers (UAW) take place in the context of near-record industry profits. Earlier this year, wage settlements exceeding 30 percent were negotiated by both the Teamsters and the Rubber Workers. Yet despite conditions favorable to a successful strike struggle, the UAW, generally in the forefront of the unions, is asking for next to nothing. The wage demand is a mere 9 percent increase over three years.

ITEM: In earlier years the UAW pioneered such "innovations" as union pensions, the cost-of-living allowance (COLA), supplementary employment benefits (SUB). This year, however, UAW president Leonard Woodcock's only piece of "social engineering" is a pathetic "time bank" proposal—a glorified scheme for solving company absentee problems and giving workers a few extra holidays as a reward.

ITEM: Nor is the sellout at the bargaining table by the UAW International being challenged by local union officials. With a very few exceptions, mostly centered among skilled tradesmen in Detroit, the local bureaucrats have mobilized actively behind Woodcock & Co. And in the period preceding the contract expiration, they and Woodcock gave the companies a free hand to harass and victimize those militants who did raise serious opposition to their policies.

### Who Built the UAW?

How did this sad state of affairs come about? How did the roar of what was once America's most vociferous union turn into a pathetic mew? How was the UAW "tamed"? In answering these questions class-conscious unionists can understand what it will take to unchain the UAW, breaking the bonds which the bureaucracy has forged to tie labor to the class enemy.

The architect of the consolidated UAW bureaucracy was Walter Reuther, a trade-union militant in his youth for whom socialism was a hobby, to be given up when it proved expensive to his career. Reuther outmaneuvered such rivals in the UAW as Martin, R.J. Thomas, George Addes and Richard Frankensteen. Most of these and other opponents had credentials equal to Reuther's as active participants in the early organizing of the UAW. They were equally ambitious and at one time they had at least as much authority in the union as Reuther.

However, they failed where Walter Reuther succeeded. Reuther was an extremely dexterous opportunist who could combine appeals to trade-union militancy and a skillful manipulation of social-democratic rhetoric in order to achieve a trade-off with the bourgeoisie. It was the biggest such deal—the introduction of the Cold War to labor domestically and internationally—that secured Reuther's position and consolidated the union bureaucracy which continues to dominate American labor today.

But to the apologists for this bureaucracy, Reutherism is the epitome of militant, democratic unionism. It is to the task of perpetuating and embellishing this myth that Walter's brother Victor dedicated himself in his book *The Brothers Reuther and the Story of the UAW* (1976). While Victor relates a number of interesting particulars, his "history" of the UAW is both partial and deceptive. There are many incidents and facts which he does not relate. This is not accidental: the true story of the UAW would reveal how the Reuthers consciously betrayed the early radical traditions of the union.

The union was shaped during the great class battles of the 1930's when the mass industrial unions were launched and labor radicalism was widespread. The first successful mass strikes of auto workers took place in Toledo in 1934 and 1935 and were led by militants sympathetic to Trotskyism. Long-time Communist Party fellow traveler and UAW vice president Wyndham Mortimer describes in his book *Organize!* the early breakthroughs in auto organizing led by Communist Party (CP) cadre. Bob Travis, the main strike strategist in Flint in 1937, and Bud Simons, strike leader at Fisher Body Number One, were CP supporters, as was Lee Pressman, CIO general counsel and one of the signers of the original GM contract for the CIO. Socialist Party (SP) members active in the Flint drive included B.J. Widick of the Rubber Workers, Genora and Kermit Johnson, and Victor, Walter and Roy Reuther. (Widick and the Johnsons were recruited to Trotskyism and later became activists in the Socialist Workers Party, founded in 1938.) The early leadership of the UAW was very much dominated by supporters of both the SP and the CP.

### The Socialist Party

The early chapters of the book are sprinkled liberally with references to the three Reuther brothers' eager participation in Socialist Party activities such as campaigning for Norman Thomas. After years of decline, the Socialist Party experienced a resurgence of growth in the middle 1930's. With the Stalinized Communist Party on an

Walter Reuther

ultra-left binge, building fake "red" unions and hurling "social-fascist" epithets at all its enemies, and then moving far to the right in prostration to Roosevelt, the SP appeared attractive to many union militants, unemployed activists and students and intellectuals drawn to socialist ideas. A number of hardened reformists quit the SP and a new left wing was formed, many of whose adherents would ultimately be recruited to revolutionary Trotskyism. However, the party leadership remained in the hands of opportunists who, in classic social-democratic style, did nothing to curb the increasingly bureaucratic appetites of a layer of emerging SP trade-union leaders.

In Detroit, where the Reuther brothers were increasingly involved in the UAW, the SP was divided into two branches. Branch One for UAW members and Branch Two for lawyers, teachers, students and others. Veteran SP member and UAW staffer Frank Marquart describes the continual conflict between the branches in his recently published book *An Auto Worker's Journal*. Branch Two stood for the traditional SP policy of opposing the Democrats and running SP candidates.

Detroit News

**Reuther, third from right, and union brothers watch as Ford Company goons approach on the River Rouge overpass in May 1937. Reuther and Richard Frankensteen, second from right, were soon beaten to the ground and kicked down a nearby stairway.**

Branch One—the UAW members, including the Reuthers, Emil Mazey, Leonard Woodcock and George B. Edwards (later a Detroit police commissioner and now a federal judge)—increasingly bent to the pressures of trade-union parochialism as the union grew and sought a rapprochement with bourgeois society through the Democratic Party. "Walter Reuther is a power-hungry bastard who wants to become president of the UAW," Marquart remembers SP leader Manny Seidler shouting at him. "And those guys around him like Woodcock and Mazey are opportunists who are using the Socialist Party as a training ground to promote their union careers!"

This process was already evident at the 1936 UAW convention, where Walter Reuther was first elected to the International Executive Board. The convention passed a resolution at the initiative of SP members calling for the formation of a labor party and defeated an endorsement of Roosevelt for reelection. Roosevelt got wind of this and stormed to John L. Lewis. Adolf Germer, Lewis' CIO lieutenant and former National Secretary of the SP, threatened to withhold $100,000 in organizing funds unless the convention reversed itself. SP and CP tops capitulated disgracefully and Roosevelt's reelection was endorsed in the last five minutes of the convention without discussion. Reuther still opposed support for Roosevelt but now he had a union office to protect. He kept his mouth shut.

With the "bitch goddess of success" glinting in their eyes, the Reuthers moved rapidly to the right. In 1938 Walter gave support to Democrat Frank Murphy for reelection as Michigan governor. This earned him the support of Lewis and Hillman, who were trying to cleanse the CIO of its radical potential. Walter cooked up a deal with SP head Norman Thomas to avoid a public resignation from the party, which would have been politically embarrassing. However, within a short period the Reuthers and most of their followers slid quietly out of the SP to pursue their union careers. This fundamental betrayal of principle in order to seek personal advancement sealed the Reuthers' incorporation into the bureaucracy.

### World War II And After

The biggest obstacle standing between Walter Reuther and his sought-after pinnacle was the CP bloc that ran the union throughout the World War II period. Although Reuther and the CP were united in their support for Roosevelt, the war and the no-strike pledge, bureaucratic infighting raged for the better part of a decade. During the brief interval of the 1939-41 Hitler-Stalin pact, when the CP made a partial left turn toward opposition to the war, Reuther moved quickly to adapt to the rising tide of social patriotism. In 1941 he led the fight for a constitutional amendment barring "communists" from UAW office. Reuther also pushed through a resolution condemning the strike of the North American Aviation workers, which Roosevelt broke with the use of federal troops.

However as the war dragged on and auto workers grew restless under wartime controls, Reuther—with characteristic flexibility—modified his earlier position. In 1943 he led the fight against the introduction of the highly unpopular "incentive pay" system and scored points against the Stalinists, who, after the German invasion of the Soviet Union, had become the most rabid

Ed Weaver

Victor Reuther

defenders of the war and the government's labor policies. However, his attempts to maneuver around the no-strike pledge nearly brought him to disaster. At the 1944 convention he sponsored a resolution to do away with this pledge, but only after V-E Day and then only in *non-war-production* plants. This thinly disguised maneuver to avoid taking a position either in favor of or in opposition to the pledge brought him only well-deserved ridicule.

It was not until after the war that Reuther managed to recoup his flagging popularity. With the CP largely discredited because of its consistent anti-strike policies, he saw his chance. During the 113-day 1946 GM strike Reuther's militant posturing in favor of "wage increases without price increases" and "open bargaining" won him considerable support. Meanwhile the CP argued for extending the no-strike pledge into

peacetime and tried to sabotage the strike. In the 1946 UAW elections Reuther finally won the presidency. Significantly, his campaign enlisted the support of the most backward layers of the union, including reactionaries like the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists (ACTU).

Victor insists that the Reuthers were strong advocates of "democratic unionism" and would not hear of "purging" their opponents. He quotes Walter as saying: "'Exposure, not repression, must be our goal'." This is pure bunk. Victor conveniently neglects to mention Walter's key role in ramming through the "red" clause in 1941. He also "forgets" Walter's proposal to the 1948 CIO convention to expel "those who do not uphold the CIO's political policies," i.e., support Truman instead of the CP-backed Progressive Party candidate Henry Wallace, a proposal even reactionary CIO president Philip Murray balked at. Similarly unmentioned was his endorsement of local union trials held to expel UAW members "found guilty" of not supporting the Korean War.

Victor Reuther, as International Affairs Director of the UAW, and for a time of the CIO, offered his services to imperialism just as directly—if less publicly—than his better-known brother. In his book, Victor lashes the AFL for its splitting tactics in CP unions and for its covert acceptance of CIA money to finance these endeavors, but he is forced to admit his own "dirty tricks" as an agent of the Marshall Plan "re-stabilization" of Europe. While stationed in Paris for the CIO in 1947, he accepted $50,000 via Walter from Thomas H. Braden, International Division chief of the CIA and a right-hand man of John Foster Dulles.

This money was used to prop up anti-communist split-off unions in France and Italy. Until Braden blew the whistle in a 1967 magazine article, this information was carefully concealed. Victor disingenuously explains, "When I first met Braden in the early 50's, I had hardly even heard of the CIA, and was under the impression that he was an employee either of the State Department or the European Recovery Program." As if that made a difference! The point is not which governmental agency the money came from, but the ignominious task the Reuther brothers were neck-deep in: anti-communist splitting and wrecking in the European labor movement as the direct agents of U.S. imperialism. The record of the AFL was worse only in quantity, not quality, and Reutherite anti-communism paved the way for the CIO's acceptance by the AFL in the trade-union merger of 1955.

### Social-Engineering

Victor's other main claim is that the Reuthers were "social engineers" not merely concerned with securing higher wages for workers. Victor takes pride in noting Walter's role in securing pensions, COLA, SUB, etc.

While these are all gains that class-struggle militants would support, Victor pointedly neglects to tell us at what cost they were achieved. The cost-of-living escalator, for example, was gained at the expense of the one-year contract and restricting yearly wage increases to a level of 2 percent. The $100/month pension (including Social Security) at age 65 won in 1949 was a trade-off for an agreement providing no wage increase. The SUB plan, while useful during periods of temporary business slackness, has failed dismally during protracted downturns. Introduced as a reformist substitute for the UAW's historic demand of a shorter workweek at no cut in pay, this plan has proved itself a far cry from the "guaranteed annual wage" Walter Reuther promised it would be. And as for Reuther's periodic grandiose schemes for improving capitalism such as converting aircraft plants idled after World War II into factories for the mass production of prefabricated housing they have universally fallen through.

Reuther's key role was as consolidator of a bureaucracy sufficiently homogeneous to become an effective guarantor of labor discipline for the capitalists. This took many years. It was not easy to wipe out overnight the relatively democratic and militant traditions of the UAW.

In Reuther's extended battle to outmaneuver his bureaucratic opponents, he more than once had recourse to militant trade-union demagogy, as in the 1946 strike. However, such posturing was episodic at best. Trade-union militancy in itself is not a program. The trade-union militants and the picket line leaders of the 1930's have become the ossified strikebreaking AFL-CIO bureaucrats of today.

The policies of trade-union leaders are determined by their attitude to fundamental political questions. Reuther broke strikes during World War II because he supported Franklin Roosevelt and his imperialist war aims. The participation of bureaucrats like Reuther in the massive post-war strike wave did not fundamentally alter their class-collaborationist course: they sought to tame the unrest while using it to supplant the badly discredited Stalinists.

What proved far more decisive was Reuther's avid lining up with the American bourgeoisie in support of cold war policies and the witchhunting of reds in the labor movement. This meant pervasive adaptation to the most backward elements of the working class and opened the way for the capitalists to make major inroads on the UAW's once powerful position on the shop floor. A key reason for the labor movement's inability to wage a determined fight against the implementation of a host of vicious anti-labor laws like Taft-Hartley was the fact that such legislation contained anti-red clauses and was effectively promoted as a weapon against "communist subversion of the unions." The bureaucracy quickly extended its willingness to allow the companies to victimize radicals into acceptance of "company security clauses," which gave the company the right to discipline any participant in "unauthorized" work stoppages. The elimination of the one-year contract, replacement of shop-floor methods of resolving grievances by arbitration and the virtually unchallenged control by management of crucial shop floor conditions like line speed eventually followed suit.

### The Bureaucracy and Trade-Union Militancy

Reuther is dead, but his peers and compatriots instrumental in the trade-union battles of the 30's as well as their hand-picked successors are today comfortably ensconced in the labor bureaucracy. This bureaucracy has in recent years kept a tight lid on the class struggle. Even defensive economic strikes to preserve real wages and working conditions have been few and generally not very militant.

There are, of course, some instances where rank-and-file elements have mounted rebellions against their bureaucratic straitjackets. Notable examples include the miners' wildcats and the brief flare-up by Detroit Teamsters against the contract sellout this year. Unfortunately, the leaderships of these rebellions have already demonstrated their parochialism. Teamsters for a Decent Contract (TDC), which led the Detroit wildcat, has systematically bred illusions in the capitalist state with its policy of taking the union to court. The leaders of the recent miners' wildcat against federal court injunctions pervasively reflect the virulent anti-communism and social backwardness of the region.

AFL

**Reuther (second from right) and George Meany hail the merger of the AFL-CIO in December 1955. UAW later pulled out of AFL-CIO in mid-1960's.**

Reuther, who was a product of the deep social and political ferment of the 30's, was in fact considerably *less* parochial than the TDC's Camarata and Fleysar or Doug Wriston of the UMW. Should Camarata, Wriston & Co. manage to punch their way into the trade-union leadership, it is not difficult to predict that they will follow the same trajectory of that other erstwhile "trade-union militant" Walter Reuther and wind up as hardened bureaucrats and strikebreakers.

The attitude taken toward such economist trade-union militancy is an important criterion by which to judge ostensibly revolutionary organizations. The International Socialists (I.S.) and the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP), who uncritically cheered on and helped build the authority of the wildcat leaderships (in the Teamsters and UMW, respectively) must be condemned for their capitulation to these aspiring bureaucrats. Such fundamentally bankrupt policies will not lead to politically smashing the labor bureaucracy, but only to refurbishing it with newer and slicker elements.

The correct policy for building genuine class-struggle leadership does not arise spontaneously out of trade-union struggles for better wages and working conditions. It must be consciously implanted in the working class through the intervention of a vanguard Leninist party.

In the period of the formation of the CIO this role was played by the revolutionary Trotskyists who in 1938 founded the Socialist Workers Party (SWP). It was the Trotskyists, then a faction in the SP, who combatted the trade-union reformism of emerging opportunists like Reuther. It was the SWP that combatted the pro-Rooseveltian and pro-imperialist war policies of both the Stalinists and the Reutherites. And it was only the SWP that consistently opposed the post-war red purge while mercilessly criticizing the reformist policies of the Stalinists, who capitulated miserably to the red-baiting.

While the SWP carried with it into the trade unions a class-struggle program, it was generally reluctant to form independent caucuses based on this program. Its militants tended to seek out larger blocs of union militants to which to attach themselves and propagate their viewpoint. While it managed to pull back from committing major betrayals of principle, this flaw led the SWP on occasion to become too closely identified with whichever bureaucratic faction was currently putting on a more militant face.

Nonetheless, if the SWP did not play a major role in the history of the UAW, it was not because it lacked a revolutionary perspective. The Trotskyist fraction in the UAW was significantly smaller than and did not have the resources of either the Stalinist or the Reutherite "progressive" bloc. Yet at times, such as in the fight against the no-strike pledge at the 1944 convention, it was able to rally significant forces around it.

This earlier SWP is a far cry from the reformist and degenerate SWP of today, which supports without criticism anti-communist strikebreakers like Arnold Miller and Ed Sadlowski and fears to counterpose its paper position in favor of a labor party to the bureaucracy's endorsement of Democratic Party politicians. For today's SWP, struggling politically against the popular-front alliances of the Stalinists, carrying class-struggle opposition to imperialist war into the unions or defending bureaucratically deformed workers states against imperialist attack is "sectarian." The SWP's policies in the unions are now indistinguishable from the Stalinists', currying the favor of liberal bureaucrats, offering to police the ranks and keeping its mouth shut on working-class politics.

Today it is the Spartacist League that continues the revolutionary struggle of Trotskyism. The SL fights to oust the present misleaders of the mass organizations of the workers and replace them with a class-struggle leadership based on the Trotskyist Transitional Program. In doing so we continue the historic fight earlier waged by the SWP. ■


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WV Photo

Transit workers demonstration in front of RTD office earlier this month.

## After Five-Week Strike—

# L.A. Transit Strikers Get No More than Original Offer

LOS ANGELES, September 26—After a frustrating and sometimes militant month-long strike, the more than 6,000 drivers and mechanics of the Southern California Rapid Transit District (RTD) have been forced back to work with a contract whose terms amount to nothing but a reshuffling of the pre-strike management offer. While union tops crowed that they had achieved a 21-percent increase in hourly wages and fringe benefits, the hard-line anti-labor RTD chairman Byron Cook could claim that due to work-rules changes, overall labor costs would rise *less* than the original 19.5-percent offer.

The first to be sold out were the drivers, members of the United Transportation Union (UTU), at a September 21 ratification meeting attended by over 4,000 drivers. UTU Local chairman Earl Clark announced the terms of the settlement, with a 93 cents per hour wage increase over three years, instead of the $2.00 per hour which the union had initially demanded. Also included is a partial cost-of-living allowance (COLA), but overtime will be cut back, and time allotted for rush hour runs is being reduced (a very dangerous form of speed-up). In addition, for the first time employee payroll deductions will be instituted, the health plan will not include any COLA, and it will now take drivers three years to reach full pay (instead of the previous one year).

Frustrated by the realization that after nearly five weeks on strike they would be forced to return to work with no more money than the original RTD offer, drivers at the ratification meeting frequently interrupted speakers from the negotiating committee with boos and shouts. Like all other union activities over the course of the strike, the meeting was run in a bureaucratic manner. No microphones were provided for discussion from the floor, and after presentation by the leadership, Clark proposed that anyone with questions could come up and discuss them personally, while the rest of the membership would simply go ahead and vote! Less than three-fifths of the 4,000 members present voted, and the contract was approved by 1,785 to 571.

In a separate ratification meeting held today, the mechanics and helpers, members of the independent Amalgamated Transit Union, voted by a close margin (387 to 257) to accept the RTD contract proposal. In a hoodwinking maneuver similar to the one used against the drivers, management and union negotiators tied a 19-percent wage increase (over three years) to the creation of a new job classification of "yard helper," with a pay rate substantially below that of present employees doing the same work. This will quickly lead to speed-up and victimizations as the company attempts to replace current workers with lower-paid "yard helpers."

The strike did not have to end in defeat. The RTD board's transparent attempt to hamstring the unions, going so far as to turn down a 21-percent wage hike agreed to by its own negotiators, turned public opinion against it. A militant union leadership would have called for solidarity actions on the part of the entire Los Angeles labor movement in support of the striking drivers and mechanics. Instead, the bureaucrats channeled such militant actions as the spontaneous semi-sit-in by over 500 drivers at city hall September 8 into pressuring liberal Democratic mayor (and ex-cop) Thomas Bradley to in turn pressure his appointees on the RTD board.

The current sellout will almost certainly induce oppositionists within the UTU to challenge the present leadership in elections to be held later in the year. The only active oppositionists in the union are presently grouped around the "Drivers Newsletter," whose implicit program is based on (1) defeatism (their leaflet was headlined, "You Have Suffered Through a Useless Strike"), (2) government intervention in the unions (to guarantee "honest union elections") and (3) a liberal-utopian scheme to reform the RTD Board of Supervisors (legally requiring them to "bargain in good faith").

What L.A. bus drivers—along with the rest of labor—need is not a warmed-over dish of the same old class-collaborationist stew, but a militant leadership fighting on a class-struggle program. Rather than wallowing in pessimism or acting as a pressure group on the bureaucrats, such an opposition would challenge the union tops' phony "friend of labor" capitalist politicians and struggle for a workers party, based on the unions, to fight for a workers government. ■

### CORRECTION

In *WV* Nos. 126 and 127 (24 September and 1 October) we incorrectly reported the number of 34,000 auto workers in Canada. The actual figure is 14,000.

# Germany...

*(continued from page 5)*

party might not get enough seats to give the SPD-FDP bloc a parliamentary majority, the SPD took special mealy-mouthed care to avoid offending possible FDP swing-voters.

For communists, a minimum condition for critical support to a mass reformist workers party like the SPD is the commitment to rule in its own name. With the SPD proudly committed to its coalition with a bourgeois party, the tactic of critical support loses its purpose of assisting the communists to exploit the contradiction between the SPD's working-class base and its pro-capitalist leadership. This internal contradiction is suppressed in the sense that the SPD leadership can point to the exigencies of coalition politics and the demands posed by its bourgeois partners to deflect the disgruntlement of the ranks and obscure responsibility for its betrayals.

Thus the Trotzkistische Liga Deutschlands (TLD), German section of the international Spartacist tendency, announced it could not give critical support to the SPD. The TLD's propaganda around the elections was directed toward exposing not only the SPD's "direct organizational bloc with the bourgeoisie" but also the programmatic capitulation to the class enemy represented by most of the campaigns of the German left, headed up by the Moscow-loyalist DKP.

The DKP pursued an exclusively parliamentarist campaign based on its theory of "anti-monopolist democracy." Its aim is to serve as a reformist party of the second mobilization should the SPD discredit itself sufficiently among the broad masses of workers to leave a reformist void. The DKP, with 30,000 supporters, envisions a piecemeal radicalization which it hopes will bypass the SPD in its favor. However, any upsurge in proletarian militancy tends initially to reinforce the SPD, as did the 1972 confrontations over "Ostpolitik." A massive radicalization will tend to polarize even this highly bureaucratized party along class lines.

As for the Maoists of the KPD and the slightly more "critical" KBW, both are participating in Peking's orgy of pro-NATO agitation against the "social-imperialist" USSR. The German Maoists have shamelessly catered to the most reactionary strains of nationalism and anti-Communist fears (at one point the KPD-ML sued the federal defense minister for not sufficiently defending West German soil against the "Soviet menace"). No votes to the fatherland defenders, allies of Kissinger, Vorster and Franz-Josef Strauss! As for the "critical" Maoist KB, it vacillated over its electoral program and refused to address the question of the class character of East Germany and the USSR, finally coming out for a vote for "one of the organizations to the left of the SPD."

Among ostensible Trotskyists, the pseudo-orthodox Spartacusbund this year rejected any electoral bloc (last year they expelled the Trotskyist Faction for objecting to its unprincipled "Communist electoral alliance"). However, instead of calling for a united front of working-class organizations to defeat the anti-proletarian measures of the SPD government, the Spartacusbund proposed yet another of its rotten propaganda blocs of "all left organizations." Only the candidacy of the GIM, German USec section, met the minimum programmatic criteria for critical support to a small propaganda group. In particular, the GIM maintained (although not very prominently) a defensist position on the deformed workers states, a key question in central Europe and particularly given the large Maoist movement in West Germany.

In defining its "negatively characterized support" the TLD noted that the GIM electoral platform did not transcend reformism. The GIM waters down and breaks up the transitional program of interlocking demands to turn them into reforms which could be realized within the capitalist framework instead of leading to the destruction of the capitalist system. Thus the sliding scale of wages and hours becomes "legal introduction of the 35-hour week at full wages." Similarly, the GIM calls for "democratization" of the trade-union federation rather than working to build

GIC

Franz Josef Strauss, CDU leader

Der Spiegel

Vice-chancellor and FDP leader Hans-Dietrich Genscher

communist fractions within the unions as a programmatically-based alternative leadership.

The TLD noted that the GIM has not descended to the vulgar anti-communism of its Austrian counterpart, the GRM, which campaigned on the slogan "We do not want socialism à la Czechoslovakia." This social-democratic "anti-Stalinism" abandons the Trotskyist position of unconditional defense of the deformed workers states combined with the call for political revolution to overthrow the treacherous Stalinist bureaucracies that undermine a real defense against imperialism and domestic counterrevolution.

For German Trotskyists, a central slogan must be the revolutionary reunification of the divided nation by a resurgent working class led by a Trotskyist vanguard party, with the preservation of the social conquests of the East German state freed of their bureaucratic shackles, and the extension of these gains to West Germany. As the TLD noted in concluding its article on the elections:

> "The Bundestag elections of 1976 demonstrate with complete clarity that the proletariat requires a revolutionary leadership irreconcilable in the class struggle. The proletariat needs a revolutionary party, which must be a section of a recreated Fourth International." ■

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# California Farm Labor Bill...

*(continued from page 12)*

"(b) The Board shall decide in each case whether...the unit appropriate for the purposes of collective bargaining shall be the employer unit, craft unit, plant unit or subdivision thereof."

The reactionary bureaucracy of the American Federation of Labor hailed the Wagner Act as "Labor's Magna Carta" because it took labor disputes out of the hands of the generally more conservative state courts, and because of its section 7, which upheld the right of employees to form unions in order to engage in collective bargaining. This formal statement was taken from section 7(a) of the National Recovery Act (NRA), which was declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court shortly before the Wagner Act was rushed through Congress by Rooseveltian Democrats.

There were many reasons why revolutionaries and militant unionists opposed the Wagner Act. In the first place, the right to form unions, to engage in collective bargaining and to strike had already been recognized in the 1932 Norris-La Guardia Act. This outlawed various kinds of anti-strike injunctions, thereby eliminating the hitherto frequent practice of courts enjoining strikes because they were "in restraint of trade" and therefore unconstitutional. In any case, this right had already been won in practice by the workers' struggles (as is usual for rights "granted" by the bourgeois state).

Secondly, handing to the government the power to decide what is the jurisdictional unit to vote in a representation election is to give the class enemy a potentially significant weapon for use against the most militant unionists. Craft unions can be favored over industrial unions, and jurisdictions gerrymandered so that reactionary-led unions can swallow up or split left-led unions.

Exactly that happened to the CP-led West Coast marine cooks and stewards (NUMCS) during the McCarthyite witchhunting years. First the government indicted the union leaders under anti-communist laws; then the NLRB refused to let the CP-influenced ILWU on the ballot. Finally the Labor Board redefined the jurisdiction to include all West Coast-based unlicensed seamen, a category in which the notoriously racist, anti-communist SIU was already dominant.

Even more fundamentally, however, it is only by jealously maintaining their independence from the capitalist government that the unions can serve the interests of the workers. Other things being equal, Marxists favor a single union bargaining agent per plant, but we oppose any law by the government which imposes this (such as the NLRB designation of an "exclusive" representative of "all" the employees). Such a law can be both a weapon in the hands of a dominant bureaucracy against minorities—expel them from the union and then the employer is legally prohibited from bargaining with them—and a union-busting tool in the hands of an anti-labor government.

In short, we oppose all government laws regulating union representation. Only essentially negative laws eliminating legal penalties and obstacles to unionization—for instance, the Norris-La Guardia Act—can be supported. Even then, communists must warn the workers not to place any trust in the bosses' government. However, when certain provisions of unsupportable laws can be used to labor's benefit, naturally then we must take advantage of them nonetheless and show how in practice the laws' promises are empty and their threats real.

### The Left and the Wagner Act

The fact that the bulk of the California union leadership has jumped aboard the Prop 14 bandwagon is indicative of the dangerous intermeshing of the labor bureaucracy with the capitalist state apparatus. And the reasons given by Governor Brown for endorsing the measure—that it would provide two years of "peace" in the fields—are indicative of the intentions of the so-called "progressive" Democrats. But it is not just piecards seeking to work out a deal with the class enemy and big business politicians seeking to defuse an explosive issue who are backing Proposition 14.

The fact that much of the ostensibly Marxist left has been swept along in the campaign is due to their long-standing policies of tailing after every twist and turn in Chavez' tactics, applauding his "Movement" rhetoric and covering up for his betrayals of strikers and "illegal aliens." It is also an indication of their own degeneration from revolutionary Marxism and even centrism into craven reformism. The Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and the Communist Party (CP) can uncritically support Proposition 14 only by erasing their own history.

While today the SWP and CP support Proposition 14, in 1935 both Stalinists and Trotskyists opposed the Wagner Act as a threat to labor's ability to strike. The Trotskyists of the Workers Party (WP, precursor of the SWP) made it clear that the act was a trap for the working class, despite the fact that there was reactionary bourgeois opposition to the "progressive" FDR program (a split in the bourgeoisie analogous to the current cleavage between Governor Brown and the growers). They wrote in the 6 July 1935 *New Militant*:

"Under this bill a National Labor Relations Board is to be set up to 'enforce' collective bargaining, etc. Thus the way is paved for eventual greater control of government over the unions. Apart from that, bitter experience has taught the workers how slowly the machinery of these Boards operates even when 'friends of unionism' sit on them, and that the employers have numerous devices for evading their decisions or crippling their operations. Besides, under a capitalist government, which necessarily is concerned about keeping the wheels of industry (i.e. capitalist industry) running smoothly, the basic concern of these government agencies is never that of enforcing the rights of the workers, but that of maintaining 'industrial peace,' in other words, preventing strikes or if they break out somehow, 'settling' them, getting the workers back to work as quickly as possible.

"Thus these government boards become in effect strike-breaking agencies even under the best conditions.

"The workers will not get salvation from the Wagner bill. They must now as ever fight the entire system for which it stands. They will get nothing except that which they can take by their organized strength and militancy."

However, they also added:

"It is possible that the initial psychological effect of the passage of the Wagner bill on some sections of the workers will be similar to that which occurred when the NRA was first proclaimed to create the impression, namely, that unionization will get government support and so to stimulate organizing campaigns and strikes.... Militants will take advantage of the situation precisely in order that in the struggle to get what the government purports to give them [the workers], they may learn the true nature and function of all capitalist governments."

It is interesting that even the Communist Party came out against the Wagner Act. While they soon became the most vociferous supporters of Roosevelt's "New Deal" hoax, in mid-1935 the CP had not yet completed its turn toward the Democratic Party and still made ultra-left denunciations of FDR as a "fascist" and of the NRA as the "slave labor law." The CP correctly warned in the 6 July 1935 *Daily Worker*:

"The Wagner Bill does NOT guarantee (except in words) the right to organize. Long before the N.R.A., labor won this right wherever it fought for it.

"On the contrary, the bill sets up compulsory arbitration machinery that can be used to prevent and break strikes and to tie labor hand and foot."

It should be extremely embarrassing for supporters of the SWP and CP to read what their predecessors said about a law that was far more liberal than Prop 14 (which is roughly equivalent to the Wagner Act *after* it was drastically amended by the Taft-Hartley anti-union law). At that time the Trotskyist WP defended Marxist policies and even the CP felt obliged to make a genuflection in the direction of revolution. Today their successors lie prostrate before the class enemy. The Spartacist League is virtually unique among left groups in California in warning that Proposition 14 is a threat to labor and must be rejected. *Vote No on Prop 14!*■

## Hands Off the OL!

# KKK Terrorist Shot Outside Houston Maoist Office

HOUSTON—On Saturday night, September 18, members of a front group of the fascistic Ku Klux Klan calling themselves the "Veterans for Victory Over Communism" attempted to break up a memorial meeting here for Mao Tse-tung which was co-sponsored by the October League (OL) at the Prairie Fire bookstore. During the assault, one of the racist thugs was shot in the chest and seriously wounded. The remainder of the attackers thereupon quickly scurried away.

According to an account in the OL's *Call* (27 September), two of the KKKers tried to enter as the meeting began, but were quickly expelled when recognized by those present as Klan members. Later, two carloads of Klansmen arrived armed with shotguns and began leafletting outside against the "communist menace." A group of the thugs then charged the storefront, led by Thomas West, who hurled a rock through a window and was then shot.

As the racists fled the Houston cops arrived almost immediately. Two of those defending the bookstore were immediately arrested and another shortly afterwards. The three have subsequently been released, but the district attorney's office is reportedly considering putting the incident before a grand jury. Of course, no charges have been brought against any of the fascistic attackers.

Houston has a long history of such racist attacks. One long-time leftist who has lived in the area for three decades kept his house sandbagged until 1974 due to numerous threats and a machine gun attack on his home in the 1960's. A few years ago a pipe bomb exploded in the local headquarters of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), and in February 1975 the Klan demonstrated outside Houston SWP offices. In April of the same year, members of the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League received threatening phone calls from a group itself the "Volunteers and Veterans to Vietnam." And also in 1975 a band of Scott Nelson's "United Whites of America" set upon a May Day march led by the Revolutionary Communist Party, unsuccessfully trying to break it up.

Not surprisingly, no one was ever charged in any of these attacks. Moreover, during the 1975 events, Houston police chief Carrol Lynn freely admitted the existence of cops in Houston "whose views are very close to those of the Klan" (quoted in the *Militant*, 21 March 1975). Later Lynn admitted he had known of two of the incidents in advance.

Houston authorities will most likely have a difficult time pinning frame-up charges against those attending the Maoist meeting. The defenders of the Prairie Fire bookstore have wisely refused to cooperate in any way with the witchhunting investigation, in which the cops are trying to blame the shooting on the OL rather than arrest the fascistic assailants. It has also been reported that

The Call

**Wounded attacker West fleeing from Prairie Fire bookstore in Houston after participating in racist assault.**

when offered broadcast time to debate the Klan, the OL correctly refused to debate with the fascist terrorists.

However the defense is severely weakened by the OL's sectarianism. Although a leaflet for an October 1 rally against the Klan assault was signed by a "Houston Committee to End Fascist Attacks," the OL has refused offers of assistance from other left groups and no attempts have been made to organize a united-front defense. Nor has there been any serious attempt by the Maoists to publicize the incident on Houston campuses.

It is the obligation of all socialist and labor militants and supporters of democratic liberties to defend any of the participants in the Mao memorial meeting should charges be brought against them. Not empty bluster like the OL's boast that "We won't take attacks from the fascists sitting down" (*Call*, 27 September), but united working-class defense is key to smashing the Klan thugs.■

# PDC Demo...

*(continued from page 4)*

The final speaker, the SL's Ed Clarkson, declared that the Castroites of the MIR and PRT/ERP must bear part of the onus for the defeats of the Chilean and Argentine workers. The former "critically" supported the Allende popular front and the latter first sought an accommodation with the bourgeois populist Perón, then all but called for a military coup to overthrow his widow. "Picking up the gun is useless in isolation from the independent mobilization of the proletariat," said Clarkson, "and this is precisely where the MIR and the PRT failed." Clarkson ended by demanding "Free All Victims of Right-Wing Repression!" "Build Trotskyist Parties in Argentina and Chile!" and "Smash the Bloody Juntas Through Workers Revolution!"■

# Auto Contract...

*(continued from page 1)*

had the slightest idea of what was going on, and the 170,000 UAW members at Ford didn't even know what they were striking for. For the union ranks, the silence from Woodcock & Co. was part of preparation by the UAW tops to spring a sellout.

Woodcock has been consistently trying to minimize the effect of this strike, which he never wanted. Even the most elementary steps have not been taken by the UAW bureaucracy to win the strike. Over half a million workers at General Motors, Chrysler and American Motors have been left on the job and Ford operations in Canada were also allowed to continue. As if this weren't enough, local officials have allowed streams of scabbing salaried personnel and hourly workers with union passes to pour through the picket lines.

What the "well-informed spokesmen" have been saying about the tentative settlement is the following: on wages, a 3 percent increase in the second and third year and slightly more in the first year; on "shorter work time," 13 additional holidays (rotated on an individual basis) over the life of the contract (or roughly four days off per year); for retirees, up to $600 cash settlement, to be paid for from COLA payments of working auto workers; Supplemental Unemployment Benefits (SUB), slightly improved from 9-14 cents company contribution per manhour up to 13-22 cents; a restructuring of SUB to increase protection for high seniority workers, and an extra pay boost for skilled workers.

The wage increase is exactly the pittance the UAW leaders asked for, while the holidays plan is at best an insult and more likely nothing but a form of absence control. Suffering from layoffs, speed-up and inflation, auto workers needs far exceed this stinking offer.

UAW members need a shorter workweek at no loss in pay—at least "30 for 40"—to combat unemployment. They need a big increase in wages, as well as protection against speed-up, through rolling back and locking line speed in the contract and fixing job description at the beginning of the model run. Despite the predictable ballyhoo that, "we got all the company will give," none of these are part of Woodcock's deal.

Militants must reject this sellout "tentative agreement"! The UAW membership must demand adequate time to study all the details of the offer, with full discussion in the locals and voting on a plant-by-plant basis. Every plant should remain closed until all local grievances are settled.

### Strike Against John Deere

While auto workers were being kept in the dark on the proposed deal during last minute bargaining, workers in the agricultural implements section of the UAW were even more the victims of a bureaucratic blackout. As contracts for major manufacturers expired at the end of September, Woodcock extended his defeatist one-at-a-time strategy to "Ag-Imp." While 80,000 workers at International Harvester and Caterpillar remained on the job, 27,000 workers at John Deere were called out literally not knowing what they were striking for.

Despite the blackout, workers at John Deere launched the strike with enthusiasm. Members of Local 865 in East Moline, Illinois, wildcatted 12 hours before the strike officially began a tradition with the local. A Local official told *WV* that a supervisor had been injured in the scuffle at the plant gate as he tried to enter the struck plant the first day of the strike, and a number of scab supervisors had their tires slashed.

Workers at Deere have endured some of the worst speed-up and working conditions in the industry, since UAW International policy has emphasized wage and fringe benefit improvements in exchange for all kinds of work rule changes. This historically militant section of the union has one of the highest pay scales and benefit packages in the entire union (averaging close to $8 per hour in wages), but according to union sources, wages are not even an issue this year.

The bureaucrats are instead trying to "tighten up" language on subcontracting as a measure against layoffs. (Present "Ag-Imp" contracts include a provision giving companies wide latitude to subcontract work if use of plant employees involves "extra cost," thus enabling management to pass work to low-wage, scab shops.) But the bureaucrats' approach weakens the union position on overtime, which is voluntary in the agricultural implements section (unlike auto). The reasoning is that if the union can prevent subcontracting, then workers must make themselves available for the extra work the companies will need! The fight against layoffs and unemployment, by creating *more jobs*, is conveniently forgotten in such a revolting trade-off.

Another demand of the union, as at Ford, is a vague attempt to shorten the workweek, still another trick to convince the workers that a fight against layoffs is actually being waged. What it boils down to is a form of discipline to improve attendance: one half hour credit for every week of perfect attendance, or 39-1/2 for 40!

In contrast to the Big Three auto companies, whose contracts specified that pensions would not be discussed in this round of negotiations, there is no such agreement in agricultural implements and therefore no excuse for not waging a struggle for COLA on pensions. But this is not what Woodcock & Co. have in mind. In spite of the general inability of workers with 30 years' seniority to afford retirement, the UAW bargainers are asking for only a small monetary adjustment on pensions.

Spokesmen at Deere—a particularly profitable company which could easily afford a hefty wage increase—have publicly stated that they will wait for the Ford settlement so as to avoid setting any precedents in the negotiations. This underlines the cooperation that exists not just between auto companies, but also between them and the farm machinery companies organized by the UAW. The Reutherite "one-at-a-time" strategy is supposed to hurt the "target" company through threatening its market share. In fact what happens is that each company knows it will be struck only once in nine years or so, and that its settlement will probably be accepted by the others.

This encourages them to "hang tough" rather than the opposite. Striking one company at a time weakens the overall impact of the strike on the industry and the economy, and damages the solidarity of the workers. "Pattern" bargaining is a pattern for defeat! All auto and agricultural implements companies should be called out together in order to maximize the union's power, and the strike run by a democratically elected strike committee.

The UAW leadership's leaky picket lines, like its policy of keeping the membership in the dark, are testimony to its contempt for the ranks. After two-and-a-half weeks of letting scabbing supervisory personnel and others through the lines, Local 600 (River Rouge) officials finally issued a leaflet explaining "Why a Skeleton Crew in the Plant." The leaflet assures strikers that no production is being run or tools or dies being made. This conflicts with earlier reports gathered by *WV* on the picket lines that coke ovens and BOF blast furnaces were indeed being kept in operation during the strike. And in any case, facilities which legitimately require "banking" or constant maintenance could and should have been shut down prior to the strike.

The leaflet also attacks "those who would divide"—that is, militants who have been critical of the leadership. In a not very subtle red-bait the leaflet states, "they have been distributing leaflets—attacking our union and trying to divide the membership, but they do not say one DAMN WORD against the company." This is an outright slander against several groups and individuals who have criticized Woodcock & Co. for defeatist misleadership.

It is the *UAW bureaucracy* which is responsible for weakening the strike by demoralizing the ranks who are told nothing of the negotiations and ordered to stand idly by while hundreds of salaried and hourly workers stream into the plants through their picket lines. When militants have resisted this strategy and attempted to stop scabbing on their own, cops and "UAW Flying Squads" have been quickly on the scene to keep the lines open. So far, at least two committeemen at Local 600 have been suspended by the union tops for "conduct unbecoming a union member"—i.e., trying to stop scabs!

The lack of any significant organized opposition to Woodcock's treachery is testimony to the weakness of the U.S. left and the break in continuity from the historic battles that built the industrial unions in the 1930's and 1940's. With the exception of the Spartacist League and small groups of class-struggle militants in the union, no significant tendency in the auto union even raises the call for an industry-wide strike!

The Independent Skilled Trades Council (ISTC), at a meeting last week, accurately described the one-at-a-time strategy as strikebreaking. But instead of demanding that all North American auto and farm equipment companies be shut down at once, the ISTC passed a motion for a one-day industry-wide strike on October 14, the day of the one-day protest against Trudeau's wage controls called by the Canadian Labour Congress! Charles Dewey of the ISTC said that autoworkers would "have to start talking about" shutting down all of auto "sooner or later"!

Last week a *WV* reporter asked a supporter of Auto Workers United to Fight in '76—a reformist opposition politically supported by the Revolutionary Communist Party—how they can ignore the industry-wide strike demand. Coining an aphorism in the Maoist tradition, this brother said that it would be like "turning the sky upside down." For Woodcock and his reformist fellow-travelers, a militant industry-wide strike would indeed turn their world topsy-turvy, raising the "danger" that the mobilized ranks might get out of hand and sweep aside the sellout misleaders. But for class-struggle militants, this is the beginning of a struggle that will be victorious only when the auto capitalists and the rest of their class are expropriated and the working class for the first time takes control of its destiny. ■

# NMU Scabs on Auto Strike

**DETROIT, October 5—*WV* learned yesterday that the UAW leadership at Local 600 (River Rouge) is cooperating with National Maritime Union (NMU) officials from the Port of Detroit in ushering NMU workers across auto strike picket lines. At least one ship, the 8,708-ton *Henry Ford II*—one of five ships in Ford's fleet—has been delivering ore to the Rouge dock throughout the strike.**

**Local 600 staff director Bob Moran admitted authorizing the passes. He justified the shipments as necessary for the maintenance of coke ovenoperations. According to Moran, the *Henry Ford II* is still unloading. An International spokesman claimed ignorance of this scabbing and NMU officials were unavailable for comment.**

**Early in the strike, five UAW members boarded a private 28-ft. yacht in the Rouge River in an attempt to block the 611-ft. freighter. Though the pickets believed their resourcefulness had turned the freighter away from Ford docks, a spokesman from Ford Marine Operations denied it. *WV* asked Moran what happened to those pickets. Moran said, "We ran them the hell out."**

**This incident has angered workers at the Rouge picket lines. It is one more example of how the UAW bureaucracy's failure to shut the entire auto industry down tight has hurt the strike. NMU militants must demand that no seamen scab on the auto strike and UAW auto workers must see to it that the mass crossing of picket lines is stopped!**

News Photo/Howard Shirkey

# Muñoz Family...

*(continued from page 4)*

UN) fail to report, they are liable to being picked up in raids and immediately deported.

If they *do* register, however, this is official admission that they are illegally in the country, and therefore may also be deported. Moreover, information on these refugees is then sent to their country of origin, and if another rightist dictatorship wants to extradite anyone, the list makes it easier to locate radicals and other targets of junta repression. This registration decree could be the beginning of an escalating witchhunt and murderous bloodbath. The PDC strongly denounced this draconian law and called for international protest against the continuing perilous situation in Argentina. ■

**Le Bolchévik**
publication de la
Ligue Trotskyste de France
**No. 1, 1er trimestre 1976, 0,50 f.**
pour toute correspondance, Pascal Alessandri, B.P. 336, 75011 Paris, France

# NYC Cops...

*(continued from page 1)*

through the streets. They wrecked a passing tow truck when the driver refused to honk his horn in sympathy. Several high-ranking officers were knocked down, one was kicked and a deputy chief inspector had his stars ripped off his shoulder.

On Wednesday an irate commissioner summoned 300 top police brass to headquarters. Calling the protests, which violated a court injunction, "intolerable," Codd complained: "Over the last five days there have been a number of situations in which commanding officers did not command, in which commanding officers and supervisors did not supervise, in which sworn members of this department did not fulfill the duties they were sworn to fulfill" (*New York Times*, 30 September).

Although intra-departmental disciplinary proceedings have begun against the cops who assaulted superior officers, an aide to mayor Abraham Beame admitted that City Hall was generally handling the law-breaking cops with kid gloves: "So far the consensus is that mass arrests of cops would only escalate the problem by meeting provocations with provocation. It could produce a wildcat strike" (*New York Times*, 30 September).

Fearful that police patrolmen would disobey orders to arrest fellow cops, disproportionately high numbers of superior officers have been assigned to the main demonstrations—at Gracie Mansion Monday, at Yankee Stadium Tuesday and at City Hall yesterday where 4,000 police picketed to demonstrate their rejection of the city's latest offer. But even this unusual measure has not resulted in a single arrest.

Such benign toleration when police run riot contrasts sharply with the Gestapo-style treatment and mass arrests of hospital workers in recent strikes. Although the police wail and moan about being treated as "second-class citizens," their brazen disregard for the "law and order" they prate about underscores their sinister bonapartist appetites for autonomy from civilian control and their total contempt for the people of New York.

Even the demands for which they are fighting illuminate a lesson which the labor movement forgets only at its peril—cops are not "fellow workers" but hired guns for the bourgeoisie who expect and normally receive special treatment from their masters.

Early last year the Patrolmen's Benevolent Association (PBA) demanded wage increases high enough to break the traditional pay parity between cops and firemen and to further increase the existing 10 percent differential above sanitationmen. Instead a three-man arbitration panel recommended the same two-year 14 percent increase for cops, firemen and sanitationmen alike. In the midst of its austerity program, the Beame administration refused to comply with the award at all.

Indicative of the bourgeoisie's recognition of the special status of the police, a State Supreme Court then exempted the PBA from the wage freeze imposed on city unions last year with the connivance of the weak-kneed labor bureaucrats. As the bankers and Congress tighten the economic screws, the city officials are, for once, reluctant to throw the customary bone to their professional enforcers and are appealing the court decision. The cops' revolt aims at winning their pay increases retroactive over the past year and overturning heavier work schedules, thus reclaiming the special status to which they believe their guns and badges entitle them.

Although the bourgeoisie and the labor skates treat the PBA as a legitimate labor union, it is nothing of the kind. Its typical functions are to propagandize for greater police autonomy and to intercede for racist, trigger-happy cops brought up on charges. It labels exposures of rampant police brutality as concoctions of "bleeding-heart liberals and sob-sisters." It objects to investigations of departmental graft and corruption as devious schemes to undermine "police morale." The PBA, rather than a union, is an ultra-reactionary, paramilitary political organization.

Feeding this week's protests is a power struggle among various PBA factions, each contending that it can better defend the prerogatives, organizational power and "morale" of the 18,000 police patrolmen. Behind the power struggle is more than a decade of right-wing organizing and the traditional elitist caste mentality among cops in New York and other cities. Following major upsurges in the civil rights movement in 1963-64, liberal Democratic mayor Robert Wagner gave the cops an "open season" on black and Spanish-speaking people. The police acquired a new consciousness of their special social role as the city's armed enforcers of racism—and they liked it.

WV Photo

In 1966, as part of a general consolidation of the new administration, Republican "Fusion" mayor John Lindsay broke up the old police hierarchy—the "Irish mafia"—and then set up a powerless Civilian Review Board to deflect the growing outrage of racial minorities. In response, the PBA, in alliance with the Conservative Party, John Birch Society and an assortment of racist, right-wing groups, launched a heavily bankrolled referendum campaign to eliminate even this token rein on their ability to brutalize non-whites, student radicals and striking workers.

This right-wing campaign to abolish the review board became a political referendum on police autonomy. Recognizing the bonapartist threat behind the referendum, the Spartacist League issued a leaflet: "Vote No to Cop Brutality and Racism." While placing no confidence in the review board, we warned then: "If the cops actually get the vote of confidence they're after, it will strengthen the hand of the ruling class and the cops against *all* working people and their organizations."

In January 1971 New York police carried out a six-day work stoppage over a retroactive pay claim. The reformist Communist Party prated about "racist currents" and "beating up of strikers" by the police but then grotesquely called for "fighting unity of the working class" to defend the cops' right to strike for "justified wage demands"! With equal obscenity, the political bandits of the Workers League hailed this bonapartist revolt by labor's mortal enemies. An article in the *Bulletin* (25 January 1971) entitled "New York Labor Begins Showdown" maintained that the police work stoppage had "triggered a whole fight on the part of the city labor movement." The article concluded by denouncing the municipal labor bureaucrats for not calling a general strike to support the cops.

*Workers Action* (April-May 1971), predecessor to *Workers Vanguard*, denounced this blatant capitulation to backward social attitudes among relatively privileged sectors of white workers, some of whom regard police as their "friends" and protectors against insurgent minorities and radicals. It also pointed out:

> "The police work stoppage was fundamentally an *anti-labor* action. It was a *political* strike by a police force that has become dangerously conscious of its social role as the armed defenders of the social system of big business and the 'law and order' that protects and maintains the power and privilege of this ruling class. It reflects the general motion of the working class only in a *negative* sense, for the motion of the police is the symmetrical, polar opposite of that in the working class and in fact more resembles the recent re-emergence of fascist organizations attacking striking workers in France and Italy, or vigilante bands of police terrorists in Guatemala and other Latin American countries that have been assassinating labor leaders and members of revolutionary workers groups."

Much of the blame for workers' confusion about the real nature of the police rests with the sellout policies of the trade-union leadership. Having shoved lay-offs, speed-up and wage freezes down the throats of the rank and file, the bureaucrats set the stage for the police to appear as "militant" antagonists of cutbacks in city workers' jobs and wages. (In fact, Victor Gotbaum's only complaint about the cop rampage was that the PBA doesn't have strong leaders who can tell their members that they can't get any more money...i.e., tell them to shut up and lump it, like Gotbaum's members have to!) The cops' marauding (an extension of their social role and usual activities), however, have sharply undercut the support they expected to receive.

The police revolt points to the necessity of working-class self-defense. The trade unions require their own workers militia to protect themselves from the bosses' uniformed goons. Hospital workers have already had a taste of nightsticks wielded by their so-called "fellow workers" in blue, and if the Gotbaums, Shankers, Mayes and DeLurys had carried out the necessary co-ordinated strike struggles to defend the interests of city workers, it would be even clearer to the members of municipal unions which side the police are on. However, it will not be the class-collaborationist labor fakers who bring this truth to the working masses but only a revolutionary party which (unlike the CP, WL and others) can recognize the sharp class line that separates cops and workers! ■

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# WORKERS VANGUARD

WORKERS VANGUARD

## No Compulsory Arbitration! Vote No on Proposition 14!

# California Farm Labor Bill Threatens Right to Strike

SAN FRANCISCO While the rest of the country yawns in boredom over a lackluster presidential race, California has been sharply divided by a ballot initiative. Proposition 14, aimed at making the state Agricultural Labor Relations Board (ALRB) independent of legislative tampering. Put on the ballot by more than 700,000 signatures collected by United Farm Workers (UFW) organizers, the bill is supported by most of organized labor officialdom (not the Teamsters) and opposed by the growers and conservative Republicans. Last month, following the lead of California governor Edmund Brown and U.S. senator John Tunney, Democratic presidential candidate Jimmy Carter also signed on for "Prop 14," and in return received the union's endorsement.

UFW leader Cesar Chavez of course hails the bill as a saviour for California farm workers. It is, in fact, the crowning piece of his 15-year drive to organize agricultural workers through reliance on capitalist politicians and the bosses' government. But to the struggling UFW membership, Proposition 14 is a threat. Under it they are prohibited from conducting secondary strikes and boycotts, key forms of union action in this industry. Moreover, the ALRB can arbitrarily decertify a union on trumped-up charges of "unfair labor practices," such as "violence" against scabs during a strike.

AP

**César Chavez, right, joined UFW picket protesting administration of ALRB in Sacramento last September.**

### History of Class-Collaborationist Defeatism

A mere description of the history of Proposition 14 demonstrates the failure of Chavez' class-collaborationist strategy. Since the UFW leader disbanded the agricultural workers strike in the summer of 1973 in favor of impotent consumer boycotts, he has virtually abandoned any thought of union industrial action. Instead Chavez appeals to the "progressive" bourgeois politicians in the Democratic Party, who enacted the law setting up the ALRB last year. Supposedly the Labor Board was designed to "guarantee" farm workers the right to choose their own union through state-run representation elections in the fields.

However, when the elections began in September 1975, UFW organizers found themselves confronted by armed vigilantes brought in by many growers to intimidate the workers and keep out "the Chavez union." In addition, sheriffs' deputies patrolled many of the fields in order to protect the growers' property rights. At ranches under sweetheart Teamster contracts, Teamster goons were often in evidence to intimidate the farm workers from voting UFW. Thus even the meek ruling of the ALRB allowing the UFW access to ranch property for three hours a day to talk with the workers was frequently violated, and many Chavez supporters were thrown out of their jobs or suffered serious physical injury. So much for the capitalist "law and order" Chavez depends on!

It is a testament to the deep hatred of the farm workers for the agribusiness employers and their Teamster flunkies that even under these adverse conditions the UFW scored significant electoral successes. According to the union, 382 elections were held under the 1975 law, and the UFW won 205 of them. This represented 30,804 workers, or 68.8 percent of the total vote. But UFW literature admits that as of June 23 the union had only 46 contracts, representing little more than half the workers for which it is certified bargaining agent. And given the timidity of the Chavez leadership, even those contracts "nailed down" are nothing to boast about. For example, at Interharvest lettuce company, a major UFW showpiece, base pay for field workers is only $3.10 per hour.

Alarmed by the UFW's modest success in the representation elections, the reactionary growers put pressure on the Democratic Party-controlled state legislature, which responded by cutting off funds to the ALRB in February 1976. This effectively put the Labor Board out of the elections business and left the UFW with a list of paper successes. Giving in to grower complaints that the Board was pro-Chavez, Governor Brown appointed three new members and a general counsel. Following this concession, the legislature then restored some funding to the ALRB in an effort to head off Proposition 14.

### An Anti-Strike Bill

Having learned nothing from this disastrous experience, Chavez now proposes to repeat it with Proposition 14. This bill essentially repeals the 1975 law and re-enacts it word-for-word with a few amendments and alterations designed to make the ALRB more independent of the legislature. The main changes would require the legislature to appropriate whatever money is "necessary" to enforce the act, ensure three hours a day access for union organizers, require employers to supply lists of employees for election purposes and strengthen the ALRB's power to punish "unfair labor practices" by allowing it to assess treble damages.

The new ALRB could not be tampered with by the legislature but only by another ballot initiative in 1978. Since the Board is appointed by the governor, what this means is that Chavez has given up on his Democratic Party "friends of labor" in the legislature by banking everything on Democrat "friend of labor" Governor Brown! Entrusting the farm workers' fate to such a board is a dangerous step which must be opposed by militant unionists. Strengthening the ALRB's powers to punish "unfair labor practices" can obviously cut both ways against militant unionism as well as the most blatant grower violence.

A recent ALRB action is indicative of the potential dangers involved: at the V.B. Zimnovich ranch near Richgrove, the state Agricultural Labor Board *revoked* certification won by the Teamsters in representation elections because of alleged "escalating violence" *against scabs* in a strike which started there in August (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 2 September). Such arguments could be used against the UFW as well, to smash any strike.

Historically, government labor boards to "certify" union representation elections have been intended and used to defuse militant class struggles by channeling them into a maze of bureaucratic regulations, with the bourgeois state standing as supreme arbitrator. The anti-strike intentions of the 1975 Agricultural Labor Relations Act, as well as of Proposition 14, are quite explicit in several sections. For example, section 1154 defines a series of "unfair labor practices" by *unions*, including any attempt to "restrain or coerce" for the purpose of promoting secondary strikes and boycotts. Also outlawed are strikes for union recognition "if another labor organization has been certified as the representative." In other words, if the Teamsters steal an election through intimidation, conniving with the growers, buying off ALRB officials or any other means, the UFW's only recourse is through the courts!

### The Wagner Act

The California Agricultural Labor Relations Act is not, after all, a new issue. The most immediate parallel to the ALRB is, of course, the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB), created by the Wagner Act in 1935. Indeed, UFW literature promotes the California Board as a logical extension of the Wagner Act, from which farm workers were excluded (as they have been from all other major federal labor legislation, including minimum wage laws). Actually, on paper the Wagner Act sounded much better than the California law, since the former did not include a list of "unfair labor practices" by unions and at least contained a clause stating: "Nothing in this Act shall be construed so as to interfere with or impede or diminish in any way the right to strike...."

In its detailed provisions, the Wagner Act did in fact curtail the right to strike, and more generally it attacked the independence of the unions. Its purpose was to impose state ajudication of labor disputes in order to get the workers to rely on the "neutral" government instead of engaging in "disruptive" actions like strikes. Thus the act created a Labor Board, appointed by the president, which would decide on "unfair labor practices" and whose decisions could be overturned only by federal courts. The law also stated:

> "Sec. 9 (a) Representatives designated or selected for the purposes of collective bargaining by the majority of the employees in a unit appropriate for such purposes, shall be the exclusive representatives of all the employees in such unit for the purposes of collective bargaining in respect to rates of pay, wages, hours of employment or other conditions of employment

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WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

No. 129 15 October 1976

# No to the Union of the Left– For A General Strike to Smash Giscard's Austerity Program!

# One-Day General Strike in France

AP

**Part of the massive march in Paris last Thursday marking one-day general strike against projected austerity measures.**

## 500,000 March in Paris

OCTOBER 11—In the most massive demonstrations since May-June 1968, the French working class took to the streets of all the major cities on October 7 to protest the projected austerity measures of Prime Minister Raymond Barre.

The call for a general strike issued by three major trade-union federations and two affiliated student federations, with the backing of the Communist and Socialist parties, was heeded by more than six million strikers nationwide. Over 200 demonstrations took place across the country, the largest being in Paris where an estimated 500,000 protesters were reported.

The October 7 one-day general strike considerably surpassed the last major working-class political strike mobilization in December 1973, which came in the wake of electoral gains by the popular-front Union of the Left coalition earlier that year. The present strike was a calculated show of strength by the left in preparation for the 1978 legislative elections, as President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing's "presidential majority" has rapidly eroded.

Although the Gaullists still formally support the government, tensions between Giscard's Independent Republicans, the closely allied Center and the Gaullist UDR headed by Jacques Chirac have been severely strained in recent months, coming to a head in Chirac's resignation from the government in late August. Giscard wanted to place his supporters on campaign war footing by launching a stringent "anti-inflation" drive and reforming the antiquated French tax system.

Thursday's massive work stoppage was prompted by the announcement of the Giscard/Barre austerity measures which attempt to place the burden for the economic contraction upon the working class by driving down real wages. Faced with an inflation rate of 11-13 percent, over one million unemployed and a 2-percent decline in national income, the Barre plan seeks to effect a significant lowering of living standards through increases in sales taxes, raising the prices on controlled items (milk, bread, gasoline), lowering social security benefits and the imposition of a 6.5-percent wage increase "restraint."

### "Union, Action, Common Program"

The huge turnout Thursday reflected the heavy mobilization by the Communist Party-led CGT federation, the social-democratic CFDT and the national teachers union federation (FEN), as well as the militant determination of the French proletariat to defend its standard of living against the onslaught of government attacks and inflation.

During the course of the day, domestic transportation was cut by up to two-thirds, there were no newspapers published, mail went undelivered and garbage uncollected. Mass transit in industrial cities such as Lille and Marseilles was paralyzed, and industrial production was significantly curtailed as strike organizers estimated the action to have been 80-percent effective.

But despite the size of the demonstration and wide spread of the work stoppages, the most notable feature of the general strike was the tight grip with which the pro-Union of the Left forces regimented the processions. Their aim was to reduce the impact of the protest to that of a mass demonstration in support of the popular front. Thus the CGT contingents marched under the slogan of "Union, Action, Common Program."

Bringing up the rear of the march was the ostensibly Trotskyist Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR), which characteristically acted as a left cover to the popular front, limiting itself to chants for dissolving the National Assembly, "Giscard out," and some economic demands, most prominently, "For a 40-hour week."

The bureaucrats called for a general strike at this time in part to cool off the widespread working-class militancy which threatens to burst the Union of the Left straitjacket. Last spring the CGT tops were unable to stop repeated strike actions on the railroads. The rail union officials hoped the ranks' anger over deteriorating working conditions would eventually dissipate or be sidetracked into the usual series of futile revolving strikes. Instead they were finally forced to call a one-day general strike on the railroads.

Similarly, the explosive student strikes against projected educational cutbacks this spring (see "Mass Student Strikes Sweep France," *Young Spartacus*, June 1976) led to a nationwide campus shutdown and street confrontations with the police which went beyond the control of the CP's UNEF (ex-Renouveau) student group. Soon the bourgeois press was decrying the loss of influence by the "respectable communists."

Whereas the December 1973 general strike was a response to workers' struggles, this time the bureaucrats' call for a nationwide political strike was aimed at defusing in advance the expected militant worker and student opposition to the Barre plan.

### Facing 1978

More importantly, however, the strike provided the Union of the Left an opportunity to embarrass the government and gain credibility with the working class through a show of militancy, in preparation for the 1978 legislative vote. Last spring the Communist / Socialist / Left Radical popular front scored major electoral successes, winning 53 percent of the vote in cantonal elections. The popularity polls have recently shown Giscard's strength to be significantly waning.

Furthermore, the center-right "presidential majority" has begun to come apart. Giscard's present majority in the National Assembly rests above all upon grudging support from the 173 Gaullist deputies, rather than his own Independent Republicans and the Center, which together have only 120 out of the Assembly's 490 seats.

The strife came to a head last spring as the Gaullists concentrated their opposition to Giscard's mini-reforms in a massive assault upon a government bill introducing the capital-gains tax for the first time in French history. The law was finally passed under heavy pressure from the president, but not before the rebellious Gaullists had watered down the measure by tacking on some 600 exemptions and loopholes.

The showdown came on August 25 when Gaullist leader Jacques Chirac resigned as prime minister. Chirac has since launched a demagogic and aggressive campaign against Giscard's "rudderless" leadership.

Chirac's attempts to revitalize the Gaullist movement and expand its traditional electoral clientele is only one aspect of the pervasive jockeying for participation as the parliamentary

*continued on page 8*

**How Maoists Justify Alliance with Pentagon**

## The Myth of "Browderite Revisionism"..... 6

**The Truth About Stalin and FDR**

# OCI Goon Attack Against Vargaites

On October 1, a well-prepared goon squad of the French Organisation Communiste Internationaliste (OCI), led by Charles Berg of the OCI Central Committee, viciously attacked members of the French Vargaite group, the Ligue Ouvrière Révolutionnaire (LOR). The victims of this thug attack had been attempting to distribute a leaflet and sell their press in front of a large public OCI meeting at the Mutualité meeting hall in Paris.

The Ligue Trotskyste de France (LTF), sympathizing section of the international Spartacist tendency, sharply condemned the attack in a letter to the OCI, which states:

> "The attack seemed premeditated: one group of marshals hurried those who had come to attend the meeting into the hall while another group set upon the LOR members with unusual brutality."

*Rouge* (4 October), newspaper of the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR), printed a condemnation of the OCI attack along with a photo of an LOR militant who had several teeth knocked out during the assault.

Gérard Filoche, a leading member of the LCR, stated that he had witnessed the attack and would be willing to testify concerning it before the Commission of Inquiry investigating OCI charges against the Vargaites and the OCI's use of violence against other organizations. A member of another French group was also attacked when he cried out for "workers democracy" and attempted to step between the OCI and the Vargaites. In addition, Comrade Lafitte of the LTF was present and interposed himself to demand, unsuccessfully, that Berg call off his goons.

The OCI has attempted to justify this wanton attack—identical to others in the past—on the grounds that the dubious Michel Varga is/was an agent of the CIA and/or KGB, and that the Vargaite groups are "cops." Had the OCI produced conclusive proof of its charges, its unprovoked attacks on the Vargaites would only be singularly stupid under the circumstances. Up to now, however, two and a half years after the OCI's irresponsible presentation of its original charges, it has failed to produce any further "evidence" against Varga. In the absence of definitive proofs, the OCI's repeated attacks on the Vargaites amount to unadorned thuggery.

The international Spartacist tendency defends the principle of workers democracy and resolutely opposes gangster attacks within the left and workers movement. The fact that the OCI claims to be a Trotskyist organization only renders its perennial practice of Stalin-style gangsterism and physical violence against political opponents even more despicable.

## Defend SYL, YSA, YWLL, RSB!

# Stop Young Republican Legal Harassment Against Madison Left!

MADISON, October 10—The Dane County (Wisconsin) district attorney is currently investigating the Spartacus Youth League (SYL), Young Socialist Alliance (YSA), Revolutionary Student Brigade (RSB) and Young Workers Liberation League (YWLL) student organizations at the University of Wisconsin. The investigation is in response to a complaint filed September 30 by local right-winger Leonard Kachinski alleging that these groups are violating Wisconsin election campaign laws. Kachinski is treasurer of the College Republicans and head of Students for Ford on the University of Wisconsin campus.

According to Professor David Adamny, a political science professor here who is also a member of the State Elections Board, the law requires the registration of any group which collects or spends $25 a year for political activities—defined in this instance as attempting to influence an election, either directly or indirectly. Even Kachinski has cynically stated that while he supports the law he feels "it restricts freedom of association too much."

The campaign laws specify a maximum criminal penalty of three years imprisonment and a $1,000 fine for violations. The *Daily Cardinal*, the campus newspaper, first made Kachinski's charges public in a front-page article on Friday, October 1. He was quoted in the *Cardinal* as saying that he singled out these four groups for attack because they are the most active distributors of "widespread propaganda."

The Spartacus Youth League immediately responded to this anti-communist attack by initiating a united-front defense effort on behalf of all groups named in the charges. The RSB and YWLL have so far refused to participate in a united defense both for sectarian reasons and on the false assumption that the best way to defeat right-wing attacks is to ignore them. The SYL and the YSA have been working closely together on campus to organize a defense of democratic rights against this attempted witchhunt.

In a joint statement issued to the press last week the two groups stated:

> "Kachinski's and the District Attorney's investigation are an attack on the democratic rights of all left groups in Madison and represent an attempt to launch an anti-communist witchhunt. 'Investigations' and laws requiring the 'registration' of left-wing groups have long been used in McCarthyite endeavors to suppress, harass and intimidate those opposed to the social injustices inherent within the capitalist system. Such attacks inevitably have as their goal the suppression of political freedom and social struggle in general."

The YSA and SYL have called an on-campus press conference and public meeting for this Thursday at which representatives of all four groups have been invited to speak. Wide support has already been won for the struggle against this attack on democratic rights. A statement condemning the investigation and demanding that it be dropped is being circulated; the American Civil Liberties Union has been approached for assistance. A broad-based defense must be immediately initiated around the slogans: Drop the Investigations! Abolish the reactionary Registration Law! Stop the McCarthyite Harassment!

## Mao Corpse Gets a Crystal Box

# Down with Stalinist Necrophilia!

Of course they would display Mao's corpse in a crystal tomb. It is only the logical consequence of the Stalinist cult of the great leader, taking on its most degenerate form by embracing traditional religious idolatry of the dead body.

The millions of Russians who every year dutifully file past Lenin's cadaver in the Red Square mausoleum, and the millions of Chinese who will now do the same in the Forbidden City, are engaging in a ritual not fundamentally different from Christian pilgrimages to the bone fragment of a saint. The Russian Orthodox church embalmed its "saints" and placed them in open coffins to demonstrate to the backward peasants their "incorruptibility." The Bolsheviks made a special point of ridiculing this "proof" of the power of religion.

Engels, who was particularly sensitive on the need to combat religious attitudes among the working masses, instructed that his dead body be cremated and the ashes thrown into the North Sea. Lenin in the last years of his life became increasingly troubled about worship of his person, and likewise wanted his corpse cremated. But the Stalin/Zinoviev bloc disregarded these wishes in order to develop and exploit a cult of Lenin to secure its own positions.

While displaying his body and parading as Lenin's presumed heirs, the usurpers gutted his revolutionary teachings and suppressed Lenin's political testament (which called for the ouster of Stalin). The true Leninists—the Left Opposition led by Trotsky—were purged and later murdered by the Stalinist bureaucracy.

Marxists do not worship Lenin's mummified flesh in the Moscow mausoleum but rather seek to continue his revolutionary work of three decades, which lives in his collected writings and speeches. His revolutionary intransigence has inspired proletarian fighters throughout the world, despite the epigones' fundamental distortion of his program and their misuse of his name in the service of opportunism or outright counterrevolution. And Lenin's greatest achievement—the overthrow of capitalism in Russia and the creation of the first workers state in history—continues to exist, although bureaucratically degenerated under Stalinist rule.

When the victorious Soviet proletariat overthrows Stalin's heirs, one of its first symbolic acts will be to end the barbaric ritual display of Lenin's corpse.

As for Mao, given the labyrinthian intrigues in Peking (his wife, Chiang Ching, has reportedly been arrested as a "capitalist roader"), idolizers of the "great helmsman" might recall the fate of Stalin's corpse: first revered alongside Lenin's body in the mausoleum, it was disposed of in 1956 when the bloody dictator's crimes could no longer be covered up.

In any case, we can be confident that when the workers storm the Heavenly Palace to oust the bureaucratic rulers of the Chinese deformed workers state, they will hasten to bury Mao.

Economist

### CORRECTION

In our last issue (*WV* No. 128, 8 October 1976) we reported that overtime is voluntary in the agricultural implements section of the UAW. While this is true of Caterpillar and International Harvester, under the 1973 contract at John Deere overtime is compulsory up to three Saturdays per month. The same article incorrectly reports that the UAW is demanding a "39-1/2 for 40" time bank plan in Ag. Imp.; actually this plan is already in operation in the farm equipment section.


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## As Union Flounders

# NMU Officials Up Dues, Vote Selves 50 Percent Raise

### Stop West Coast Raiding!

### No to Organizing Imperialist Army!

The National Maritime Union (NMU) convention held last week at the Biltmore Hotel in New York City was a totally lackluster, stage-managed affair. Although the NMU is beset by an acute shortage of jobs and is facing a major federal grand jury investigation of its leadership and the prospect of renewed raiding among the already strife-ridden maritime unions, discussion at the meeting was perfunctory.

WV Photo

**Militant-Solidarity Caucus member Gene Herson talks with NMU official.**

Even a mammoth 50 percent increase in membership dues—an issue guaranteed to provoke controversy if there were anything resembling full and free membership discussion—elicited hardly any opposition. Neither did the equally huge raises which the top officers graciously "accepted."

The convention reaffirmed the union's past policies of "creating" jobs by stealing them from other seamen. Among the planks in this program are, firstly, support for protectionist legislation under which foreign seamen who currently operate ships carrying much of U.S. commerce would be replaced by American seamen. One convention resolution called for a minimum of 50 percent of all oil imports to be carried on U.S.-flag tankers.

Significantly, the report of NMU president Shannon Wall said not a word about the key task of organizing foreign-flag seamen, which is the real solution to "runaway shipping." Even the generally irrelevant International Transport Federation (to which the NMU belongs) is currently going through the motions of an organizing drive aimed at "flag of convenience" shipping, but Wall & Co. can't be bothered.

Another ominous development was the preparation for another wave of union raiding on the West Coast. The two labor speakers invited to the convention were Ed Turner, president of the Marine Cooks and Stewards (MCS), and Bill Chester, vice president of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen'sUnion (ILWU). A year ago the MCS and ILWU lined up with the NMU in a raid directed at two other West Coast maritime unions: the Sailors Union of the Pacific (SUP) and the Marine Firemen, Oilers and Watertenders (MFOW).

The imminent crewing-up of several new ships for the Pacific coastal trade, as well as the job-starved ILWU's appetite for a number of container maintenance jobs currently under contract to the SUP, could well spur another outbreak of inter-union jurisdictional disputes. As if to whet the delegates' appetites, Shannon Wall made a special point of once again floating the perennial rumor that the "Big U" (the liner *United States*) would be taken out of mothballs, to be put on a Los Angeles-Hawaii run.

At one time the NMU and ILWU, both heavily influenced by the Stalinist Communist Party (CP), worked in tandem. However, when the anti-"red" purges began in the NMU in the 1940's, the two unions parted ways. Chester noted in his speech that this marked the first time that a representative of the ILWU had addressed an NMU convention in 30 years.

Another move in the inter-union maneuvering was the adoption of a constitutional amendment, motivated by the need for greater "flexibility," which would enable the NMU to affiliate with any labor organization "now in existence." This opens the way for an NMU link-up with the ILWU, which according to Chester is seeking re-entry into the AFL-CIO.

While previously the NMU leaders had sought merger with the other large seamen's union, the Seafarers International Union (SIU), this perspective was at least temporarily scotched with the onset of jurisdictional warfare in 1975 between the NMU and the SIU-affiliated SUP/MFOW. In recent months the Wall regime has turned closer to the ILWU and MCS, even hinting at the possibility of affiliation with them.

Union militants would welcome the building of genuine maritime labor unity which could undercut the cannibalistic jurisdictional warfare on the waterfront. In particular, the cooperation of seamen and longshoremen has historically been key to the achievement of major gains such as the union hiring hall and the eight-hour day.

However, an NMU/MCS/ILWU merger, if constructed for the purpose of carrying out a more effective raid on the SIU/SUP/MFOW, would not be a step forward. It would only lead to further undercutting of union wages and conditions, with rival blocs offering successively more rotten sweetheart deals to the companies in order to secure contracts and jobs.

Another constitutional amendment was passed delineating a line of succession for national officers in case they were removed from office by illness or some other "emergency." This was clearly a reference to the prospect of prison terms for the national officers (including retired president Joe Curran) depending on the outcome of the federal grand jury investigation of corruption in the NMU.

**NMU convention in New York two weeks ago.** WV Photo

The amendment specified that when such officials were again able to resume their responsibilities, they would be able to reclaim their union posts. The NMU bureaucrats would not like to suffer the fate of a Jimmy Hoffa, whose office was usurped by his former deputy while he spent time in jail! And fearing that their time in office may indeed be short, the union tops rammed through another pay hike for themselves: a 50 percent raise for all national officers except Wall, who modestly took a 60 percent hike, up to $85,000 a year.

Meanwhile, the officials also took precautions against oppositionists within the union. A new constitutional provision increased the financial liability of members who unsuccessfully bring union officials up on charges. Another amendment spelled out a series of offenses against the union. These include such items as "disorderly conduct in union meetings." Another offense, worded broadly as "violation of national shipping rules, constitution or policies of the union," carries expulsion from the union as the maximum penalty. Such provisions obviously reflect the union bureaucrats' desperate fear of any and all forms of opposition.

The bureaucracy also orchestrated the exclusion of the one delegate elected on a class-struggle program: Eugene Herson, a member of the NMU Militant-Solidarity Caucus (M-SC). Herson was rejected by the credentials and appeals committees (whose members are appointed) on the grounds that his shipping assignment ended more than 30 days prior to the convention.

A leaflet issued by the M-SC pointed out that the union leadership had issued a "clarification" of the 30-day constitutional rule in September (near the end of the election period), exempting dozens of delegates from the requirements of this provision but leaving just enough ambiguity to allow the bureaucracy to bump troublesome oppositionists. Even though he was re-elected at a second shipboard union meeting (after his first election was rejected by an NMU official on a technicality), and again at a *third* union meeting after he had gotten off the ship, Herson was the only elected delegate out of approximately 400 who was not seated!

### Organize the Army?

With the loss of jobs to automation and foreign-flag vessels, the NMU's deep-sea membership has shrunk rapidly. In order to recoup the loss of its dues base, the union bureaucracy has organized thousands of shoreside workers in recent years. For the most part, these workers are drawn from atomized and more backward, less union-conscious layers. A major target of NMU organizing, for example, has been the civilian employees of concessions and government departments on military bases—a particularly docile pool of labor.

WV Photo

**NMU president Shannon Wall, Bill Chastar of the ILWU and NMU secretary-treasurer Mel Barisic at NMU convention October 4.**

The latest organizing perspective for the NMU is the U.S. armed forces themselves! It is not accidental that the social-patriotic NMU officials are interested in organizing military personnel at a time when the draft has been ended

*continued on page 10*

## Frenzied PBA Mob Threatens to Storm Jailhouse

# NYC Cop Rioters Get Kid-Glove Treatment

OCTOBER 11 "Scab!" "Don't sell us out!" "Strike, Strike!" "March to City Hall!" "Storm the Barricades!" The shouts of militant workers? No. These were the outbursts of the most immediate and dangerous enemies of the working people: the cops, armed and organized and running wild in the streets of New York City.

That these thugs are frequently seen as the most militant sector of the city labor force is a situation fraught with danger. Cops are the hired gunmen of the capitalist state, used to maintain bourgeois "law and order"—to "escort" scabs through picket lines, terrorize the ghetto and generally hold "the thin blue line" in defense of the social order based on private property. It is a sad and ominous commentary on the effect of years of class-collaborationist leadership in the city's municipal unions that many unionists mistakenly see these professional strikebreakers as fellow workers.

After another week of cops marauding in defiance of civilian authority, even the *New York Times* (9 October) has written of the "chilling spectacle," warning that "Society is threatened when unruly mobs of off-duty policemen grapple in the streets with their uniformed superiors." The Patrolmen's Benevolent Association (PBA) continues to mass, armed and frenzied—stopping traffic and starting brawls, menacing the entire population in what is claimed to be a "labor dispute" over wages and time off.

This week the cops' top brass—pressured by blistering attacks from the press for their tacit approval of the PBA's flagrant illegalities—made their first timid arrests of four cops. In reply more than 1,000 off-duty policemen marched on the station house at 51st and Lexington where the arrested cops were taken. There they confronted a phalanx of uniformed police four deep and accused the arresting officers of "police brutality"! The apparent confrontation of cop vs. cop was exposed at shift change, when many of the uniformed cops became the protestors while the protesting cops dressed up in their uniforms to "protect" the station house.

In this dangerous game one thing is clear: the cops are united in this show of force aimed at protecting their special privileges. The sergeants, who are not PBA members, will stand with the rest of the cops in any serious confrontation with the civilian city government, just as they stand against labor, blacks and the left.

To stress the cops' defiance of elected city government, PBA president Douglas Weaving sent a telegram to Mayor Beame threatening a police strike if the arrested cops were not released (*New York Post*, 7 October). In the telegram Weaving described himself as a "labor leader." However, such an action would not be a workers' strike, but rather an anti-labor mobilization aimed at accelerating the cops' bonapartist course. The interests of labor lie in the smashing of such a "strike"; the unions must give no aid or comfort to the cop mobilization.

The bourgeoisie advertises the social role of the police as "preventing crime." Hence the capitalist ideologues are the most scandalized by the present cop rampage. The *New York Times* (9 October) rails against these "law enforcers [who] put themselves above the law."

But this is just routine. The cops already make themselves judge and executioner on the streets of the ghetto. Their racist dragnets and capricious brutality often provoke the uprisings which they put down murderously. These shock troops of racist "justice" are justly hated in the ghettos.

In fact the cops are the most consistent purveyors of crime on the streets. If poverty and social disorder are the sources of crime in the capitalists' rotting society, the cops are the vultures who feed off the fetid corpse. It is they who are the biggest traffickers in the drug trade—the most immediate cause of violent street crime—and who cash in on the payoffs from the protection racket, the numbers "game," prostitution and gambling.

The Knapp Commission demonstrated that an "honest cop" was a virtually non-existent species. Serpicos willing to spill the beans on their cohorts were hard to find, and it was shown to be a dangerous occupation to be off the payoff list in this criminal partnership between the cops and organized crime.

### Cops and City Labor

Every worker in New York City ought to be nauseated by the PBA's mimicking of the terminology of the labor movement. Every worker who understands that the cops' job is to break strikes and heads must view this mobilization with alarm. For if the cops win in this brazen display of organized intimidation it will only increase their confidence and bonapartist appetites.

The perilous illusion that cops are workers is fostered mainly by the treacherous labor bureaucracy. It is not only what it does—like advertising the cops as workers' "brothers," and seeking to set wages for firemen and sanitation workers at a fixed percentage of police salaries—which feeds this suicidal delusion. In a more important way, it is what the labor bureaucrats do not do—i.e., lead militant struggles—which most helps the cops to pass themselves off as trade unionists.

The hospital workers who were recently beaten up on their picket lines by these anti-labor goons have the evidence of the cops' real social role which all the labor skates' preachments cannot negate. But workers should not need to feel the clubs raining down blows on their heads to know the truth about cops. Had the city workers been engaged in militant struggles over the past two years' cutbacks in wages, conditions and job security—in other words, if they had had a class-struggle leadership—it would be impossible for the police to now pass themselves off as workers; the cops would be too busy trying to break the city workers' strikes and unions.

The union bureaucracy is also responsible for the cop mobilization in another way—one which poses a more far-reaching threat to working people than the cops' lawless rampages. The union misleaders' collaboration with the city in its offensive against the working class of New York City has created a vacuum of leadership which could facilitate many backward workers in turning toward the cops as leaders against the civilian city government which attacks their living standards. It is easy to imagine what such a mobilization of cops would mean in the context of a racially polarized city. The cops' favorite slogan, "Beame's a shrimp—[Police Commissioner] Codd's a fish," reflects an appetite to place themselves at the head of a fight against the city government.

New York Times

**Off-duty cops confront on-duty police brass October 7 in Times Square.**

Engel/New York Post

**Cops demonstrating outside New York Times office September 28.**

The delusion that cops are workers will disarm the labor movement not only against cop strike-breaking but particularly against bonapartist mobilizations against the "shrimp" in City Hall and simultaneously against the gutless unions. Such a potential future mobilization will be aimed at busting the unions and inaugurating race war against blacks.

The fake-lefts are not far behind the labor bureaucrats in peddling the lie that cops are workers. In the 1971 New York City cop "strike," the Communist Party gave the cops their blessing as part of the workers movement. But the most shameless example of pro-cop treachery came from the Workers League (WL), whose *Bulletin* (25 January 1971) featured a photograph of what the caption termed "dissident rank and file policemen raise clenched fist salute in protest against PBA sellout"—alongside the headline, "New York Labor Explodes."

The WL compared the cop "rank and file" with other "opposition groups" and saw the trigger-happy hoodlums as the leaders of a citywide labor struggle: "Objectively this action [the cop strike] supported by transit and housing authority police has triggered a whole fight on the part of the city labor movement against the attacks on wages, jobs and working conditions."

But the Spartacist League widely publicized the WL's scandalous pro-cop position on the 1971 cop "strike," causing these "dialecticians" no little trouble explaining this line to angry blacks and youth, and so today the *Bulletin* (1 October) denounces the cops as "front-line shock troops against the labor movement." Needless to say these political bandits have nothing to say about their 1971 line which painted cops as the vanguard of labor.

In 1917, during a revolutionary uprising in which even a section of the oppressive Cossacks of the Russian army was won to the workers' side or to neutrality, the police—nurtured on years of class war against the working masses—remained faithful to the tsar. Trotsky observed how the masses reacted during the February revolution:

> "Toward the police the crowd showed ferocious hatred. They routed the mounted police with whistles, stones, and pieces of ice. In a totally different way the workers approached the soldiers....
>
> "The police are fierce, implacable, hated and hating foes. To win them over is out of the question."
>
> —L. Trotsky, *History of the Russian Revolution*

That the sellout labor bureaucracy promotes the brutal, racist New York City cops as union "brothers" further incriminates them as the henchmen of the capitalists within the labor movement, the corruptors of the most elementary principles of trade-union tradition. Along with the "informational picket line," "authorized" scabbing, suing the unions in the bosses' courts, the people who gave you a prostrate union movement now offer you the "worker-cop."

But class-struggle militants will not stand for this betrayal and its potentially suicidal consequences. We look forward to the day when the working class, led by its vanguard party to victorious proletarian revolution, will wipe away the "thin blue line" that so zealously protects the most reactionary interests of the bourgeois order. Disarm the trigger-happy thugs who are now running wild on the streets of New York City! Cops out of the unions! ■

*On the 20th Anniversary of the 1956 Hungarian Workers' Revolt:*

**The First Workers Revolution Against Stalinism**

*Speaker:* Charles O'Brien
Editor of *Young Spartacus*

Saturday, October 23—7:30 p.m.
NYC Place to be announced
For information call: 925-2426

# Extradite Artuković, Trifa and All Nazi War Criminals!

In recent weeks the U.S. government has indicated that it has been seriously investigating 91 suspected Nazi war criminals and was initiating deportation proceedings against about 14 of them. If actually carried out, this would represent a sharp reversal of policy. The U.S. has long refused demands by the Soviet Union and East European governments for extradition of these fascist cutthroats.

In one case, the Justice Department has gone to court in Detroit seeking to revoke the citizenship of Bishop Valerian Trifa of the Rumanian Orthodox Episcopate of America. Trifa is charged with falsely denying his role in instigating a pogrom against Bucharest's Jewish ghetto in 1941. Between 6,000 and 10,000 Jews were slaughtered by the fascist Iron Guard of which Trifa was then a student leader.

Trifa did not simply escape government notice in the past. He has been actively sheltered by the American ruling class. Over 20 years ago, his crimes were exposed in a Rumanian-language Communist newspaper, *Romanul-American*. But this anti-Semitic swine was valuable in whipping up anti-Communism among workers of East European origin and aiding McCarthyite purges in Detroit auto plants. In recognition of his services, Trifa was invited to make the opening prayer before Congress in May 1955.

In 1974 a number of Jewish organizations submitted a 500-page report on Trifa's sordid history to the U.S. Immigration Service. His response was to charge a "Communist plot of the government in Romania to seize control of the properties of the Romanian church in the U.S." (*Daily World*, 5 September 1974).

The Trifa case is similar to that of Andrija Artuković, founder of the Croatian Ustashi's Gestapo secret police (see "U.S. Harbors Ustashi Death Camp Butcher," *WV* No. 105, 15 April 1976). In 1959 the Immigration commissioner rejected extradition to Yugoslavia on the grounds that the request was "political in nature." Now, according to the *New York Times* (3 October) the State Department has "shown signs" of dropping its long-standing opposition to extradition of Artuković.

The presence of former Nazi executioners in the U.S. has been the subject of increasing protest and exposure since the 1973 extradition of Hermine Braunsteiner Ryan to West Germany to stand trial for crimes committed while she was a member of Hitler's SS. This obscure Queens housewife was revealed to have been the supervisor of the infamous Ravensbruck concentration camp in 1941-42 and supervising warden at the Majdanek extermination camp in Poland during 1943.

A few weeks after her extradition, the Immigration Service reported that another 37 suspects were under investigation. However, in contrast to the swift deportations of many *hundreds of thousands* of innocent immigrant workers every year, the government moved at a snail's pace in dealing with the former overseers of Hitler's gas chambers and crematoria. In December 1974 Vincent Schiano, chief trial lawyer of the Immigration Service, resigned protesting that his superiors were thwarting further prosecutions in order to protect certain important ex-Nazis.

One of them was Dr. Hubertus Strughold, retired chief scientist of the aerospace medical division at Brooks Air Force Base in San Antonio. The government quickly clamped a lid on the case, calling off the investigation despite strong evidence linking Strughold to medical experiments on helpless inmates in Dachau. At that time, the so-called "father of space medicine" gathered his data through fiendish tests in which human guinea pigs were subjected to radical temperature and air pressure changes, dying in agony while their natural functions were closely monitored. Later the corpses were dissected.

UPI

**Andrija Artuković, (above) now living in the U.S., (below) as head of Ustashi stormtroopers in Nazi-occupied Croatia.**

When the Immigration commissioner announced in 1974 that "We consider the matter closed," representative Elizabeth Holtzman described the case as "strange" and suggested involvement by the CIA (*New York Times*, 23 November 1974). Creatures like Strughold, Artuković and Trifa have long been sheltered by the U.S. government, in part because some have been of direct use to the imperialists and also because many of the countries demanding their extradition are "Communist" states. In its boundless hypocrisy, the bourgeoisie rails against so-called "red terror" in the deformed workers states while drawing Nazi butchers to its breast and expelling foreign-born workers.

Washington has also taken its cue from the war crimes "investigations" carried out by West Germany. The investigation and prosecution of former SS and Gestapo killers in the Federal Republic have been stalled for years. Obviously fearful of revealing the skeletons in their own closets, successive Bonn governments have shown little

*continued on page 11*

# Sadlowski Says He'll Dump No-Strike Deal...in 1980

CLEVELAND Ed Sadlowski, candidate for president of the United Steelworkers of America (USWA), said at a campaign support meeting here October 3 that he will support peanut boss Democrat Jimmy Carter in next month's U.S. elections. Moreover, Sadlowski admitted he would, if elected, negotiate the 1977 basic steel contract within the confines of incumbent USWA president I.W. Abel's no-strike "Experimental Negotiating Agreement" (ENA).

The meeting on Cleveland's near Southeast Side drew about 100 people, including supporters of the Communist Party, Socialist Workers Party (SWP), International Socialists, Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP), Youth Against War and Fascism and steel workers sympathetic to their respective views. Once again Sadlowski demonstrated that his vague four-point program job security, union democracy, health and safety, and "leadership" is elastic enough to suit virtually any taste.

The candidate invoked the traditions of the 1930's and called for a struggle against racism. He came out for busing, against import quotas, for 30 hours' work at 40 hours' pay and threw in a little Wohbly-style rhetoric about "one big union" of all the workers. He even stated opposition to the anti-red clause in the USWA constitution. The fake-lefts in the audience nodded in appreciation

But today's slick performance for the benefit of would-be revolutionaries and union militants was a far cry from Sadlowski's belly-crawling at last month's Steelworkers convention. There the candidate and his supporters shelved the left posturing entirely, not even publishing a platform around which to rally their delegates. When faced with virulent red-baiting by Abel and his flunkies, Sadlowski simply caved in, actually supporting a right-wing motion for special union trials to "get the commies" (on the grounds that this would let him clear his name of slanders that he is a red).

Even in the course of Sunday's performance, Sadlowski did some footwork fancy enough to do Jimmy Carter proud. Three weeks ago he had equivocated on the issue of the ENA, advocating a membership vote "to see whether they want to continue it" (*Pittsburgh Press*, 12 September), but here he proclaimed that ENA was "incompatible with my philosophy of trade unionism." Then, when pinned down by a question about how, concretely, he would handle the upcoming contract, Sadlowski apologetically answered that there is no legal basis to scrap the hated no-strike deal before 1980: "So in 1977, I'm not going to kid you, [the contract] will be negotiated under the guise of ENA."

Sadlowski was more consistent, if no less opportunist, on the question of the political independence of the labor movement. He is consistently against it. When pressed to say whom he was backing in November, "progressive" Sadlowski said that although Carter is "no Messiah for the working class," he preferred the open-shop Democrat to Gerald Ford.

Just as he uses "lesser evil" liberal politics to justify tying the unions to the capitalist parties, this phony militant

WV Photo

**Ed Sadlowski**

advocates direct government intervention into the labor movement in the name of "union democracy." Sadlowski owes his post as director of the USWA's District 31 (Chicago-Gary region) to a Labor Department-supervised election in 1974. He is even hand-trusted by Joseph Rauh, the same liberal lawyer who spearheaded Arnold Miller's suit in the United Mine Workers. At the campaign meeting here Sadlowski defended his position that rather than mobilizing the USWA ranks to stop the Abel machine's notorious ballot-stuffing practices, "Someone other than steel workers [should] conduct elections."

Although virtually the entire audience swallowed this sub-reformist claptrap without so much as a blink, two USWA members from Local 1014 (Lorain, Ohio) did challenge the ambitious bureaucrat-on-the-make on key issues of the class struggle in steel. These militants distributed a leaflet entitled "Why Ed Sadlowski Is No Alternative." Several Sadlowski backers, including one who sympathizes with the views of the SWP and a supporter of "Steelworker" (a newsletter backed by the RCP), asked that the leaflet not be distributed before the meeting. The two union brothers refused and, standing on the basis of workers democracy, continued to distribute their leaflet.

The leaflet itself cut through Sadlowski's militant verbiage, pointing out that his "union democracy" campaign is little more than a carbon copy of the campaign against "tuxedo unionism" waged by Abel in 1965 against then-incumbent David McDonald. It noted how Sadlowski does nothing to fight massive layoffs in his own District 31 bailiwick. The leaflet concluded with a statement of no confidence in Sadlowski and urged steel workers to build an opposition movement against both the Abels and Sadlowskis, to crystallize a class-struggle leadership in the USWA. This fighting impulse puts to shame the grovelling opportunism of the various left groups and their trade-union supporters who have bopped on the Sadlowski bandwagon. ■

## How Maoists Justify Alliance with Pentagon

# The Myth of "Browderite Revisionism"

## The Truth About Stalin and FDR

In recent years, as we have pointed out on numerous occasions, international Maoism has laid the ideological basis for an open, full-scale alliance with U.S. imperialism against the Soviet degenerated workers state. By labeling the USSR as an aggressive, expansionist "social-fascist" power, the Maoists deliberately recall the Stalinist precedent of the alliance with Roosevelt's America against Nazi Germany. If anything, they go even further: a constant theme of Peking's criticisms of U.S. foreign policy is that it doesn't fully recognize the danger of Soviet "social-imperialism."

Within the U.S. Maoist movement the most forthright exponent of a "united front" with the American ruling class against the Russians is the chairman of the U.S.-China People's Friendship Association, William Hinton, who, not being the head of a supposedly working-class, communist organization, can present Peking's line like it is:

> "The whole world is facing the threat of a third world war forced by the demands of a rising new empire for hegemony. . . New Munichs are already in the making. America's traditional leaders, even when confronted by this lethal threat, will find it very difficult to unite with the wide coalition of popular forces necessary to contain the Soviet threat. . .Will American leaders choose the broad highway of united resistance, of collective security?"
>
> *Guardian*, 5 May 1976

Mike Klonsky's October League (OL) is no less loyal to Peking than Hinton. But it claims to be a revolutionary organization and has a rather different constituency than the People's Friendship Association. For the OL to embrace anti-détente militarists of the Reagan/Jackson/Moynihan stripe would be the kiss of death in recruiting radical workers, blacks and students/youth. The OL therefore has chosen to deny that Hinton speaks for China:

> "Neither the Chinese Communist Party, nor the October League, nor any Marxist-Leninist party we know today calls for 'neutralizing' the U.S. or allying with the U.S. to build a united front against the Soviet Union alone."
>
> *Call*, 2 August 1976

It is the OL, not Hinton, that is distorting Peking's line. Among the numerous recent proofs that Peking supports the hard-line anti-Soviet militarists within the American ruling class is that among those foreigners specially invited to view Mao's body was former U.S. "defense" secretary, James Schlesinger, who was fired because he regarded Kissinger as too soft on Brezhnev.

However, the OL does not reject an alliance with U.S. imperialism in principle. Klonsky & Co. are merely waiting for a liberal, "progressive" imperialist politician, like Roosevelt, who can present an anti-Soviet crusade in a more populist manner. The OL also declares that even if they do enter a "united front" with the American imperialists, they will not "liquidate the class struggle" as did the CPUSA under Earl Browder's leadership in World War II:

> "Today, the conditions for a united front against the Soviet Union which could include the U.S. imperialists do not exist. This is not to say that they will never exist in the future. But in any event, Hinton's view of such a united front, which puts the bourgeoisie in leadership and abandons communist independence, is never applicable on principles. In this sense there is an historic parallel between Hinton's emphasis on unity with big American leaders and the revisionism of Earl Browder during the Second World War.
>
> "During the war years, when a United front including the U.S. imperialists against the fascist Axis was the policy of the whole world communist movement (1941-45), Browder, as leader of the Communist Party in the U.S., liquidated the class struggle for the sake of closer 'unity' with the imperialists."
>
> *Ibid.*

The notion that the extremes of class collaboration which the CPUSA undertook during World War II were Browder's individual deviation has played an important role in the history of American Maoism. The myth of "Browderite revisionism" and particularly its converse, the myth of William Z. Foster's communist orthodoxy and militancy, is even more important for Milt Rosen's Progressive Labor Party (PLP) and Nelson Peery's Communist Labor Party (CLP), with their stronger sense of CP traditionalism, than for the New Left-derived OL.

By blaming the dissolution of the CPUSA, its open electoral support to Roosevelt in 1944 and its aggressive enforcement of the wartime no-strike pledge on Browder, the Maoists seek to preserve Stalin's reputation as an untarnished revolutionary leader. By perpetuating the fiction of Foster's opposition to these policies, groups like the OL and CLP can claim continuity from a supposedly genuinely communist CP which only went sour in 1956 when it followed Khrushchev in criticizing Stalin.

### Stalin Dissolves the Comintern

These Stalin apologists all cite the famous "Duclos" article of April 1945 denouncing Browder's "revisionism," which cited as his most serious crime transforming the Communist Party into the "non-party" Communist Political Association in May 1944. But the article does not even mention the embarrassing fact that almost a year *before* the dissolution of the CPUSA, the Comintern itself was dissolved to further the unity of the "progressive anti-Hitlerite coalition"! There is every reason to believe that the dissolution of the Comintern inspired Browder to apply the same policy on the national level.

The Roosevelt administration (which shared its atomic bomb research with the British, but not the Russians) believed it could adequately counter the purely military might of the Red Army. American ruling circles were, however, genuinely worried that the mass parties directed by the Kremlin could exploit the defeat of the Axis in Europe and the Far East, and come to power. A constant theme of wartime diplomacy was that the Soviets could not expect Washington's good will unless they stopped "subverting" other countries. This aim was concretized in the demand for dissolution of the Comintern, an organization which (falsely) claimed continuity with Lenin's "general staff of world revolution."

For example in early 1943, Elbridge Durbrow, an important State Department official specializing in East Europe, wrote in an internal memorandum that any post-war agreement with the Soviets "would have to include a very concrete and definite agreement that the activities of the Comintern would have to be liquidated" (U.S. State Department, *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1943*).

AP

**Earl Browder at Madison Square Garden Communist Party rally, 1936.**

A few months later Secretary of State Cordell Hull made the same point in a conversation with the exiled Czech leader, Eduard Beneš:

> "I then said that if Russia would definitely and formally prohibit any further activities under the direction of the Third International in the various nations of the world such as the South American nations, the United States and others, that single act alone would go further than all else to restore the most agreeable friendly relations between the people of Russia and other nations."
>
> —*Ibid.*

On 23 May 1943 Stalin obliged the U.S. State Department and announced the dissolution of the Comintern. This act was justified as a measure to strengthen the unity of the "progressive anti-Hitlerite coalition":

> "In countries of the anti-Hitlerite coalition the sacred duty of the widest masses of the people and in the first place of foremost workers, consists in aiding *by every means the military efforts of the governments of these countries*. . . .
>
> "At the same time the war of liberation of freedom-loving peoples against the Hitlerite tyranny, which has brought into movement the masses of people, *uniting them without regard to religion or party*, of the powerful anti-Hitlerite coalition has demonstrated that the general national uprising and mobilization of people for the speediest victory over the enemy can be best of all and most fruitfully carried by the vanguard of the working class movement of each separate country, working *within the framework of its own country*." [our emphasis]
>
> —*New York Times*, 24 May 1943

The American ruling class was understandably pleased. Even the more sophisticated representatives of the American government, who knew the Kremlin still kept an iron control over foreign CP's, did not regard the formal dissolution of the Comintern as a trick or empty gesture. They considered the public repudiation of the Leninist principle of an international party, at the direct behest of the U.S. government, to be an important proof of a conciliatory foreign policy. The American ambassador to the USSR at the time, Admiral William Standley, wrote in an *internal* memorandum:

> ". . . it [the dissolution of the Comintern] is a gesture toward cooperation and a mark of confidence by the Soviet government in its allies. . . . I believe that for some time the Comintern has been basically an agency of Soviet national policy rather than of world international revolution and that this policy will be furthered rather than hindered by this action."
>
> —U.S. State Department, *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1943*

### Browderism: American Popular Frontism

To call Browder's wartime pronouncements a "revision" of Marxism and Leninism is to do an injustice to Eduard Bernstein and Nikolai Bukharin. Browder did not merely seek to "revise" Marxism, claiming to adhere to some basic principles. He openly put forth anti-socialist, liberal populism. The following typical statement is from his speech to the founding convention of the Communist Political Association in May 1944:

> "The most disturbing influence against our national unity for victory is the expectation that peace between nations will be the signal for the outbreak of great class struggles within the nation. . . .
>
> "Our post-war plan is directed to achieve national unity for the realization of the perspectives laid down in Teheran.
>
> "That means, first of all, that we must find a program that will unite the democratic, progressive majority of the American people, from all classes, and that we shall not permit that majority to be split up and thus give the opportunity for the anti-Teheran forces to rise to power."
>
> *Communist*, July 1944

The basic line which Browder is defending here was common to *all* Stalinist parties throughout the world. At the level of practice, the most important aspects of Browder's wartime class collaboration was open electoral support to Roosevelt, formal dissolution of the CPUSA, and the complete suppression of class struggle and the fight for democratic rights. Furthering the war effort involved all-out support to the no-strike pledge and opposition to A. Philip Randolph's march on Washington to end Jim Crow in the army.

Neither before nor after the denunciation of "Browderite revisionism" did the international Stalinist leadership criticize the CPUSA's support to Roosevelt, to the no-strike pledge or its toleration of racism in the armed forces. The dissolution of the CP was voted unanimously (including Foster, who presided

Sovfoto

**U.S. millionaire Joseph Davies being greeted in Moscow by Stalin in 1934 after Roosevelt instituted diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union.**

over the liquidationist plenum) and had good Stalinist precedent in the liquidation of the Comintern. The later case against Browder was centered on the way he presented the line, not on basic party policy itself.

Moreover, the Kremlin fully endorsed Browder for well over a year. Browder's seminal speech on the "spirit of Teheran" was published in January 1944; the dissolution of the CPUSA was in May 1944. The famous "Duclos" article was published in April 1945. Nor can this be explained by faulty communications. As we shall see, Georgi Dimitrov, head of the dissolved Comintern, explicitly endorsed Browder's "Teheran" thesis against Foster's objections. Another member of the presidium of the liquidated Comintern, the French CP leader André Marty, then serving in De Gaulle's cabinet in colonial Algeria, wrote to Browder that his speech on Teheran was "beautiful." Throughout 1944 the CPUSA press contained much Browder-like garbage by foreign Stalinists, including one Jacques Duclos.

Moreover, everyone knew that Stalin supported Roosevelt in the 1944 elections. A bourgeois historian gives an account of the rather comic consternation in the White House that Stalin (like Browder) would openly endorse the president's candidacy:

> "Democratic sensitivity over the communist issue became so great at one point that the Administration took the unusual step of indirectly asking Stalin not to endorse Roosevelt .... Samuel Rosenman, the President's speech writer, expressed fear to Joseph Davies that any intimation from Moscow that Stalin favored Roosevelt's election might hurt the Democratic Party. Davies offered to send a personal message to the Soviet leader conveying this concern...."
>
> —John Lewis Gaddis, *The United States and the Origins of the Cold War, 1941-1947*

Since the early 1930's, Browder had been faithful to every turn in Moscow's line. He was party leader during the "Third Period," when he dutifully denounced Roosevelt as a "social-fascist," and during the left turn (in the U.S., though not in Germany) of the Stalin-Hitler Pact. The extreme form in which he voiced class collaborationism reflected not so much Browder's political personality as his objective role as leader of the American CP.

In Europe, both before and after World War II, the CP-instigated "popular fronts" with capitalist parties also included mass social-democratic parties. Thus, it was possible for the Stalinists to color their alliances with the European bourgeoisie with a certain amount of "progressive" and sometimes even vaguely socialist rhetoric. But the American social democracy was politically insignificant, and Roosevelt's Democratic Party had no need of CP support to win office. An alliance with the Democratic Party could only be justified on the basis of explicit liberal populism.

The CPUSA was not a mass party. Its very legality was subject to the whim of the Democrats. Browder, whom Roosevelt released from prison in 1942 (after locking him up the year before), was hardly in line for a cabinet post. Thus the CP could not even claim to influence government policy, but had to openly state its faith in Roosevelt's good will.

Browderism was the logical expression of Stalinist "popular frontism" under conditions where the working class, in its mass, supports the liberal bourgeois party and the CP is not a contender for governmental power.

### The Myth of Foster's Left Opposition

When Jay Lovestone was expelled from the CPUSA in 1929, William Z. Foster was the most authoritative, experienced and prominent leader of the party. He was the natural choice to replace the Bukharinite Lovestone as general secretary. However, Stalin did not want authoritative national leaders with their own following and deprived Foster of his expected promotion to party leadership. Instead Moscow favored the dark-horse Earl Browder, once Foster's lieutenant, who had been a second-rank figure in the 1920's.

Foster bitterly resented Browder's rise to power and sought to undermine his authority. In both the first "popular front" period (1935-39) and during the war, Foster sniped at Browder from the left without opposing any of his substantive policies, which were dictated from Moscow.

Browder's extreme class-collaborationist line became increasingly unpopular among the party's trade unionists as the war progressed. By 1944 it was obvious that the Allies would win. The mass of workers saw no reason to make sacrifices when the Sloans, Fords and DuPonts were becoming visibly wealthier through armaments production. The CP's aggressive support for the no-strike pledge and for labor discipline was running into mass resistance in the shops. By 1944 the CP was being outflanked from the left not only by the then-revolutionary, Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party, but also by slick Rooseveltian social democrats like Walter Reuther.

However, Foster's left criticisms of Browder had nothing to do with advocating militant class struggle. No leader of the CP denounced labor militancy during the war more forcibly than did Foster. When John L. Lewis called a coal strike in the spring of 1943, Foster wrote:

> "If Mr. Lewis...had given support to Roosevelt's seven-point program for economic stabilization, the miners and other workers would not be finding themselves in their present difficult economic situation."
>
> - quoted in Art Preis, *Labor's Giant Step*

Foster personally took to the coal fields to lead a back-to-work movement.

Not only did Foster fully agree with Browder's policy on the unions, but he supported the dissolution of the party. He also favored open electoral support to Roosevelt.

In fact, Foster avoided *all concrete* issues in favor of an abstract criticism of Browder's theoretical premises and projections. Foster argued that Browder underestimated the reactionary nature of U.S. monopoly capital and consequently the danger of American imperialism. In short, Foster objected to what Browder was saying, not what the CPUSA was doing.

The core of Foster's position is presented in a telegram to Dimitrov in early 1944:

> "Agree Browder general estimate Teheran except serious underestimation danger American imperialism. Disagree several points application to America including joint Republican-Democratic Presidential election ticket which would either eliminate Roosevelt or weaken support. Disagree with estimation of progressive role of American big business which minimizes danger of reaction in United States.. .Agree national unity also after war with responsible strike policy but disagree with continuation of no strike pledge after war. Agree that socialism is no issue in America now or immediate post-war period but cannot ignore socialist lessons of USSR."
>
> quoted in Philip J. Jaffe, "The Rise and Fall of Earl Browder," *Survey* (Spring 1972)

Dimitrov advised Foster to withdraw his opposition. Like the loyal Stalinist hack that he was, Foster duly followed Moscow's "advice." At the time of the founding convention of the Communist Political Association, Foster's speech was indistinguishable from Browder's whom he frequently cited as authority:

> "Therefore, with Roosevelt continued in office and backed up by the labor movement, the U.S., after the war, would continue a collaboration with its present war allies, to maintain world peace and to work upon the gigantic tasks of economic reconstruction
>
> "But, obviously, the decisive masses of the people in Europe, Asia and America are not yet prepared to adopt socialism. Hence, the capitalist system in order to live, to meet the crying needs of the people and move toward an era of prosperity, spoken of by Browder in his report, must adopt many new and drastic economic and political policies."

Both Browder and Foster fully agreed with "peaceful coexistence" internationally and class collaboration domestically. Their differences were essentially verbal—how to explain and justify this policy. Closer to empirical truth, Browder asserted that Roosevelt represented the decisive elements, or at least the vanguard, or American big business. Foster insisted that Roosevelt was a populist opponent of American monopoly capital, whose representative he claimed was the Republican/Dixiecrat coalition.

Browder recognized that there was only a quantitative difference between the Democrats and Republicans (Dewey fully supported the wartime alliance with Russia). Foster preferred to present the Republicans as virtually pro-fascist and as extreme imperialist militarists.

In short, Foster's opposition was centered on the charge that Browder was *soft on the Republican Party*. Thus Browder, Foster argued, deprived the CP of the opportunity to present its support for Roosevelt as an attack on the American ruling class.

### The Attack on "Browderite Revisionism"

As we have seen, the international Stalinist leadership fully supported Browder's line for more than a year. The individual ultimately responsible for unmasking Browder's "revisionism" was neither Foster, nor Duclos, nor Dimitrov, nor even Stalin. It was Franklin D. Roosevelt.

At the Teheran conference in December 1943, Roosevelt and Churchill made vague promises to allow a Soviet sphere of influence in East Europe. At the Yalta conference in February 1945, they tried to renege on

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The Worker

Sunday Edition

Labor Rallies at Yankee Stadium Here Today

GOV'T TAKES OVER COAL MINES

FDR Appeals to Miners: Need Your Services to Win the War

The Gov't Has Acted—Mines Must Be Worked

RAF Plasters Essen In Heavy Ruhr Raids

FDR Statement on Coal Strike

Miners View Crisis With Mixed Feelings

**Editorial in The Worker, May 2, 1943, began: "The President's action in having the government take over the mines is essential to the safety of the nation. There can be no dispute about it."**

## Hospital Threatens to Deport Foreign Doctors

# Victory to NYC Interns' Strike!

OCTOBER 10—A strike of interns and residents at three New York City hospitals—Albert Einstein, Flower Fifth Avenue and Brookdale—continued this week in the face of threats of vicious reprisals from the hospital administrations. At issue in the strike which began October 5 is the hospitals' refusal to continue to recognize the Committee of Interns and Residents (CIR) as the doctors' bargaining agent.

The strike is the third to hit New York's hospital system in as many months: District 1199 of the National Union of Hospitals and Health Care Employees struck the city's voluntary hospitals last July, followed a month later by a strike at municipal facilities by Local 420 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME). Frenzied managements have responded by threatening those doctors who respect the picket lines with firing and blacklisting.

The voluntary hospitals got the pretext they were looking for to go after the CIR when the National Labor Relations Board ruled last March that interns and residents are students, not workers and therefore the hospitals were not required to bargain collectively with them. As the CIR's September 30 contract expiration date neared, most of the voluntaries notified their house staff that they would no longer recognize the city-wide union and that the staffs would have to negotiate on a hospital-by-hospital basis. This, despite the agreement of the municipal hospitals (the NYC Health and Hospitals Corporation) to recognize the CIR.

However, as it became apparent that the interns and residents were prepared to strike, most of the hospitals capitulated and recognized the union. Einstein, Brookdale and Flower Fifth Avenue were the holdouts.

The struck hospitals have so far refused to even discuss a contract with the CIR, even though the union's demands in terms of salaries, fringe benefits, work hours and patient care items are minimal. Even the CIR's cringing willingness to accept a "no-strike" contract with binding arbitration has thus far failed to entice the administrations into talking.

By the end of the first week of the strike there was reportedly 100 percent participation on the lines at Flower and at Einstein, with 60 percent of the doctors out at Brookdale. When the walkout first began, many department chairmen and attending physicians initially refused to back it, arguing that union representation was "unprofessional" and implying that it was beneath the house staff's dignity to organize against 80-100 hours of work per week (often 30-40 hours straight without sleep), and pay rates that often work out to less than the minimum wage.

However, all pretext of "professionalism" quickly evaporated as firings were threatened, members were told they would be dropped from residency programs and department directors threatened to withhold recommendations for job placements. At Brookdale, foreign doctors who are liable for deportation if they lose their jobs were individually singled out and "reminded" of their tenuous position!

One reason the doctors' strike has been dragging on is that scabbing by the major hospital unions has kept the hospitals running. Although the CIR has called for support from other hospital employees, its own wretched history of scabbing on these unions' strikes leaves it in a bad position to ask for help. During the 1199 and Local 420 strikes this past summer, the CIR leadership instructed its members to cross the lines and give "support from inside" by only doing their doctoring work but refusing to fill in for the struck workers.

So scab they did, with the sole exception of a group of CIR members at Montefiore Hospital in the Bronx. When the Montefiore doctors refused to cross 1199 picket lines, the hospital fired two physicians and suspended seven others, most of whom had been active in organizing efforts supported by the Progressive Labor Party (PL). A second picket line was then thrown up at Montefiore in their defense, yet even then the CIR refused to call out the rest of its house staff at Montefiore, ordering its people to cross the picket lines of *its own members*!

The Montefiore doctors were eventually successful in winning reinstatement, but because of their isolation were forced to accept very harsh terms. The doctors accepted a settlement stating they would be fired the next time they walked out—which explains why Montefiore is not participating in the present strike.

The bureaucracies of the New York hospital unions have given the same message to their members: do not respect the principle of labor solidarity and anyone who honors a picket line does so at his own risk. Last summer District 1199 head Leon Davis walked the picket lines at Montefiore and demagogically swore the union would stay out to defend any hospital worker victimized for respecting the lines. Yet when the PL-supported doctors were suspended, Davis completely reneged on his pledge.

Last week at Brookdale some 75 District 1199 members who attended a rally in front of the hospital to support the CIR strike heard their union spokesman first correctly point out that if the CIR is defeated, District 1199 will be next on the administration's strike-breaking agenda. The spokesman went on to say that 1199 would "support" the strike any way it could, "within the bounds of the contract." In other words, it would not instruct 1199 members to respect the lines, since its contracts are

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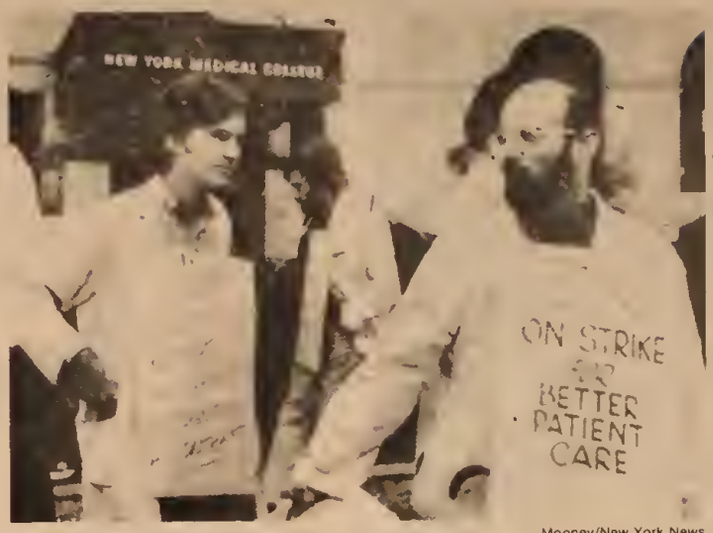


Mooney/New York News

**Interns picket Flower Fifth Avenue Hospital during interns' strike last week. Dr. Jay Dobkin, CIR president, is at left.**

**OCTOBER 12—At press time a strike of the Committee of Interns and Residents (CIR) still had 100 percent support from doctors at New York's Flower Fifth Avenue and Albert Einstein hospitals, despite the breaking of the strike yesterday at Brooklyn's Brookdale Hospital.**

**At Brookdale the strike from its outset was only 60 percent effective with the bulk of the hospital's house staff in the Department of Medicine refusing to support it. In the face of vicious administration threats of firings and blacklistings the CIR pulled down its line there Monday when it failed in a last-ditch effort to pull out the department.**

**The defeat at Brookdale will surely embolden the hospital managements and threatens as well to reopen the question of CIR recognition at the rest of the city's hospitals. All NYC hospital unions must strike *now* to defend the embattled interns and residents, as well as to reopen their own wretched contracts!**


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## France...

*(continued from page 1)*

election campaigns approach. So far, the Communist Party (PCF) and the Left Radicals have clearly cast their lot on a Union of the Left victory in these elections.

After coyly returning a couple of the president's winks, the Left Radicals have resisted the Giscardian attempts to seduce them into a "center-left" coalition. Instead they have remained as the organizational representative of the bourgeoisie in the popular-front bloc, assuring the PCF and Socialist Party (PS) that their "fidelity... to the Union of the Left is beyond doubt" (*Le Monde*, 18 September).

The PS, however, has left open the possibility of a rapprochement with Giscard. This came to the fore over whether the Union of the Left would present a single slate of candidates in next spring's municipal elections. The PCF favors a common slate and its proposals to that effect have been accepted by two local PS federations.

However, emboldened by a relatively heavy PS vote in the 1976 cantonal elections, François Mitterrand and the national Socialist Party leadership have postponed any formal commitment while awaiting the unraveling of the governmental crisis. In an unmistakable bid for the prime ministership, Mitterrand declared on the eve of the Chirac resignation, "I think that the president and I can both aid the French people ... at the same time and each in his own place, should the need arise" (*Le Point*, 6 September).

Sauer/Paris Match

**French Prime Minister Raymond Barre**

### "Far Left" and the Popular Front

The endless maneuvering among the parties of the Union of the Left has been reflected among its "far left" hangers-on, each seeking to carve out a niche on the periphery of the popular front. The most ambitious of the maneuverers has


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been the left social-democratic Parti Socialiste Unifié (PSU) which has sought to convince the PCF and PS that only a broader coalition (i.e., one including the PSU) can insure victory at the polls in 1978. Certainly the PSU's utopian-reformist program of "self-managing socialism" and sub-reformist demands like "struggle against the fiscal privileges of the bourgeoisie" will be no obstacle to joining the popular front.

True to its Pabloist world view, the centrist LCR is constantly on the prowl for get-rich-quick schemes to catapult it to instant mass influence. Having currently set its sights on the "broad

Paris Match

**Former Prime Minister Jacques Chirac (center).**

vanguard" of the PSU, the LCR made it clear that it was not about to let "petty" questions like program or the heritage of Trotskyism stand in the way of "success" (see "Mandel Offers to Renounce Trotsky, Fourth International," *WV* No. 117, 9 July 1976).

So far, however, the results have been meager indeed. The big coup was agreement by the Avignon federation of the PSU to present a joint candidate with the LCR "against the candidate of the right" (with a call for a vote to the PS candidate on the second-round run-off). However, alarmed by the tiny 1.6 percent vote which the joint candidate drew, the PSU national leadership reprimanded its Avignon federation. It simultaneously reasserted that to characterize the Union of the Left's Common Program as "class-collaborationist" and to call on the PCF and PS to form a government are not acceptable in the PSU's "language" (*Rouge*, 20 September).

Feeling pangs of rejection, the LCR lashed out against its social-democratic would-be allies: "Is the PSU willing to be on common lists with the Left Radicals? Is the PSU willing to accept references to the Common Program?" (*Ibid.*). The Ligue has a lot of nerve asking such questions! In 1973 it called for a vote for the entire Union of the Left (including the bourgeois Left Radicals) in the second round of parliamentary elections; and although it later criticized itself for supporting the candidates of the Left Radicals the LCR leadership has once again stated its willingness to vote ("critically," of course) for the popular front.

While the LCR criticizes the PSU's failure to see the class-collaborationist nature of the Common Program, the right-centrist OCI has temporarily put on its "orthodox" hat and condemns the LCR for failing to see the popular-front character of the Union of the Left.

However, both the OCI and LCR only succeed in proving their mutual opportunism and capitulation before the popular front, the LCR softer toward the Stalinist wing, the OCI more enamored of the social democrats. While in 1973 the OCI still preserved a fig-leaf of orthodoxy by voting "only" for the reformist workers parties of the popular front, in the 1974 presidential elections it voted on both rounds for Mitterrand, the single candidate of the bourgeois Union of the Left.

And while the LCR states its readiness to merge with the PSU even if it means giving up affiliation to the United Secretariat and cutting out references to Trotskyism, the OCI has made it a practice that wherever the leading tendency in the workers movement is social democracy, OCI supporters in those countries essentially liquidate into the social-democratic parties (e.g., Britain, West Germany, Portugal, English-speaking Canada).

### Down with Parliamentary Cretinism!

In the context of this pot-calling-the-kettle-black "debate" on the popular front being waged in the pages of *Rouge* and *Informations Ouvrières*, it is noticeable that the slogans being raised by the LCR and OCI in the current governmental crisis have been essentially interchangeable. Both seized upon the results of the cantonal elections to demand the ouster of Giscard's "minority government." Both have called for dissolution of the National Assembly.

Not only does this amount to parliamentary cretinism in a situation that demands above all turning the token one-day work stoppage into a militant general strike to smash the austerity plan; it is also a thinly veiled call for placing the popular front in power, although the LCR and OCI slogans are carefully limited to negative demands. Sometimes they are even more explicit, as when the LCR states:

> "the PCF and PS [what about the Left Radicals?] signed the Common Program on the basis that they said they were ready to govern.... Why, then, don't they call for the dissolution of the Assembly and for [new] elections...?"
> —*Rouge*, 23 September

Both the OCI and LCR, it is true, sometimes mention in smaller headline type a call for a PCF-PS government. However, they do not raise this demand in such a manner to sharply counterpose a revolutionary workers government based on dual power organs of the working class (such as strike committees in a general strike situation) to the small change of a parliamentary government of PCF and PS ministers. On the contrary, they present the demand in a purely parliamentary manner.

A general strike can be a powerful weapon of the proletariat. In this case the union and PCF/PS bureaucrats made sure that nothing got "out of hand," that the action was essentially a token protest (although massive in size) and that it was clearly focused on class collaboration. A Trotskyist vanguard must struggle to defeat the misleaders of the working class (the reformists and the centrists), thereby opening the road to a real offensive against the capitalist attacks and the formation of a workers government of soviet power.

—For a militant general strike to smash the austerity plan!

—No confidence in the Union of the Left—Break with the Radicals!

—For a Trotskyist party in France—Toward the Rebirth of the Fourth International!

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# UAW...

*(continued from page 12)*

contract were rejected, the next steps would be decided by "you people." "Wherever you want to go, that's where we'll go." Hidden behind this facade of democracy is the fact that the ISTC leaders don't know what to do next. Nor did the ISTC have any strategy for linking up with production workers which is key to winning any major gains.

Simply prolonging the Ford strike, although essential at the level of basic trade-union militancy, will not win fundamental gains for auto workers. What is needed is a strike against *all* auto and agricultural implement companies in the U.S. and Canada. Given the state of American society, such a strike would go beyond typical union bargaining to become a major struggle against the capitalist class as a whole.

Nor will auto workers make fundamental gains as long as Woodcock & Co. make the decisions behind the auto workers' backs. Strike committees must be elected to put the power to bargain and run the strike in the hands of the membership.

At the official Local 600 Tool and Die meeting, International skilled-trades representative Don Liddell and Local 600's Bob King attempted to sell the national, local and unit agreement to 500 restive tradesmen. Liddell and King were interrupted repeatedly by angry workers. One member walked nearly the length of the hall with the contract at arm's length while holding his nose.

The bureaucrats were booed when they described the settlement as decent, and when the floor eventually opened for discussion, every speaker but one denounced the contract. As Al Gardner, chairman of the ISTC, came to the podium, the hall was hushed. But though Gardner spoke uninterruptedly for 20 minutes, he merely criticized the package and called for a no vote.

Approximately 1,500 skilled workers attended the Local 600 Maintenance and Construction unit meeting. Local president and national bargainer Mike Rinaldi gave a lackadaisical report on the national package and was also interrupted continually. He didn't even bother to call for a "yes" vote, but did describe the tentative agreement as the best ever.

Here, too, the sentiment of the ranks was negative but diffuse. One militant reminded the workers of the 200,000 jobs lost since 1974, including 1,000 from the Rouge engine plant. He criticized the Reuther/Woodcock one-at-a-time strategy and the massive scabbing, and described the holiday plan as a farce which wouldn't create new jobs.

Rinaldi's response was to demand an apology for the scabs who had done only "essential" work behind the picket lines. One Rouge dock worker yelled out that this was an obvious lie since he had been asked aboard the *Henry Ford II* to unload it.

### Production Workers

The turnout at the production workers' meeting was considerably smaller. Less than 200 attended the Dearborn Assembly Plant meeting to hear unit president Hank Wilson claim that he was disappointed with the contract. Nonetheless, he recommended ratification, warning of the danger of a long losing strike. "It takes top leadership to fight Woodcock," Wilson told a *WV* reporter at the Ford Council meeting Thursday. "I guess I haven't got the courage."

Only 300 attended the unit meeting of the Dearborn Stamping Plant, but those who did saw the bureaucrats of today jockeying with the aspiring misleaders of tomorrow. Supporters of the Revolutionary Communist Party-backed Auto Workers United to Fight (AWUF)

WV Photo

**Auto workers on strike at River Rouge in September.**

patrolled the union hall to keep outsiders away. When an AWUF supporter slugged a leafletter from a tiny socialist group, a *WV* salesman protested and the attacker answered, "That's right; I'm doing the bureaucrats' work."

Inside, the meeting was notable primarily for the incompetence of UAW Local 600 secretary Bill Brown and unit chairman Willie Washington. Brown was utterly incapable of controlling the angry, mainly black workers in the hall.

Three times Brown tried to surrender the podium, saying that people were free to reject the sellout, only to be ordered back to the stage by angry workers demanding explanations. When Washington called for the sergeant-at-arms and no one responded, he declared the meeting adjourned and left the room.

Leadership of those remaining fell by default into the laps of the AWUF. The AWUF had *nothing* to say, except to convince the already convinced workers that the contract should be voted down.

Even though they spoke from a podium covered with a giant picture of Jimmy Carter, AWUF members could not bring themselves to say a single word about unemployment, racial discrimination or Woodcock's commitment to the Democratic Party. A call for a "new day, a new spirit" and two more explanations of the contract's shortcomings finally drove all but a few from the meeting.

Apart from their almost identical bunglings, the AWUF and ISTC were outstripped by the workers who already knew the contract was a sellout. These groups have thus demonstrated their incapacity to lead the workers. A class-struggle opposition is required to raise a transitional program and strategy which attacks the source of the problems facing auto workers—capitalism.

What the Ford strike and contract fiasco have proved is that the present crop of shortsighted, mealy-mouthed pseudo-oppositionists have no more of an answer than the in-power bureaucrats.

—Reject the Ford contract settlement!

—Strike all auto and agricultural implement companies in the U.S. and Canada!

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# Bay Area Demo Against Ford/Carter

SAN FRANCISCO—Over 2,000 demonstrators greeted the second Ford-Carter "debate" here October 6 in a virtual dress parade of the Bay Area left. In an atmosphere reminiscent of 1960's New Left peace crawls, the Spartacist League's large banner calling for "Oust the Bureaucrats, For a Workers Party to Fight for a Workers Government" stood out for its emphasis on independent working-class mobilization against the twin capitalist parties.

Despite the large turnout, there was no semblance of unity between the various groups (each had a separate police permit and picket line), due to the fragmentation of San Francisco's large radical milieu, increasing conflict between Maoist groupings, and the opportunist appetites of such groups as the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) to pursue "special interest" groups.

The various picket lines strung out like sideshows before the Palace of the Legion of Honor presented a smorgasbord of the "left"—everyone from anti-Indira Gandhi protesters sitting impassively in lotus position to guerrilla theater actors dressed up as Ford and Carter kicking around a large rubber ball (planet Earth), opponents of Congressional appropriations for the Trident submarine and B-1 bomber, the "Ad Hoc Committee Against U.S. Involvement in the Third World," and groups supporting various national liberation struggles.

A "Pro-Life" contingent also appeared to chant (mocking pro-abortion feminists) "Unborn sisters are our sisters too," and three Nazis briefly raised the sign "Jews Go To Hell," before being led away by police as a dozen indignant leftists attacked their racist filth.

The SWP, in a coalition with the National Organization of Women (NOW), limited itself to demanding legal abortion, downplaying even its own reformist presidential campaign. Given the recent Congressional legislation prohibiting federal subsidies of abortions for poor women on welfare or Medicaid, the SWP's continued refusal to fight for free abortion on demand is particularly disgusting. As the Spartacist contingent entered the demonstration area, SWP marshals quickly formed a cordon, informing SL supporters they could not enter, since SWP/NOW had a parade permit and could exclude anyone they wanted to.

WV Photo

**Demonstrators greeted Ford and Carter outside Palace of the Legion of Honor in San Francisco on October 6.**

The largest grouping was that of the "October 6th Coalition," an amorphous ad-hoc conglomeration including Progressive Labor, the Communist Party, and various New Left groups, among them Bay Area Gay Liberation. The Coalition emphasized "U.S. Out of South Africa" and support to armed struggle in southern Africa, ending with a rally confined to low-key anti-imperialist rhetoric from ZANU and African liberation support groups.

Conspicuously absent was the Bay Area labor movement. A 300-member contingent from the American Federation of Government Employees (AFGE) pulled out early, as their exclusively anti-Ford rhetoric was swamped by "too many leftists," according to one AFGE marshal. But the assembled reformists, nationalists and constituency group protesters peddling their shopworn wares in front of the phony "debate" cannot break labor from their traditional misleaders. Only the SL's struggle to dump the bureaucrats, break with the Republicrats and form a workers party with a class-struggle program can mobilize the working class in its own historic interests and provide a real alternative to the tweedledum-tweedledee parties of imperialism. ■

# NMU...

*(continued from page 3)*

and the army is being "professionalized." At such a time the non-conscript armed forces are composed of the most reactionary and anti-labor elements, ferociously loyal to the capitalist order.

Militant workers do not ignore the special grievances and problems of conscripted soldiers, the cannon fodder of the imperialist war machine. But trade-union organizing—for higher pay and better conditions, so they can kill more effectively for Uncle Sam—is not the answer. The armed forces are not part of the labor movement but instead are the central component of the bourgeois state apparatus whose function is to protect capitalist property relations.

The NMU bureaucracy cannot ignore this obvious fact. In its view: "Providing union representation under conditions such as the military must be ready for—including combat—is nothing new to us.... the testimonials to our members and our Union by Presidents and military commanders—are the answer to those who think union representation and military operations are incompatible" (President's Report). Thus the bureaucrats promise beforehand to enforce military discipline in support of the imperialist war aims of the bosses!

The Militant-Solidarity Caucus attacked this social-patriotic scheme in a leaflet distributed at the convention entitled, "Organize Maritime Workers, Not the Army!" It pointed out:

> "While labor might support draftees who protest over grievances and demand democratic rights, it is a grave mistake to become involved with, much less support, efforts to organize *on a trade union basis* in the military, because this would lead to enforcing discipline and making the military more efficient as a weapon in the hands of big business."
>
> —*Beacon* supplement, 5 October

In the maritime industry, international solidarity is a burning necessity to combat the shipowners' perpetual search for non-union cheap labor sources around the globe. But this task cannot be achieved by a rotting bureaucracy which parrots the nationalism of the U.S. ruling class. Class-struggle leadership can only be provided by those, such as the M-SC, who counterpose working-class solidarity to all forms of parochialism in the labor movement (nationalism, protectionism, jurisdictional raiding, etc.), and who stand resolutely for the class independence of the labor movement from the capitalists and their government. ■

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Churchill, Roosevelt and Stalin at Yalta. Informations Ouvrières

# Browder...

*(continued from page 7)*

that promise, at least as far as the major East European nations were concerned. They insisted that reliable bourgeois, pro-Western parties be included in the post-war East European governments.

At Yalta Roosevelt and Churchill pressured Stalin into expanding the Communist-dominated Lublin government in Poland by including the anti-communist, Pilsudskite "government-in-exile" in London. They further induced Stalin to agree that the future Polish government should be determined by a free election.

The composition of the Polish post-war government was the first major battle of the cold war. Browder's error was that he continued to sing of "the spirit of Teheran," not realizing that the "spirit of Yalta" was a very different tune.

There is a recent well-documented and fairly objective account of the Browder affair written by Philip J. Jaffe, a long-time fellow-traveler ("The Rise and Fall of Earl Browder," *Survey*, Spring 1972).

Jaffe makes a good case that the article attacking Browder which appeared in the French CP journal, *Cahiers du Communisme*, in April 1945 was not written by Jacques Duclos. It was written in Moscow and published through the French CP press so as not to give the American ruling class the impression that the Kremlin dictated to the CPUSA. The article appeared in France a few weeks before Roosevelt's death. Its impact in the U.S. was reinforced by the first acts of Truman, who sought to overcome his lack of authority by "getting tough with the Russians."

In terms of concrete policy, the main focus of the "Duclos" article was an attack on the formal liquidation of the CPUSA. The article explicitly endorsed electoral support to Roosevelt in 1944. It said nothing about trade-union policy or anything concrete about the class struggle in the U.S. Like Foster's earlier criticisms, the "Duclos" article consists of an abstract polemic against the notion that American monopoly capitalism can be progressive.

Why did the Soviet leadership decide to criticize Browder at this particular time and on these particular grounds? The Russians realized before Browder did that the Roosevelt administration had adopted a harder line on East Europe. In terms of influencing American politics, this meant pushing the few influential Democratic doves, like Henry Wallace and Joseph E. Davies, against the increasingly hawkish American government. The new line expressed in the "Duclos" article is revealed when it praises Henry Wallace, former vice

International Publishers
William Z. Foster

president and then secretary of commerce, as a true opponent of American monopoly capital:

> "In the United States, the omnipotent trusts have been the object of violent criticism. It is known, for instance, that the former Vice President of the United States, Henry Wallace, has denounced their evil doings and their anti-national policy."
>
> —*Political Affairs*, July 1945

The basic line of the "Duclos" article was that the CPUSA should withdraw its all-out support to the Democratic administration in favor of the minority of bourgeois politicians who wanted friendly relations with Moscow. The "Duclos" article was the first harbinger of Henry Wallace's Progressive Party.

All the rhetoric about monopoly/finance capital was simply a cover for the real issue: "which bourgeois politicians to support" and "when." Any bourgeois politician "friendly" to the Soviet Union was, by definition, an opponent of monopoly capital, and any anti-Soviet hawk a spokesmen for the trusts.

Jaffe argues that the purpose of the "Duclos" article was not to oust Browder from party leadership, much less bring about his expulsion. He claims that Foster exploited the Kremlin's criticisms of Browder to destroy a hated rival. To back up this hypothesis, he reports that Dimitrov told the Yugoslav CP leader Eduard Kardelj that "it was too bad how the Browder affair turned out." If Browder had immediately engaged in self-criticism, as his lieutenant Eugene Dennis did, Jaffe argues he could have kept his leadership post:

> "After 25 years of experience with him, Moscow had every reason to be confident that, handled properly, he would in his own way have modified his position and ultimately fallen into line. Many believe that might have happened, and I am one of them."

As an experienced Stalinist politician, why did Browder resist an obvious quarter-left turn, thus leading to his own political destruction? As a result of America's successful military alliance with the Soviet Union, the CPUSA had gained significant respectability and influence during the war, particularly outside the workers movement. Browder knew that a serious worsening of U.S.-Soviet relations would repel the party's broad periphery of Rooseveltian liberals. Faced with the onset of the Cold War, Browder's reaction was to deny it, keeping to the old "progressive, democratic anti-Hitlerite coalition" line. By sticking his head in the ground when the Cold War came upon him, Browder got it cut off.

The condemnation of "Browderite revisionism" coupled with Foster's ascension to power raised expectations among the CP's worker militants that the party would now adopt a real class-struggle line. Foster quickly disabused these left elements in the CP. His main attack on "Browderite revisionism" contains a reaffirmation of the "national unity" line and a denunciation of "ultra-leftism" in the party:

> "According to these comrades, we are going to, or should, denounce the war against Japan as imperialist, condemn the decisions of Teheran as unachievable, drop the slogan of national unity, call for a farmer-labor government, give up the wartime no-strike pledge.... bring forward the question of Socialism as an immediate issue, and generally adopt a class-against-class policy....
>
> "Our party, if I know it, is not going to take any such Leftist course."
>
> —*Political Affairs*, September 1945

Foster's opposition to a "class-against-class policy" in favor of "national unity" is the very essence of abandoning revolutionary Marxism for reformism. The issues of the Browder/Foster dispute—whether or not Tom Dewey's Republican Party was part of the "progressive, democratic anti-Hitlerite coalition," and whether and when to push Henry Wallace against Harry Truman—have nothing to do with communist politics. These are suitable issues to quarrel about only among stupid, opportunistic Stalinist hacks. ■

# Interns Strike...

*(continued from page 8)*

written in accordance with the anti-labor Taft-Hartley law forbidding "secondary" strikes.

Strikes by the several hospital unions can be successful only if the picket lines are respected by all employees and the facilities are solidly shut down! This vicious cycle of scabbing must be broken and the hard-fought principle of the labor movement reaffirmed that a picket line means "Don't Cross!"

The hospital administrations leaped at the opportunity to bust the CIR. The unfavorable NLRB ruling, the petty-bourgeois "professional" consciousness of the doctors as well as their widespread contempt for the other hospital unions were all factors encouraging management hardliners. A defeat at Einstein, Flower and Brookdale will quickly unravel the "agreements" with other voluntaries.

Of course, as in all hospital strikes the administration and the bourgeois press are indulging in a flood of crocodile tears lamenting patient deaths which may ensue. But even these papers have not been able to black out the statements of doctors who recently quit municipal hospitals because they could not stand by and watch the mounting patient deaths resulting from the city's draconian cuts in service and personnel.

Since the vast cutbacks and layoffs in hospital workers began a year and a half ago, interns and residents have been increasingly used to fill the cracks in the vastly overloaded hospital system, such as doing the work of technicians. There is an urgent need for a city-wide strike of all hospital unions to reopen the District 1199 and Local 420 contracts and demand the end of speed-up, a full cost-of-living escalator, and recall of all laid-off workers. A leadership must be forged in the hospital unions to win the workers to the fight for a shorter workweek at no loss in pay, for free medical services and the nationalization of health care, and to a full transitional program to politically mobilize the union ranks to throw out the scabbing misleaders who are responsible for one strike defeat after another. ■

# Nazis...

*(continued from page 5)*

taste for settling accounts with the minions of the Third Reich.

As of 1975, there were reportedly 3,000 known Nazi murderers in the country who had not been indicted and who can escape prosecution after 1979 under the statute of limitations. Last year it was revealed that a West German state attorney general, totally distrustful of his government's intentions, supplied the tip to Israel in 1957 that Adolf Eichmann was living under an assumed identity in Buenos Aires (*New York Times*, 29 August 1975).

The U.S. government must not be allowed to drag out these proceedings amidst a mountain of red tape and bureaucratic evasion, or to cover its complicity by extraditing a mere handful of the scores of known Nazi war criminals. These fascist vermin must be handed over to those who survived the Nazi holocaust to pay the price for their infamous crimes! ■


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WORKERS VANGUARD

## Despite Widespread Opposition

# UAW Tops Ram Through Sellout Ford Contract

DETROIT, October 11—Just past 4:30 p.m. last Thursday, applause and cheers broke the boredom at the United Auto Workers (UAW) Ford Council, where local and unit presidents from Ford plants across the country were endorsing Woodcock's tentative agreement with the Number Two automaker. Moments later, union tops and the 175-member council, decked out in winking Jimmy Carter buttons and gold peanut lapel pins, emerged to tell reporters of their near-unanimous support for the package. One skilled-trades representative presented a minority report, but the tame council supported Woodcock with only about a dozen dissenting votes.

Woodcock, of course, was not worried about a rejection from the local bureaucrats. In fact, Solidarity House distributed a self-flattering 12-page brochure of the agreement's "highlights" to reporters even before the council's official approval. Woodcock *is* worried about the next step, however, as 170,000 strikers voted on the agreement yesterday. Despite Woodcock's boast that the contract "charts new paths" and "sets new standards," it in fact meets none of the needs of auto workers and may be rejected. Ford tradesmen vetoed the 1973 contract but were overridden by the bureaucracy. This time around, Woodcock, Fraser and Bannon claim that the strike will continue if the contract is turned down by the skilled-trades minority.

In the past period, the skilled trades have been more militant in rejecting rotten auto contracts than production workers. Should a skilled trades "no" vote prolong this strike, this would present an opportunity to extend and deepen the struggle to benefit the *entire* union membership. As advocates of industrial unionism we oppose the existing UAW voting system which gives the minority of skilled craftsmen the right to veto the majority. However, the decisive question at present is voting down the sellout contract which the UAW bureaucracy is trying to shove down auto workers' throats. Only when the Woodcock regime is ousted by a militant, class-struggle leadership which can fight for the interests of all auto workers will the skilled workers voluntarily give up their privileged franchise and accept a fully democratic voting system.

### A Penny Per Hour New Money and Five Fewer Christmas Holidays

Despite record profits by car manufacturers, the auto settlement is less than that won by trucking, rubber and clerical workers this year. Woodcock's much-publicized reduced worktime program provides no new time off during the first year, only five days in the second, and seven in the third. To be eligible, a worker must have one year's seniority and attend work the days before and after the holiday. *In return, five paid Christmas holidays were eliminated over a three-year span*! And with massive amounts of mandatory overtime being scheduled, auto workers will still be averaging far more than 40 hours a week!

Meanwhile, the cost-of-living allowance (COLA) was not improved. The wage increase remains the traditional 3 percent per year. A claimed 20-cent increase in the first year for production workers includes 9 cents diverted from last quarter's COLA, and 10 cents diverted in 1973 to pay for the dental plan—in other words, *1 cent* per hour new money!

Retirees will get no COLA on their pensions. They will instead receive a one-time $600 bonus—paid out of the active workers' COLA. More money will be paid into the SUB fund, but this is mainly through establishing a separate SUB fund for higher seniority workers. Thus relatively less SUB money will be available to lower seniority workers—mainly women and racial minorities—who are the first to be laid off.

**OCTOBER 12—UAW Solidarity House reported this evening that the Ford contract was narrowly approved by the skilled trades units of the union. The figures reported were: Production, for 35,192; against, 22,026. Skilled, for, 8,957; against, 8,468.**

**There will doubtless be challenges of the vote, given the heavy opposition to the contract among tradesmen, and particularly in light of the massive irregularities in vote counting of skilled trades balloting in 1973. Nevertheless, the Woodcock bureaucracy immediately began ordering the membership back to work.**

WV Photo

**Woodcock announcing settlement October 5 at Ford headquarters in Dearborn. At right, Ken Bannon, UAW Ford department head.**

### Selling the Contract

Woodcock still must win approval of the pact at Ford Canada and the other auto companies. GM has been the most hard-nosed in bargaining and could well precipitate a strike. In response to a question from *WV*, Woodcock stated lamely that if strike action is necessary at GM, the impotent Apache strategy, where only a few plants at a time are struck, might be used.

Currently, however, the bureaucracy is concentrating on selling the Ford contract to the rank and file. A nationwide deadline of Tuesday, October 12, was established for the locals but copies of the contract were not available; only the slick brochures were distributed to workers. Unit meetings were hastily scheduled at which local, regional and International representatives sang the praises of the proposed agreement. A full-page (UAW-paid) ad appeared in the *Detroit Free Press* counseling acceptance. The theme of virtually every bureaucrat was that a prolonged strike would win nothing.

The voting procedure itself was designed to discourage examination of the sellout and to insure a low turnout. Local 600 elections are normally spread over three days, but 27,000 Rouge workers were supposed to vote on a three-year contract in one day in the local hall. As a result, only about 10,000 local members actually cast ballots.

From the beginning of the strike, the bureaucracy has attempted to demoralize the rank and file, asking for piddling demands and then fighting for these only in a half-hearted manner. As the skilled-trades votes were tallied in Local 600 Sunday night, Bob King, chairman of the Tool and Die unit, denounced the "big heroes" who rejected the sellout he had recommended. Stamping the floor and clenching his fists, King told his assembled flunkies to crash the picket lines "if you see them [the skilled tradesmen] picketing." King and his cronies agree with Woodcock that a prolonged strike is useless. "Vote no and picket in the snow," King said.

### Skilled Trades Opposition

The strongest opposition to the contract is expected from skilled tradesmen. Six hundred workers from a dozen Ford locals came to a meeting Friday night called by the Independent Skilled Trades Council (ISTC). The terms of the sellout were described accurately enough, but no alternative program was put forward. The entire strategy was summed up by ISTC spokesman Pete Kelly: "We've got to reject the Ford contract and send them back to the table."

Finally, Kelly promised that if the

*continued on page 9*

WV Photo

**Picketers outside Ford River Rouge complex during strike.**

WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

No. 130 22 October 1976

## Mao's Heirs at Each Other's Throats

# Violent Power Struggle Erupts in China

Georges Grabet/Gamma-Liaison

**Wreaths at April memorial for Chou En-lei in Tien An Men square. Two days of rioting erupted after wreaths were taken down.**

OCTOBER 19 During the mid-1960's "Cultural Revolution" in China, Chiang Ching—the former actress, wife of Mao and official arbiter of "proletarian culture"—rewrote a scene from a popular opera. In her revised version, the hero assures the audience that although he is about to step into a blinding snowstorm on a bitter-cold night without a coat, he will be kept warm by the thought of Mao Tse-tung. Last week the author, similarly protected, was swept up in a turbulent storm of bureaucratic struggle following Mao's death. Arrested along with Chiang Ching was virtually the entire leadership associated with the Cultural Revolution period.

The charges against Chiang Ching, appropriately presented in *dazibaos* ("big-character" wall posters), have rapidly escalated in seriousness. Initially she was accused of factionalism and inventing Mao's supposed parting quote: "Act according to the principles laid down." To this was added the somewhat comic accusation that she had hastened her great husband's death by nagging him so much. Yesterday, however, a wall poster at Peking's Tsinghua University accused her of deliberately preventing the deathly ill Mao from receiving proper medical treatment, and then opposing the decision to preserve his body in a crystal case. These are serious charges, indeed given the quasi-religious veneration of "the Chairman." Her opponents have now stuck her with the label of the wicked "empress dowager."

In addition to Mao's wife, other top Communist Party leaders recently arrested are: senior deputy premier Chang Chun-chiao; Wang Hung-wen, who rose from total obscurity to become the youngest member of the political bureau during the Cultural Revolution (he is now 40); and Yao Wen-yuan, an initiator of the Cultural Revolution and until last week the regime's chief propagandist. The violence of the opposition to Chiang Ching and her associates was indicated by the terms used to denounce them in Shanghai, where Chang, Wang and Yao have been the top party officials: "Crush the heads of the four dogs" and "crush and strangle the gang of four" (*New York Times*, 16 October).

Radio broadcasts all over China are again blaring out the familiar call for "close party unity," this time around Hua Kuo-feng, who last winter was virtually unknown and now heads the party, government and army. Other proclamations warn against "anyone who tampers with Chairman Mao's instructions." But there is no basis for unity...and just what are the Chairman's "instructions"?

Despite Hua's unprecedented accumulation of posts, no single bureaucratic aspirant can today make an uncontested claim to correctly interpreting Mao's enigmatic quotations. There is no longer a single bonapartist figure with enough authority to balance among the cliques and power blocs while keeping a lid on the intra-bureaucratic conflict which has boiled over periodically and now threatens to erupt with unprecedented force.

### The Fiction of "Radicals" vs. "Moderates"

The Western bourgeois press explains Chinese politics in terms of "radicals" (including Mao himself, Chiang Ching, Wang Hung-wen) versus the "moderates" (Chou En-lai, Teng Hsiao-ping and now Hua Kuo-feng). However, the press cannot seem to figure out what concrete political differences separate the "radicals" from the "moderates." The *Wall Street Journal* (13 October), for instance, writes that the purge of "China's leftist leaders ... may lead to closer ties with the West." In a diametrically opposed interpretation, the London *Times* (17 October) speculates: "There will probably be more Chinese rhetoric against 'imperialism,' slightly less hostility to the Soviet Union...." The difficulty in figuring out exactly what the "radicals" and "moderates" are fighting about arises from the fact that there are no fundamental differences.

But there is a history of conflict. To understand the purge of Chiang Ching and the "Shanghai circle," it is necessary to go back almost two decades to the "Great Leap Forward." By pushing this adventurist policy in the late 1950's, Mao brought China to the brink of starvation and an economic collapse unprecedented in the history of the Sino-Soviet states. As a result, Mao lost much of his authority within the bureaucracy and was pushed into the background by a group led by Liu Shao-chi and Teng Hsiao-ping. The Liu/Teng group in turn adopted a Bukharinite economic policy making concessions to private peasant interests and expanding industry at a snail's pace.

Mao attempted to regain his authority and purge his conservative bureaucratic opponents by allying with Marshal Lin Piao's army and mobilizing students and peasant youth (the Red Guards) on the basis of egalitarian anti-bureaucratic demagogy. This was the "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution." Had it succeeded, Mao would no doubt have launched another forced-march economic campaign similar to the Great Leap Forward.

However, the threatened officials were able to mobilize their own forces, often factory workers (as in the case of the 1966 Shanghai strikes), to counter the Red Guards. It is from this period that the general impression of an opposition between "radical" mass mobilization/mystification policies and a "moderate" modern technology/material incentives orientation stems. While differences existed, they basically reflected different clienteles (Mao's peasant army backing, Liu's association with industry and the state bureaucracy) and were not qualitative from the point of view of proletarian class interests.

But although this struggle reflected itself in policy differences, there were no stable factional programs. Chou's "program" was to come out on the winning side in every fight, and after 1967 Mao maintained his leading role only by shamelessly maneuvering between the various power blocs. In the early 1970's most of the former "capitalist roaders" purged during the Cultural Revolution were reinstated, while Mao's prominent allies (such as Lin Piao and Chen Po-ta) were purged.

The strength of the bureaucratically conservative anti-Maoist forces can be seen in the checkered career of Teng Hsiao-ping. Purged as the "number two capitalist roader" during the Cultural Revolution, he re-emerged in 1973 as deputy premier and Chou En-lai's hand-picked successor. Purged again following Chou's death when his supporters rioted in Peking's Tien An Men Square, he was not arrested nor even expelled from the party. Now that his enemies are dead or in prison, Teng is reportedly back in Peking. No doubt we will hear more from Teng Hsiao-ping.

Chiang Ching, Wang Hung-wen and the other surviving leaders who came to power through the Cultural Revolution were essentially a *clique*. Their power

*continued on page 11*

WV Photo

**Demonstration at Pier 27 in San Francisco against docking of South African ship.**

# S.F. Longshore Bureaucrats Sabotage Anti-Apartheid Protest

SAN FRANCISCO, October 16—Early this morning, the *Nehlor Kimberly*, a ship bound for Durban, Cape Town and other South African ports, arrived at Piers 27-29 here. After learning the night before of the ship's imminent arrival, the Spartacist League (SL) organized an emergency picket line in solidarity with anti-apartheid revolts in South Africa. The nearly 65 pickets who arrived at 6:30 a.m. spiritedly chanted, "Smash apartheid. Workers to power," "Black, brown, yellow, white Workers of the world unite," and "Labor boycott now."

At the pier, the SL handed out a leaflet urging "all those opposed to the almost daily massacres resulting from protests against the slave-like exploitation to which black South Africans are subject under the white supremacist apartheid system to join us in this protest." The leaflet appealed to the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) to respect the picket line as a means of opposing the massive slaughter in South Africa and to win the release of anti-apartheid militants.

Longshoremen arriving at the pier were sympathetic to the call for a labor boycott. At an ILWU Local 10 membership meeting of July 15, the membership had voted a resolution calling for "a boycott of all cargo, dock or ship side, bound for or from South Africa or Rhodesia." Despite this mandate from the membership, the ILWU bureaucracy has actively sabotaged all attempts at implementation of the motion. When Stan Gow, a supporter of "Longshore Militant" (a class-struggle opposition newsletter), put forward a motion in the Local 10 executive board demanding immediate implementation of the boycott, it was defeated in favor of a "membership referendum." Later the referendum was killed and the issue was sent back to the executive board for "more study."

Most of the longshoremen arriving at the picket line this morning voiced their support for a labor boycott. Respecting the lines, the work crew went to the local union headquarters to get instructions. However, Lawrence Tiedbot, the weekend business agent, ordered the crew to go to work and came down to the pier to insure that the membership was forced to cross the picket line. Tiedbot told the longshoremen that any refusal to work the *Nehlor* would jeopardize Pay Guarantee (PGP) payments provided under the contract.

Attempting to pacify militancy, he argued that a boycott would be ineffective until the entire International was united on the issue, for the *Nehlor* could be re-routed to another port if Local 10 refused to work it. Finally, he offered the lame excuse that all the "big shots" who were in a position to authorize a boycott were at home (presumably without telephones) and he could not take personal responsibility for the loss of $160,000 in PGP pay on his own.

Openly defying the Local membership's motion, Tiedbot and the ILWU bureaucracy have made clear their cavalier indifference toward the plight of the oppressed South African non-white masses. Tiedbot is no naive "nice guy" caught in the middle; he is a prominent supporter of the International Bridges regime. As he well knows, a Local 10 boycott would set a precendent and be an inspiration to the entire maritime industry, threatening to upset the bureaucrats' cozy relationship with the maritime companies.

Even Tiedbot's claim that a boycott would jeopardize PGP pay was untrue; under the contract longshoremen are not obliged to work weekends, and as the ship arrived on Saturday the employers would have no case if the boycott were properly organized. Moreover, the sudden concern by the Local 10 misleaders for the PGP fund is totally phony. Over the last year, payments have been slashed thousands of dollars below the level provided for in the contract, and ILWU officials later worked out a deal under which longshoremen were reimbursed for only 15 cents on the dollar of their stolen back pay!

By cynically playing on the membership's fears of unemployment in a period of economic decline, the bureaucrats are attempting to squelch all acts of solidarity. One of the longshoremen, as he reluctantly went to work on orders from Tiedbot, captured much of the sentiment on the pier when he asked the Spartacist League to organize a picket line at the International's offices!

It is evident that Bridges & Co. will refuse to implement the boycott, as will the Local 10 leadership. The "progressive" ILWU tops and their supporters from the reformist Communist Party (who actively supported tabling the motion for immediate implementation of the boycott back to the executive board) are every bit as dedicated to "business as usual" as are open reactionaries such as George Meany. Militants in the ILWU must fight to mobilize the membership to demand implementation. International solidarity in support of anti-apartheid rebels in South Africa has never been more urgent. ■

## No More Trials–Free Her Now!

# Hung Jury in Susan Saxe Trial

UPI

**Susan Saxe**

BOSTON, October 13—After a three-week trial in Suffolk Superior Court, yesterday a jury declared itself hopelessly deadlocked in the case of lesbian-feminist Susan Saxe. Saxe is charged with felony murder for her participation in a Boston bank robbery committed in September 1970 during which a policeman, Walter A. Schroeder, was killed. When the jury failed to reach a verdict after five days of deliberation, a mistrial was declared. However, Saxe remains in custody pending a decision concerning a new trial.

In a surprise move the defense called no witnesses and simply declared at the termination of the state's presentation that "we decided the government had proved our case." The prosecution had called numerous witnesses, none of whom were able to corroborate the state's charge that Saxe played a substantial role in the robbery or even positively identify her. One remembered only that one of the robbery participants had "thick lips," another that "she was a little on the hefty side." The two star witnesses for the prosecution were those who had already received reduced sentences for their cooperation with the state!

Although the state does not contend that Saxe actually shot the policeman, a Massachusetts statute decrees that all persons involved in a felony which results in a death must be charged with felony murder. William Gilday has already been convicted for the murder of Schroeder and has been serving a life sentence since 1972. Another convicted accomplice, Robert J. Valeri, turned state's evidence, naming four others as participants in the robbery, for which the state rewarded him with a reduced charge of manslaughter and a reduced sentence of 15 years with the possibility of parole. A third suspect in the murky case, Stanley Bond, was found dead in his cell at Walpole State Prison in 1972 just prior to being called on to testify. If convicted on this charge, Saxe faces a mandatory sentence of life imprisonment.

Unlike Valeri, who incriminated Saxe within 24 hours of his capture in order to save his own hide, Saxe has courageously refused to cooperate with the government, stating, "...the United States government realizes that I am not and never will be a collaborator. I have made it clear to them that if I am called as a witness in any government proceeding, I

*continued on page 11*

## Keep the Courts Out of the Workers Movement!

# Vargaites Instigate Prosecution of OCI Goon

The last issue of *WV* (15 October) reported on a recent incident in which a goon squad of the Organisation Communiste Internationaliste (OCI) physically attacked members of the French Varga group (LOR) in Paris.

This is certainly not the first time that the OCI has resorted to gangsterism to suppress the political views of opponents within the workers movement; the OCI is notorious for this Stalinist practice. The Vargaites have been a target of particularly vicious OCI goon assaults since their expulsion from the OCI and its affiliates more than two years ago.

The Varga grouping's response to this attack, however, is to invoke the violence of the capitalist state against the OCI! On October 2 a communiqué of the LOR announced its intention to institute criminal proceedings against a member of the OCI goon squad who allegedly beat a member of the LOR while two other OCI goons held him, breaking his nose and knocking out four teeth. To call on the bourgeoisie to prosecute members of working-class organizations amounts to an invitation to the state to harass and repress the workers movement as a whole.

Such Stalinist methods discredit and endanger the ostensibly Trotskyist movement! The OCI's gangsterism and its repeated unproven charges that Varga is an agent of the CIA and/or KGB are direct attacks against workers democracy. In turn, the Vargaites, by initiating the criminal prosecution of OCI members, have made themselves the allies of the capitalist state in its attempts to destroy the workers movement. These are not the methods of Trotskyists! ■

**WORKERS VANGUARD**

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## Strike GM/Chrysler/Ag Imp, in U.S. and Canada!

# How Woodcock Strong-Armed Ford Workers

DETROIT, October 14 When the United Auto Workers (UAW) Ford Council met a week ago at the Veterans Memorial Building to discuss the contract which had just been negotiated by the Woodcock leadership, the assembled local bureaucrats overwhelmingly approved it with only a scattering of opposition. At a press conference after the meeting Woodcock and UAW Ford Division chief Bannon confidently predicted an equally favorable response from the Ford workers themselves But that same afternoon an incident occurred which tells far more about the real state of mind of the UAW bureaucracy than their frozen smiles for the TV cameras.

A few blocks away on West Fort avenue music students from a couple of Detroit high schools were marching to protest cutbacks in their band programs. There were about 400 of them, with trumpets and clarinets, tromhones and saxophones and xylophones, tooting and blaring as they came into JFK Square. Word of this demonstration filtered back to Veterans Building, but by the time UAW officials got the story the report was of a mob of angry auto workers descending on the Ford Council. Thereupon the rattled union officials immediately called in police reinforcements to protect them from the music students!

Leonard Woodcock & Co. were more than nervous about winning membership approval for their sellout contract, and with good reason. They well remember the chaotic 1973 voting, when UAW headquarters stopped announcing unit vote totals as it became clear that skilled workers were turning down the pact. This time nearly 100,000 of the 170,000 Ford workers refused to vote at all. Of those who did cast ballots, according to official union figures, close to 40 percent of production workers voted "no" and the skilled trades passed the contract by only 489 votes nationally.

Of contracts negotiated by major U.S. unions this year, the Ford agreement was unquestionably one of the worst The net wage increase over three years amounted to a pitiful 9 percent (the Rubber Workers got 36 percent) while the cost-of-living escalator was unaltered. The only innovation, Woodcock's thoroughly bankrupt "reduced worktime" scheme, was hailed by UAW leaders as a "major step" toward the four-day week While it provides a few more days off, the contract also takes away two Christmas holidays so that in the first year auto workers will actually have *fewer* paid holidays!

More significantly, nothing has been done about the companies' massive scheduling of required overtime. Even the weak existing restrictions ("voluntary" after 54 hours a week, provided...) were gutted as the contract allowed management to ignore them when additional production shifts are added or new car lines are introduced in a plant—i.e., about every two or three years. So much for "voluntary overtime"!

To top it off, as of today 13 UAW Ford locals still have no local agreement. Yet Solidarity House has ordered the strikers back to work in 99 other locations Ford workers must not abandon these striking locals. Everyone must stay out so long as any locals are still on strike! Further, workers at Chrysler, GM, American Motors and agricultural implements companies in both the U.S. and Canada should strike now in solidarity with Ford militants and in order to avoid being saddled with the same rotten deal (or worse)!

WV Photo

**UAW Local 600 (River Rouge) in Dearborn, Michigan, pushes protectionist "Buy American" campaign. Skilled tradesmen at the Rouge complex voted heavily against the sellout Ford contract.**

### Where Did Those Votes Come From?

The reported razor-thin margin on the contract naturally raised the importance of disputed vote counts and the balloting procedure itself. Ford workers interviewed by *WV* expressed pervasive distrust of the mechanism. Master lists of local memberships were often not checked before ballots were issued. A member of Local 400 complained that "anyone could have walked in off the street and voted"

WV Photo

**Al Gardner**

A *WV* reporter was at the Local 600 (River Rouge) hall in Dearborn as the results from the skilled trades vote there were announced. Official challengers (poll watchers) stated that the Tool and Dies unit had rejected the national agreement by 839 to 316. However, two days later Solidarity House published figures claiming that 377 had voted to accept. Similarly, an additional 35 "yes" votes mysteriously appeared in the maintenance and construction units.

The International's method of tabulating ballots nationally is also suspect. Three years ago the bureaucracy utilized the "unit voting" procedure, in which the majority vote in each unit commits the entire membership of that unit to a unanimous "yes" or "no" vote. Since it felt it could not simply ignore the skilled trades established right to veto the contract (as was done with explosive results in 1973), this year the Woodcock machine simply added up the totals without regard to units.

There is good reason to believe that if the old "unit voting" had been used the tradesmen would have vetoed the contract. However, to determine this it is necessary to know the number of workers in each unit. In response to a request by the reformist Independent Skilled Trades Council (ISTC), Woodcock answered that he could "see no purpose" in releasing these figures.

An International spokesman told *WV* that sometimes the unit rule is used and sometimes not: "There's no definitive rule that mandates the unit system." He went on to say that "if we would have used the unit system, you and other people would have cried foul on that." The bureaucracy, of course, uses whichever method suits its purpose of ramming through the contract, and current protests over the voting procedure are primarily attempts to oppose the sellout contract.

Class-struggle unionists do, however, oppose the undemocratic unit rule as well as the skilled-trades veto right. The principles of industrial unionism require that all members' votes be counted as equals. Skilled tradesmen cannot successfully defend their interests without solidarity from production workers, and the veto divides skilled and unskilled. Unity can only be forged around a program representing the interests of all sections of the workforce in militant struggle against the companies.

Instead of fighting for such a strategy, ISTC leaders took their complaints to the U.S. Labor Department. Even though ISTC chairman Al Gardner admitted to *WV* that, "we're not going to beat them [Woodcock & Co.] in the courts," the ISTC continues to foster the illusion that the courts can be friends of the workers. Judicial meddling in the unions is an attack on the entire working class which must be sharply opposed. The government will use these invita-

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# W. Berlin Teachers Union Expelled for Defying Anti-Red Ban

Reflecting a general rightward shift in the country, the recent hotly contested West German elections were fought out in an orgy of nationalist rhetoric and charges of being "soft on Communism." While the ruling Social Democrats praised the "German model," Christian Democratic challengers offered "a Chancellor for Germany" and both parties competed to see who could sing "Deutschland über Alles" the loudest at campaign rallies. In the midst of this reactionary bickering, the West Berlin teachers union has become a particular target of the witchhunters.

Their weapon is a new constitution of the West German labor federation (the DGB) which includes a so-called "incompatibility clause," declaring membership in an "anti-Constitutional" group grounds for expulsion from the unions. This is the Social Democratic DGB leadership's equivalent of the government *Berufsverbot* forbidding "radicals" to hold civil service jobs. While the federation and the national teachers union (GEW) have already adopted the new constitution, it failed to receive the requisite majority in the West Berlin teachers local because of the McCarthyite provision.

The national GEW, headed by Erich Frister, threatened mass expulsion of teachers opposing the anti-"red" clause and obtained a two-thirds majority for the constitution in Berlin earlier in the summer. However, some dissidents in the local (which includes many former New Left students who became teachers upon graduation) responded by dragging the GEW into the courts. Their suit—based on objections to another provision of the new constitution restricting local autonomy—asked the judges to rule that a three-fourths majority would be required to modify the old local structure. Surprisingly the court upheld their challenge.

Smarting from this check, the GEW national leadership threatened the local with expulsion from the union and a special office was set up at DGB headquarters in Bonn as a rallying point for establishing a new, "loyal" West Berlin local. However, despite heavy bureaucratic intimidation, the second ratification meeting (on August 25) failed, though just barely, to muster a three-quarters majority for the constitution. Of the 417 delegates present, 301 were in favor and 109 opposed. The union leaders responded with a motion asserting that a minority was preventing the local from remaining in the national GEW and DGB. It accused "troublemakers" of "splitting this organization."

Der Spiegel

**Bonn demonstration denouncing government laws banning radicals from civil service jobs.**

While threatening to expel the entire local by October 1, Frister proceeded to set up a competing Berlin "GEW in the DGB" which teachers are being encouraged to join. The DGB bureaucracy joined in the witchhunting clamor with an article in the paper of the powerful metal workers union blasting the "chaotic" August 25 meeting:

> "The result was a confusing number of amendments and never-ending debates on points of order. This confusion certainly furthered the strategy of the opponents of the new constitution. They talked inanely of democracy and the rank and file, of solidarity and class struggle, while really meaning the destruction of unity with the DGB."
> —*Metall* No. 18/1976

While the bourgeois *Spandauer Volkszeitung* was asking how long "friends of extremists" would be allowed to instruct the children of good German citizens, the metal union bureaucrats egged on the purge spirit with a display of naked anti-communism:

> "It is frightening to think that the 27.8 percent of nay-voters could represent an equally large proportion of the teachers in the Berlin schools. What is being unleashed on our children and youth there must lead us to fear for our democracy."

The Berlin GEW paper contributed its "democratic" cover for the barrage by terming the dissident teachers "left Nazis."

Once again, Frister's attempt to set up a "loyal" Berlin organization (which so far has attracted only about 1,500 members from the 13,000-strong old local) hit a snag when a second court suit by the dissidents resulted in a temporary restraining order enjoining the national GEW from proclaiming the Berlin local no longer part of the union or from soliciting members of the local to join the GEW rump section. The old Berlin local, for now, retains the right to collect dues and admit new members, but the national DGB/GEW leadership is appealing the decision.

The battle in the Berlin teachers union could become a focus of resistance to the West German bourgeoisie's many-pronged campaign of repressive legislation. However, the petty-bourgeois radicals' use of the bourgeois courts against the teachers union bureaucracy is a suicidal strategy flatly counterposed to the need for a broad campaign of labor solidarity against the DGB/GEW tops' splitting maneuver. The struggle against the anti-communist constitution cannot be advanced by calling on the class enemy to intervene into the workers movement.

The dissidents' appeal to the bosses' courts has predictably been exploited by the left-Social Democratic Berlin GEW leadership under Kujawa. An official circular of 12 September laments that "internal trade-union disputes are going to be dragged through all levels of the courts," and Kujawa's position paper for a September 29 delegates meeting labeled opposition to Frister's *Diktat* "the first decisive step towards weakening the union's fighting strength.... We will not attempt to decide whether this accords with the ambitions of many judges."

The Berlin local leadership—which was elected a year and a half ago on a program of opposing the anti-"extremist" constitution!—recommended that as many members as possible join the rump "GEW in the DGB." However, this open capitulation was rejected by the delegates on September 29 and the situation is currently stalemated. While the local is now seeking negotiations with Frister, it is angling for a deal to accept the constitution in exchange for vague promises of more democratic statutes. Meanwhile, yet another court suit has been threatened.

The disorientation of the several ostensibly communist organizations in the battle over the West Berlin teachers union illuminates the lack of revolutionary working-class leadership which has led to the present impasse. The pro-Moscow Stalinists of the SEW (local counterpart to the West German DKP) actually dissolved their caucus in the GEW and cooperated with the Social Democrats in backing the anti-"radical" clause. While they hoped to thereby get rid of left opponents and ingratiate themselves with the bureaucrats, Frister & Co. are returning the favor by preparing to apply the statutes against DKP/SEW supporters as well.

The several Maoist groups naturally have nothing against taking the union to court, and the most "critical" of them, the KB, only demurred that entrusting the legal suit to the two-faced Kujawa local leadership was "not a good idea" (*Arbeiterkampf*, 4 October). In keeping with its virulently pro-NATO, anti-Soviet line, the Peking-loyal KPD's main complaint is that the delegates' resolutions failed to include a condemnation of the oppression of teachers in

*continued on page 7*

*On the 20th Anniversary of the 1956 Hungarian Workers' Revolt:*

## The First Workers Political Revolution Against Stalinism

**Budapest, 23 October 1956: The working masses rise up to topple the Stalinist bureaucracy.**

*Speaker:* CHARLES O'BRIEN
*Editor of Young Spartacus*

**NEW YORK CITY**

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## Vicious Attack on SL/ANZ, SWP in Australia

# Protest Healyite Thuggery!

SYDNEY, October 18—A rampage of thuggery by the Healyite Socialist Labour League (SLL) here yesterday left supporters of the Australian Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and Spartacist League of Australia and New Zealand (SL/ANZ) seriously injured. Under direct supervision of SLL national secretary Jim Mulgrew, the Healyite goons launched two brutal premeditated assaults outside a "public" SLL forum at the Sydney Trades Hall. The Spartacist supporters were selling literature and protesting the Healyites' exclusionist practices, whil SWPers were distributing a statement in reply to the Healyites' slander campaign against American SWP leaders Hansen and Novack. Several SL and SWP members were bruised and bloodied, and one SWPer required hospital treatment after numerous punches and kicks to the head and body.

Healyite gangsterism is no news to the workers movement. But yesterday's attacks indicated a deliberate attempt to maim members—and in particular leading members—of opponent tendencies.

No sooner had the Spartacists approached the Trades Hall than SLL honcho Mulgrew began threatening an *Australasian Spartacist* photographer. The reason for Mulgrew's concern with photographs became clear an instant later as, with SWPers looking on, he directed several of his thugs to jump SL national chairman Bill Logan, shrieking "get Logan, get Logan!" SLers who sprang to their comrade's defense were slugged and pummeled, one receiving a bloody nose.

Unable to dislodge the SLers without exposing the seamy side of Healyism before untutored SLL ranks and others coming into the hall, Mulgrew pulled his hoodlums back, restricting them to personal and sexist insults, threats, physical harassments and provocations against the SLers and SWPers who were still arriving.

But when the bulk of their youth had been shepherded inside, the Healyite goons shoved and jostled an SWP supporter handing out material to people going in. Mulgrew and his hooligans then surrounded a leading SWPer, John Percy, who was attempting to photograph the incident. After smacking him on the face, they proceeded to indiscriminately assault SL and SWP supporters coming to his defense. As Mulgrew retreated to safety, the goons launched a barrage of kicking and punching in the middle of the street. One SLer received a severe blow to the head and SWP youth leader David Deutchmann, who had vigorously protested the earlier assault on the SL, was singled out by the enraged Healyites who punched him to the ground and continued to stomp and kick him as he lay.

Healyite gangsterism against the Trotskyist criticism of the SL has a long history. SL/ANZ supporters were subjected to a similar, though less brutal, attack at the same site a year ago when Healy himself came to Sydney on a speaking tour. But with the initiation of their international slander campaign against American SWP leaders Hansen and Novack—which has driven the Healyites further into self-imposed disrepute and paranoid insularity—their thuggery has become more frequent. At a May Day march in Sydney this year the Healyites not only kept Spartacist literature a "safe" distance from their closely guarded contingent (going so far as to call on the cops to prevent an SL supporter from distributing leaflets), but they even accosted a salesman of the *Socialist*, paper of the ossified, ultra-reformist pro-Moscow Stalinists. This was followed by a series of incidents with salesmen of other left papers.

In July a gang of Healyites disrupted a forum in Sydney by American SWP vice-presidential hopeful Willie Mae Reid. The SLLers, shouting and waving their "indictments" of Hansen and Novack during the discussion period, prevented Reid from speaking. The reformist SWP used the incident to ban the SLL from attending all SWP public forums. The SWP has had a long-standing ban against allowing Spartacist supporters at forums as well, thus displaying that its main concern is the suppression of left criticism of its rotten politics.

The Spartacist tendency has from the start taken an active principled stand in combatting the Healyite slander campaign against Hansen and Novack and in defending the SWP against SLL disruptions and physical attacks. This is more than can be said for the SWP's Australian partner in the "United" Secretariat (USec), the crumbling Mandelite Communist League (CL). While Bill Logan on behalf of the SL/ANZ signed the American SWP-initiated statement against the slanders, the CL was conspicuously absent from the list of Australian signatories. In fact it has bolstered the Healyite campaign by supporting their demand for an "inquiry" into the bizarre charges—an act not entirely unconnected with a certain parallelism between the SLL's slogans and appetites toward militant Labourism and those of the CL.

The Healyites' paranoid concern with police infiltration in the workers movement—the ostensible justification for the frenzied campaign to slander Hansen and Novack as "accomplices" in the 1940 assassination of Leon Trotsky—is exposed as hollow by their own practice. Their willful provocation of thug violence opens up the workers movement to repression by the cops at any time. The short step between this Stalinist gangsterism and calling upon the cops to suppress leftist opponents is one which the Healyite political bandits made a decade ago. From the beating of USec supporter Ernest Tate in 1966, and the subsequent appeal to the bourgeoisie's courts against Tate, to the present day the Healyites have repeatedly invoked the capitalist cops and courts against left-wing opponents. Yesterday Mulgrew boasted, "If the police come, we'll get them to arrest you all."

"Cop"-baiting slander and gangster violence are deliberately employed by the Healy tendency as obstacles to debate and political clarification within the workers movement. Open political debate would expose, for example, the SLL's adaptation to the protectionist hysteria sweeping the Australian shipbuilding industry, threatened by overseas competition (the SLL has failed to criticize the chauvinist character of Australian shipyard workers' occupation of Japanese ships, even though an SLL supporter is shop steward in one of the yards most active in the occupations). It would expose the SLL's consistent catering to social-democratic illusions through its campaign to "Force the Liberals to Resign."

We can assure Mulgrew, Healy and their gang of one thing: their gangster tactics will not prevent their exposure in the course of the struggle for the rebirth of the Fourth International! ■

# SYL Protests Imperialist Award to Junta Braintruster Friedman

WV Photo

**Protest rally at University of Chicago, in October 1975, against the collaboration of Friedman and Harberger with the bloody Chilean junta.**

CHICAGO—On Thursday, October 14, Milton Friedman, notorious reactionary economist and adviser to the Chilean junta, was awarded the Nobel Prize for economics by the Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences. Friedman, who retires this year from the University of Chicago (UC), will receive $150,000 and a medal from the Academy. But from the Spartacus Youth League (SYL), which for the past 12 months has been mercilously exposing and protesting Friedman's support to bloodthirsty rightist dictatorships, he got another picket line.

A previously scheduled talk by Freidman on "Capitalism and Jews" the next day at UC became a *de facto* celebration of his "triumph." While the student newspaper, *The Maroon*, brayed "A Nobel well deserved," the SYL, youth section of the Spartacist League, organized on short notice a demonstration against Friedman and his newly acquired imperialist Nobel laurels.

About 15 SYL supporters and independents, together with two members of the New World Resource Center (a "Third World"-oriented New Left group), picketed Friedman's talk. The SYL carried placards reading: "Friedman's 'Achievement': Starvation in Chile!," "Imperialist Award = International Bourgeois Support for Junta," "Smash the Junta Through Workers Revolution," and, on the subject of Friedman's talk, "Capitalism Breeds Anti-Semitism." SYLers and independents also carried slogans against white supremacy in South Africa and Rhodesia (Friedman used his *Newsweek* column to voice praise for the Vorster and Smith governments after an April visit to Africa).

"One of the 'achievements' listed by the Nobel committee when they gave Friedman the prize," said an SYL speaker at the demonstration, "was 'his demonstration of the complexity of stabilization policy.' While Friedman enjoys his fancy lunch, Nobel medal and $150,000, hundreds of thousands of Chilean workers and their children are feeling the effects of Friedman's 'shock treatment,' which was supposedly designed to 'stabilize the Chilean economy.' This imperialist prize to Friedman is an insult and a provocation to the international working class! Today in Chile thousands of working-class children are suffering brain damage because, to quote the *New York Times* [20 September 1975], Friedman's shock treatment has produced a situation in which 'Malnutrition Is the Rule in Santiago Shantytowns'." Friedman himself disingenuously disclaims responsibility for the junta's economic policies, saying he was in Chile only a few days, but the junta, which has always bragged about the fact that its economic strategy was worked out by Friedman's students, the so-called Chicago boys, not surprisingly expressed its profound satisfaction at the award.

An Associated Press dispatch from Stockholm (*Chicago Sun-Times*, 15 October) reports that Friedman's award "was met by angry protests from Swedish leftists who accused Friedman of 'assisting the Chilean junta by drawing the lines of its economic policy'." Even some of the economists on the selection board reportedly objected to the award, as have Nobel laureates George Wald, Salvatore Luria and Linus Pauling. The SYL's year-old campaign exposing and denouncing Friedman's Pinochet connection has contributed greatly to the present international notoriety of Friedman's crimes in Chile. ■

# Why Orlando Letelier Was Murdered

## by the Organización Trotskista Revolucionaria of Chile

I

On 21 September 1976 Orlando Letelier was assassinated. The Chilean Socialist Party (PS) leader was killed by the explosion of a bomb which had been placed by criminal hands in his automobile, parked by chance on a Washington, D.C., street near the Chilean embassy.

It is not necessary to dig very deeply to identify the authors of this heinous murder there is no doubt that they are the agents of the notorious DINA, Pinochet's secret police. It is equally obvious that the DINA could not act openly in the very heart of the imperial capital without the close collaboration of the CIA. Moreover, there were already serious indications of such collaboration in the unofficial August 1975 visit to Washington by Manuel Contreras Sepúlveda (head of the DINA). The White House has refused to authorize a Congressional investigation into this visit

If it is indeed well-known who directed the murderer's hand, we must look for the motives behind the executioners' murderous decision. Letelier's assassination cannot be separated from the death of Carlos Prats the general who refused to back the coup of 11 September 1973 nor from the attack

AP

**Orlando Letelier**

perpetrated against Bernardo Leighton, a leader of the Christian Democratic Party.

To understand the motives which inspired this cowardly assault it is necessary to point out certain aspects of Letelier's political career. He was a member of the Socialist Party, and following Allende's assumption of the presidency Letelier was named ambassador to the United States, in 1973 becoming minister of foreign relations. Inside the PS he belonged to the circle of colleagues of the "*compañero presidente*," as well as being a personal friend of his. After Pinochet's coup d'état he was imprisoned, and later went into exile in the U.S. Finally, as a result of his stay in the U.S., he had important ties with prominent individuals in U.S. politics.

Given his prestige, his past and his political positions, Letelier represented a key figure in a possible bloc between the popular front in exile (UP—Popular Unity) together with the MIR (Movement of the Revolutionary Left) and the Christian Democracy, aimed at replacing the military junta

II

Before the coup d'état of 11 September 1973 the OTR (Organización Trotskista Revolucionaria) had already characterized the UP government as a popular front, that is, a front of class collaboration between workers parties the Communist Party (PC) and the PS and the parties of the bourgeoisie Radical Party (PR), Social Democratic Party (PSD), Independent Political Alliance (API) with the MIR as its left appendage. The international Spartacist tendency also wrote:

> "Allende's UP government is the product of an electoral coalition of the Socialist Party, the Communist Party, the Radical Party (Chile's classic party of the liberal bourgeoisie) and several minor petty-bourgeois parties (the MAPU, the API, the PSD) It is a classical *popular front* that is, a coalition of workers' parties and 'progressive' bourgeois parties."
>
> WV No 14, December 1972

It was precisely this policy of subordinating the proletariat to the bourgeoisie which led to the hideous massacre of the working class that took place with the military coup and the bloody repression which followed. The fundamental objective of the Pinochet government was not to simply overthrow Allende but rather to destroy the workers movement, both trade unions and parties.

Today the military junta has practically fulfilled its objective—the proletariat has been defeated, decimated, imprisoned; the workers parties have virtually disappeared, their leaders arrested, murdered or deported; signs of trade-union activity are minimal and sporadic; and even the Christian Democracy, a fervent supporter of the coup, has been gravely threatened. Nevertheless, the Pinochet regime remains shaky, without a solid base of social support.

Faced with this panorama, those responsible for the defeat have reorganized the popular front in exile—what Trotsky, the commander of the Red Army, termed "the worst of all popular fronts"—the so-called "anti-fascist front" of the UP plus the MIR, which, worse yet, struggles dauntlessly to include the Christian Democrats in its ranks. About this the UP states:

> "The popular and democratic alliance which is needed today is much broader politically, socially and ideologically than the Popular Unity... In this new patriotic, revolutionary and libertarian enterprise, there is an active role for the Christian masses alongside the other people's organizations They have a place in the present and future struggle to overturn the junta and establish a new society"
>
> —from the "Berlin Agreement," 27 July 1975

And the MIR adds: "...the motion of the democratic petty bourgeoisie away from Freism [Eduardo Frei was the Christian Democratic president of Chile during 1964-70] and its evolution toward more consistent anti-dictatorial positions open a wide field for its rapprochement with the left and the revolutionaries" (from *El Rebelde en la clandestinidad*, July 1976)

The appetites of the bureaucratic leaderships of the PC, PS, MIR and MAPU for a broader popular front appear to be neither greatly exaggerated nor utopian if we observe what Frei himself affirms: "Nor do we believe that the democratic reconstruction of Chile will be the task of one party because we clearly understand and have already stated that this requires the widest consensus of Chileans, which goes much further than a political conglomerate" (from E. Frei, *Esta es mi respuesta*, December 1975).

We must state clearly that there are sections of the Chilean bourgeoisie and even of Yankee imperialism which would like to alter the disastrous economic policies of the junta and replace its hideous external image. But one must also note that Chile is not isolated, and that in neighboring Argentina in particular, the policy of promoting a bourgeois "alternative" to military rule which permitted Perón's return to power—resulted in calamity.

III

The UP and the MIR, as well as the Christian Democrats, agree on the necessity of replacing the junta with a government representing "the majority." Within this perspective and the development of a possible rapprochement, Letelier played an important role. This was the principal reason that he was savagely assassinated. This deed once more traces in blood and fire the bonapartist character of Pinochet's government. In a reference to bonapartism, Trotsky wrote:

> "Let us once more recall: if two forks are stuck symmetrically into a cork, the latter can stand even on the head of a pin That is precisely the schema of Bonapartism. To be sure, such a government does not cease being the clerk of the property owners. Yet the clerk sits on the back of the boss, rubs his neck raw and does not hesitate at times to dig his boots into his face."
>
> "The Only Road," 14 September 1932

Pinochet could say to the Chilean bourgeoisie: "You imbeciles couldn't halt the advance of the workers movement, and now you're trying to oppose me. If I have to, I'll strike back at you (Sr. Frei and the church) to defend your own interests."

We revolutionary Marxists, Chilean Trotskyists, energetically condemn the savage murder of Orlando Letelier, member of a workers party, but we must also make it clear that Letelier's road is not ours. Our road—the path of Luis Emilio Recabarren [founder of the Chilean Communist Party]—is the only one which the proletariat and impoverished masses of Chile and Latin America can follow to socialism, to the seizure of power by the proletariat led by its vanguard party.

Washington Post

**Letelier's car after bomb exploded near Chilean embassy, September 21.**

Today in Chile that party does not exist, and its absence reflects the historic crisis of revolutionary proletarian leadership. Such a party must be irreconcilably opposed to every sort of bourgeois dictatorship, from the classic bourgeois government of Frei through Allende's popular front to the bonapartist dictatorship of Pinochet, and every other form of capitalist alternative.

Our policy is: no confidence in the bourgeoisie, no subordination of the interests of the working class to its class enemy! In defense of the historic interests of the proletariat we will not hesitate to give military support to a bourgeois government threatened by a rightist coup which seeks to annihilate the workers organizations.

The way to defend the exploited and oppressed is to mobilize the working class for revolutionary struggle against not only the junta but capitalism itself. In this struggle the tactic of the united front enables us to strike a common blow against the enemy as well as helping to divide the worker ranks of the reformist parties from their bureaucratic misleaders. If workers who are members of the PC, PS or even of the Christian Democrats show their willingness to join in defending the factories and the conquests of proletarian struggle, we will tell them: "Fight by our side and you will see that only a revolutionary workers party can break the chains of exploitation and death which bind those enslaved by capital."

*Down with the Junta's Bloody Repression! For the Construction of the Trotskyist Revolutionary Workers Party! Toward the Rebirth of the Fourth International!*

*Organización Trotskista Revolucionaria of Chile*
*6 October 1976*


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## Free Kani and Ntshona!

# Anti-Apartheid Black Actors Jailed on Bantustan

**"I must tell you, friend...when a car passes or the wind blows up the dust, Ciskeian independence makes you cough. I'm telling you, friend...put a man in a pondok and call that independence? My good friend, let me tell you...Ciskeian independence is shit!"**

**—"Sizwe Bansi Is Dead," devised by Athol Fugard, John Kani and Winston Ntshona**

John Kani and Winston Ntshona, the two internationally celebrated black South African actors/writers, were jailed in the Bantustan of Transkei after a performance of their play, *Sizwe Bansi Is Dead*, on October 7. Chief Kaiser Mantanzima, who will be prime minister when the Transkei "independence" fraud is officialized October 26, made it abundantly clear why the two were arrested, saying, "It is highly irresponsible for any person to come and tell the people of the Transkei that independence will bring bloodshed in its wake" (quoted in the *New York Times*, 14 October).

His brother, Transkei justice minister George Mantanzima, is holding the two until they "satisfactorily answer questions" about their performance, which the minister found "vulgar, abusive and highly inflammatory." But Kani and Ntshona have not given the tribal chiefs the words they want, choosing jail rather than giving their approval to a cruel scheme to further emiserate and enslave the black population of South Africa.

The play, which is performed as "workshop theater," leaves plenty of room for the actors to improvise on the theme of Transkei "independence," which the performers condemn from the stage. *Sizwe* makes a powerful statement against the entire apartheid system. Written by South African white playwright Athol Fugard, it throws a brilliant spotlight on the degrading, racist pass system, focusing on a black man who must adopt the persona of the dead Sizwe Bansi in order to get the pass necessary to work (see excerpt printed on this page).

New York Times

John Kani, left, and Winston Ntshona

South African officials have condemned the sharply anti-apartheid plays of Fugard, Kani and Ntshona, and since the outbreak of anti-apartheid revolts four months ago have banned their performance in black townships.

Kani and Ntshona have also, unfortunately, been the targets of criticism by the African National Congress (ANC) for their stand against the ANC call for "a complete, total economic, athletic, and cultural boycott of South Africa" (*Daily World*, 16 October). The reactionary-utopian content of the "complete, total" boycott becomes immediately clear in this case. It is in fact *urgent* that plays attacking the Bantustan hoax be performed in the Bantustans themselves, as *Sizwe* was to packed crowds in the Transkei capital of Umtata.

It is not only a good thing that anti-apartheid plays be performed on Broadway, where *Sizwe* (along with another of their plays, *The Island*) won "Tony" awards last year. They must also be performed before the victims of apartheid who are systematically deprived of cultural (or any other) means of expressing outrage at their condition. For their

*continued on page 10*

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**305t Massachusetts Ave., N.W.**
**Washington, D.C. 20008**

**Actors/writers John Kani and Winston Ntshona were detained for their criticism of Transkei "independence." This very arrest dramatically exposes the cruel hoax of this "independence," since South Africa's police-state measures against opponents of apartheid continue to be applied.**

**But the obvious truth about the brutal reality of retribalization cannot be gagged in the jails of South Africa. The responsibility for this outrage lies with the racist regime of Vorster and his quisling tribal chieftains in the Transkei, in their attempt to silence the growing outcry against the apartheid system and its miserable Bantustans.**

**Free Kani and Ntshona! Free the thousands of imprisoned fighters against apartheid repression!**

**Partisan Defense Committee**
**Box 633, Canal Street Station**
**New York, N.Y. 10013**

## Sizwe Bansi is Dead

### by Athol Fugard, John Kani and Winston Ntshona

### (AN EXCERPT)

*Buntu.* Let me see your book? Shit! You know what this is? [*The stamp.*]

*Man.* I can't read

*Buntu.* Listen ... [*reads*] 'You are required to report to the Bantu Affairs Commissioner, King William's Town, within three days of the above-mentioned date for the....' You should have been home yesterday!... 'for the purpose of repatriation to home district.' Influx Control. You're in trouble, Sizwe.

*Man.* I don't want to leave Port Elizabeth.

*Buntu.* Maybe. But if that book says go, you go.

*Man.* Can't I maybe burn this book and get a new one?

*Buntu.* Burn that book? Stop kidding yourself, Sizwe! Anyway suppose you do. You must immediately go apply for a new one. Right? And until that new one comes, be careful the police don't stop you and ask for your book. Into the Courtroom, brother. Charge: Failing to produce Reference Book on Demand. Five rand or five days. Finally the new book comes. Down to the Labour Bureau for a stamp ... it's got to be endorsed with permission to be in this area. White man at the Labour Bureau takes the book, looks at it—doesn't look at you!—goes to the big machine and feeds in your number ... card jumps out, he reads: 'Sizwe Bansi. Endorsed to King William's Town....' Takes your book, fetches that same stamp, and in it goes again. So you burn that book, or throw it away, and get another one. Same thing happens. 'Sizwe Bansi. Endorsed to King William's Town....' Stamp goes in the third time.... But this time it's also into a van and off to the Native Commissioner's Office; card around your neck with your number on it; escort on both sides and back to King William's Town. They make you pay for the train fare too!

*Man.* I think I will try to look for some jobs in the garden....

*Buntu.* ...Do you know any white man who's prepared to give you a job?

*Man.* No. I don't know any white man.

*Buntu.* Pity. We might have been able to work something then. You talk to the white man, you see, and ask him to write a letter saying he's got a job for you. You take that letter from the white man and go back to King William's Town, where you show it to the Native Commissioner there. The Native Commissioner in King William's Town reads that letter from the white man in Port Elizabeth who is ready to give you the job. He then writes a letter back to the Native Commissioner in Port Elizabeth. So you come back here with the two letters. Then the Native Commissioner in Port Elizabeth reads the letter from the Native Commissioner in King William's Town together with the first letter from the white man who is prepared to give you a job, and he says when he reads the letters: Ah yes, this man Sizwe Bansi can get a job. So the Native Commissioner in Port Elizabeth then writes a letter which you take with the letters from the Native Commissioner in King William's Town and the white man in Port Elizabeth, to the Senior Officer at the Labour Bureau, who reads all the letters. Then he will put the right stamp in your book and give you another letter from himself which together with the letters from the white man and the two Native Affairs Commissioners, you take to the Administration Office here in New Brighton and make an application for Residence Permit, so that you don't fall victim of raids again. Simple.

*Man.* Maybe I can start a little business selling potatoes and....

# W. Berlin...

*(continued from page 4)*

"social-imperialist" East Germany!

Unlike its fraternal organization in the U.S. (the SWP), which has no compunctions about suing the unions in the capitalist courts, the ostensibly Trotskyist GIM (German section of the "United" Secretariat) claims to oppose legal action against the GEW. However, as the KB gleefully points out, the GIM grants that a suit would be "discussable" if Frister actually expels the Berlin teachers local and seizes its treasury. And the Spartacushund, which likewise formally opposes the court suit, makes a mockery of trade-union rights by demanding that GEW meetings be "open to the public" so that they can be stacked by non-union members. Only the Trotzkistische Liga Deutschlands (TLD, German section of the international Spartacist tendency) consistently opposes bringing the bourgeois state into the internal affairs of the labor movement while vigorously opposing anti-communism in the unions.

While defeatist sentiments must be fought, there is also a real danger of isolated adventurist tactical moves, and particularly proposals to forget about the GEW/DGB and "go it alone." The Maoist KPD, which has managed to get a good number of its supporters sacked from the labor movement by stupidly counterposing its "Red Trade-Union Oppositions" (RGO's) to the DGB unions, is already looking in this direction. The disastrous consequences of such a policy can be seen by looking back to the Stalinized KPD's policy in the early 1930's of turning its RGO's into isolated "red unions": as a result the mass unions were left entirely in the hands of the Social Democrats.

With the majority of the Berlin teachers resisting Frister's threats to liquidate their local, the situation of the local is far from hopeless. The ranks must be mobilized to wage a broad campaign throughout the national GEW and DGB against the bureaucratic purge, the anti-"red" constitution and the government *Berufsverbot*. Under a resolute class-struggle leadership, such a campaign could turn the West Berlin GEW into a spearhead of working-class resistance to the Social Democratic traitors' reactionary campaign to intimidate and discipline the labor movement on behalf of the bourgeoisie. ■

# No to Transkei "Independence"— For Workers Revolution in South Africa!

# Down with Vorster's Bantustans!

On October 26, South Africa's white supremacist rulers will confer "independence" on the Transkei Bantustan, creating a puppet state based on a non-existent nation. The total bankruptcy of the apartheid system which spawned the Bantustans was exposed this week when South African prime minister Balthazar Vorster hailed the coming of "absolute independence" of the Transkei and then assured his interviewer that white South African rulers would never cede power to the black majority (*New York Times*, 19 October).

A coterie of quisling chiefs headed by Kaiser Mantanzima will oversee a depleted rural economy which imports 80 percent of its food and whose only significant export is black labor; direct a civil service dominated at the top by white South Africans; administer a budget of which 70 percent is allocated directly by Pretoria; and command a minuscule army, whose major function is to provide the ceremonial backdrop

Sechaba

**Kaiser Matanzima**

for the conferring of "independence." Even the Gestapo-like South African Bureau of State Security (BOSS) will continue to operate in the Transkei, under nominal control of the new government.

This bogus state is the culmination of the "separate development of tribal homelands" policy with which the Nationalist Party rulers attempt to legitimize white supremacy, the super-exploitation and political disfranchisement of South Africa's black majority. Not only the 1.3 million Xhosa-speaking inhabitants of the Transkei will become citizens of this phony state on October 26. Pretoria also designates another 1.5 million blacks who permanently live and work outside the Bantustan as Transkeian Xhosas and with a single stroke of the pen will turn them into aliens in "white South Africa." The architects of apartheid, thus, simultaneously create their showpiece of "separate development" and legally codify the ruling Nationalist Party's claims that blacks are merely "temporary sojourners" (despite their essential economic role) in white areas.

With consummate hypocrisy, the butchers of Soweto now present themselves as the liberators of the "Xhosa nation." South African prime minister Balthazar Johannes Vorster proclaims that Transkeian "independence" signifies his government's recognition of "the claims of various Black peoples to the territorial areas chosen by themselves as their own where they could establish their own nationhood according to their own cultures and standards" (*Africa*, October 1976).

Such claptrap is belied by the fact that these "homelands" exist primarily as reservoirs of cheap black labor. They were not carved out by national independence struggles of the Xhosas, Tswanas, Zulus, etc. Rather they are the product of the economic needs and racist ideology of the apartheid system. The tribal and language groups on which "separate development" is ostensibly based are not nations or even nationalities; they are to a large degree vestiges of the past as an increasingly united non-white South African proletariat is forged in the mammoth, jumbled urban labor compounds of the mining and industrial areas.

It is above all in a vain attempt to prevent this 5-million strong proletariat from becoming conscious of its identity and historic class interests that Vorster and his predecessors have carried out a deliberate policy of *retribalization*. Although the apartheid regime is doing its best to use Transkei "independence" to advertise the supposedly humanitarian aims of its Bantustan policy, the bankruptcy of the whole enterprise is sealed by the powerful urban black and "coloured" (mulatto) rebellions, uniting workers and youth of all tribes and oppressed ethnic groups, which have swept South Africa since mid-June.

### Glorified Concentration Camps

In the first place, the so-called "homelands" are nothing but hellholes of concentrated poverty. Overpopulation of depleted farm land, lack of agricultural capital and industry and primitive forms of cultivation ensure that these "tribal homelands" (a mere 13 percent of total South African territory) could never sustain the entire African population. And in fact the actual population of the Transkei and other Bantustans consists overwhelmingly of women, children and old people. The majority of adult males are absent on months-long labor contracts, toiling in white-owned factories, mines and farms.

The bulk of the Bantustan population scratch out a wretched existence on the land or live on meager government rations in the "resettlement locations." Last year, only 47,500 Africans were working for wages in the Transkei, roughly half of them on the public payroll. Indeed, the rapid expansion of petty officialdom to provide patronage jobs for Mantanzima's supporters is the major concrete accomplishment of more than a decade of "separate development."

While 257,000 blacks from the Transkei worked as migrant laborers in the white areas, the impoverished multitudes on the Bantustans were increased by the continued forcible removal of "non-productive" blacks from the white areas and resettlement in their so-called "tribal homelands." Cosmas Desmond has estimated that half a million Xhosas had been "repatriated" to the Transkei (*The Discarded People*, 1971).

Southern Africa

**Bantustan hut**

This year the Institute of Race Relations estimated that over the past two decades a total of 6 million Africans, a third of the entire black population, have been thrown out of their homes and resettled by the government (*New York Times*, 16 September). Desmond described the living hell that awaits them:

> "Occasional reports reach the outside world of the desperate economic plight in the Transkei: queues of unemployed outside the labour bureaux; half the maize crop failed in 1969 and 1970; 20 per cent of the cattle died from drought in 1969; 40,000 infants died of malnutrition in 1967; an epidemic of tuberculosis affecting a fifth of the population in 1968...."

Yet this backwater of human misery and squalor is Pretoria's "showcase." Millions of dollars are spent annually in a slick international public relations attempt to foist off Bantustan "independence" as evidence that winds of change are sweeping South Africa.

As the second largest Bantustan and the only one with a contiguous territory and significant coastline, the Transkei has certain relative advantages. Consequently, the Nationalists have developed its puppet political institutions at a more rapid pace and with greater fanfare than in the other "homelands." The Xhosa Development Corporation and Border Industries Program are touted around the world even though they have developed no more than 8,000 manufacturing jobs for the Transkei in the past decade.

### A History of Oppression

The development of the Bantustans out of what were originally called "native reserves" (established by the political representatives of the "liberal" English-speaking bourgeoisie) has been inextricably linked with the subjugation of the Africans. The last war against the Xhosa was fought in 1879 after which the Transkei (area beyond the Kei River) was annexed by the British administration of the Cape Province. The British colonial authorities and, after 1910, successive governments of the Union of South Africa viewed the tribal leaders as potential foci of resistance and for decades sought to undermine their power through direct magisterial rule over the conquered African peoples.

But the 1948 election victory of the Afrikaner-based Nationalist Party radically altered the forms of white supremacist rule. By then the tribal chiefs were hardly a threat. Moreover, the Nationalists were committed to fostering apartheid (literally "apartness") in every sphere of South African society and to ideologically justifying racist rule by demonstrating that the "Bantu nations" were backward and unassimilable. Toward that end, the new government began a policy of propping up the authority of chiefs in the "tribal homelands" while attempting to reverse the urbanization and detribalization of African workers.

Against a rising tide of African nationalism demanding majority rule in South Africa, the Nationalists proclaimed a highly circumscribed "self-government" based on tribal chieftainship in the reserves. The chiefs were put on government salary. Their traditional control over the distribution of communal land and cattle was reinforced. "Bantu education" concretized the policy of fostering tribal divisions by replacing the predominantly English-speaking mission schools with "mother tongue instruction" in government schools. At the same time, the last vestige of black political rights—the


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**Toward Rebirth of the Fourth International!**

*Speaker:* JAMES ROBERTSON

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# "Third World" Cheerleaders Hold "Che" Memorial

NEW YORK, October 9—A memorial meeting tonight in honor of "Che" Guevara on the ninth anniversary of his vicious assassination by CIA and Bolivian *gorila* butchers drew together the mainstream "Third World" left and their U.S. cheerleaders. Although billed as a spectacular multi-media event—with six speakers, two guitarists, one film and an intermission—many in the audience of 400 drifted away as the orators droned on in empty praise of El Comandante.

The only remotely political speech was that of Irwin Silber, long-time "independent" Stalinoid radical and editor of the *Guardian*. In the course of a homage to Che resembling a funeral oration, Silber managed to subtly knife his erstwhile Maoist allies (if Che were alive today he would have been fighting for the MPLA in Angola) and to lambaste the "modern opportunist" Communist Party for its policies of a "peaceful road to socialism." Ironically, directly behind Silber was a huge poster of Salvador Allende, whose ill-fated Popular Unity coalition was the very embodiment of the "peaceful road" strategy.

The meeting reflected the political shift of the *Guardian* over the last year. Whereas 12 months ago Silber could have been addressing one of the perennial Maoist town meetings for a "Marxist-Leninist" party, his radical/liberal readership could no longer stomach the Washington/Peking axis when it joined with white supremacist South Africa during the proxy war over Angola. Yet, although Silber has now taken to "comradely" dissent from China's open alliance with U.S. imperialism, it simply means that today he remains silent about Havana's political support to anti-working-class military juntas in Panama and Peru, not to mention Castro's suppression of communist oppositionists in Cuba itself.

Since there was no provision for discussion by the audience, the only challenge to all forms of Stalinism—whether Brezhnevite, Maoist or Castroist/Guevarist—at the meeting was a Spartacist League leaflet printed below.

**"Che" Guevara's Legacy**

## Guerrillaism: The Politics of Petty-Bourgeois Despair

The career of Ernesto "Che" Guevara displayed profound contradictions. A personally heroic fighter against reactionary *gorila* (militarist) dictatorships, he also propounded the anti-Marxist theory that a few brave individuals taking up guns against imperialism would be sufficient to spark revolution. The *foco* (guerrilla band) could topple the precarious oligarchic regimes, he believed, catapulting the guerrillas to the seat of state power, "just like in Cuba."

Militant fighters against imperialism will not forget Guevara's valor, but the first duty of a Marxist vanguard is to warn that Che's theory of guerrillaism was a program for defeat, born of petty-bourgeois despair. It led not only to his own tragic assassination at the hands of Bolivian colonels and their CIA advisers, but to the disorientation of a generation of brave fighters against social injustice who followed his mistaken path.

Fidel Castro and Che Guevara began as left nationalists who succeeded in overthrowing the rotten-ripe Batista regime and, faced with the hostility of U.S. imperialism, were forced to establish a deformed workers state with themselves at the head of a Stalinist ruling bureaucracy. For a time they criticized the timidity of the pro-Moscow Communist parties and their bogus "peaceful road." It was this that attracted militant youth to Castroism/Guevarism.

There are some disillusioned ex-Guevarists who see a right turn in Castro's recent foreign policies: his support for the virulently anti-working-class "revolutionary" junta in Peru; his support for the Peronist regime which gave rise to the infamous AAA anti-communist death squads; and his backing for the tin-pot dictator Torrijos who jails students fighting to defend the workers' living standards. But in reality, Castroism/Guevarism never went beyond a Stalinist "two-stage" theory of revolution, which is and always has been the justification for support to "left"-talking populist demagogues—from Che's decoration of the latifundista Goulart in Brazil (1962) to Castro's accolades for General Torrijos in Panama today.

Even the most left-wing Castroite/Guevarist groups, such as the Chilean MIR and Argentine PRT/ERP, have proven themselves unable to provide revolutionary leadership to the working masses. The MIR gave critical support to the class-collaborationist UP coalition in Chile, which lulled workers' vigilance with praise for "constitutionalist" officers, and the ERP vainly sought a truce with Perón while the latter's gunmen cut down left-wing youth.

While in no way relinquishing our Marxist opposition to guerrillaism, we recognize that among the ranks of the Guevarists are many sincere fighters from whom may be drawn future leaders of proletarian revolution in Latin America. That is why the Spartacist tendency took the lead in launching an international campaign on behalf of MIR leaders Bautista Van Schouwen and Alejandro Romero while Stalinist-led Chile committees and USLA focused on more "respectable" prisoners of the Chilean junta.

Recently, the Partisan Defense Committee (PDC) mobilized a successful international defense campaign for Chilean miners' leader Mario Muñoz, eventually obtaining safe conduct for the persecuted trade unionists from Argentina to Europe. Following this blow against the rightist repression of the Pinochet and Videla juntas, we continue to fight for the freedom of Henrrique, Garrido, Asmay, Crus, Flores and Tapia—Chilean militants and compañeros of Muñoz who are still trapped in Argentina.

But in addition to championing anti-sectarian class-struggle defense, the Spartacist League warns of the dangers of guerrillaism, which the sponsors of tonight's meeting support. Unlike the reformist Communist Party, we do not criticize guerrillaism because it stands in the way of alliance with the "progressive" bourgeoisie; unlike the equally reformist Socialist Workers Party we do not oppose guerrilla war because it will offend liberal pacifists and scare off Democratic Congressmen from its "single-issue" mini-popular fronts.

No, Marxists opposed guerrillaism precisely because it is a petty-bourgeois strategy, based on the peasantry or militant youth—*and not on mobilizing the working class*, which *alone* can smash all the capitalists, "progressive" and otherwise—and because it has squandered the lives of hundreds of militants seeking the road of revolution. Those who wish to understand the Trotskyist position on guerrilla warfare should read the Declaration of Fraternal Relations of the international Spartacist tendency and the Organización Trotskista Revolucionaria of Chile, which is being sold here tonight.

Now there are many, some of whom are speaking here, who believe in the best Stalinist tradition that raising political questions and differences in the context of defense efforts is "divisive." A glaring example: at the recent demonstration protesting Letelier's assassination, all banners and signs were forbidden by the Communist Party-led Chile Democrático (except, of course, their own); NICH stood by as the SL was excluded for the "crime" of raising slogans like "Avenge Orlando Letelier."

MASA, in turn, routinely excludes the SL from its demos for carrying banners critical of Peronism, Stalinism, and guerrillaism. And this, even after Isabel Perón handed over the reins of government to the generals so they could more efficiently escalate repression against the workers; after the Argentine Communist Party openly hailed the junta; and after the guerrillaist PRT/ERP greeted the military takeover, bragging with mock bravado, after Videla, us! The *Guardian*, of course, has always tacitly supported Stalinist exclusion of Trotskyists.

As Leninists we know that in the final analysis there is only one sure defense against reactionary terror: seizure of state power by workers soviets, led by a revolutionary party. That is why defense of left-wing militants must proceed hand-in-hand with a political rearming of the working class. It is for this reason that slogans such as "Build Trotskyist Parties in Chile and Argentina" and "Reforge the Fourth International" are not at all superfluous, but are at the very core of the tasks facing proletarian revolutionists.

The lessons of popular-front treachery in Chile, of collaboration with bourgeois populism in Argentina, of the utter failure of Guevarist guerrillaism in Bolivia and elsewhere must be burned into the consciousness of the working class. The Stalinists' bureaucratic exclusionism is aimed at preventing this, to cover their own criminal responsibility through suppressing proletarian democracy. Without the leadership of a Trotskyist vanguard the working masses in Latin America will once again fall prey to the bloody hand of reaction.

election of three whites to "represent" Cape Africans in Parliament—was taken away. Pass laws and other forms of influx controls were also tightened.

In 1959 the Promotion of Bantu Self-Government Bill was introduced. It incorporated prime minister Hendrik Verwoerd's concept of consolidating the nearly 200 scattered reserves into a handful (eventually ten) of "tribal homelands," later known as Bantustans.

Heightened regimentation of the African population was met by growing resistance throughout the country. The urban-based African National Congress (ANC) and Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) launched mass campaigns against the pass laws (culminating in the March 1960 Sharpeville massacre) while peasants in the reserves began to resist the new Bantu Authorities, sometimes killing quisling chiefs or their flunkies.

The new tribal authorities succeeded even in enraging many backward peasants whom Pretoria had expected to support the chiefs. The Transkei Assembly headed by Kaiser Mantanzima since 1963 is armed with all the draconian powers of its white overlords. Indeed since the Pondos' uprising in 1960, the Transkei has been in an official state of emergency, and Mantanzima's henchmen have collaborated with the South African armed forces to smash all opposition to the "separate development" fraud.

### The Opposition

The political divisions among the Transkei authorities began in the mid-1950's when Mantanzima, a district chief of Tembuland, was elevated to equal status with the Paramount Chief, Sabata Dalindyebo. Following passage of the Transkei Constitution Act in 1963, elections were held to fill 45 seats in the newly formed Legislative Assembly (another 64 seats belonged *ex officio* to the chiefs). According to Govan Mbeki, ANC leader and author of *South Africa. The Peasants' Revolt*, Sabata stood for "multi-racialism in the Transkei after independence; a bicameral system of government, with an elected lower house and an upper house of Chiefs;...and the development of industries in the Transkei with the participation of White capital."

Mantanzima, on the other hand, hailed Verwoerd as "a friend of the African people," and railed against liberals and communists. Against the tepid liberalism of his opponents, he put forward a program for expanded black control of the Transkei: "continuation of Chiefs in the legislature; no multi-racialism anywhere; no White capital for industrial development; an all-Black civil service; a Black battalion under the control of the Republic's defense force...."

Although Sabata's supporters won a majority of elected seats, they were a minority among the chiefs and Mantanzima was appointed chief minister. Shortly thereafter, the opposition chiefs joined to form the Democratic Party. Wielding dictatorial powers against his opponents, Chief Minister Mantanzima has prevented this timid parliamentary opposition (operating inside a puppet parliament) from ever becoming a significant force. Nevertheless, the Democratic Party (whose decimated forces recently split) has ties to other traditionalist, Bantustan-based critics

*continued on page 10*

# Black Actors...

*(continued from page 7)*

courageous choice to perform their work under the trying and dangerous conditions imposed by the vicious Vorster regime, Kani and Ntshona deserve the applause, not the criticism, of foes of apartheid.

A demonstration numbering several hundred participants was organized by Kani and Ntshona's colleagues in the theater industry in front of the South African consulate in New York on October 14. Other protests have been held in London and Paris, and a defense committee for the two actors is being organized here. Actors Equity has sent telegrams protesting the arrests, and the Professional Employees Division of the AFL-CIO passed a resolution demanding their immediate release. The Partisan Defense Committee has sent telegrams to the South African embassy in Washington and the South African Mission to the UN, and encourages readers of *WV* to do likewise. Free Kani and Ntshona! Free all the imprisoned victims of apartheid repression!■

# Woodcock...

*(continued from page 3)*

tions as precedents to overturn contracts and crush militant oppositionists

### From Ballot-Stuffing to Goon Attacks

There have been several incidents around the Ford strike which make clear that the bureaucracy does not limit itself to juggling votes in the effort to impose its pro-company policies. One case in point concerns the workers at the Rouge power house and oxygen plant, who had been kept on the job during most of the strike. The fact that these and hundreds of other "essential workers" were pouring through the leaky picket lines was a source of anger to union militants and weakened the strike. On October 10, the power house and oxygen plant workers walked out when they discovered that once again they would receive no incentive bonus (unlike other Ford workers involved in steel production).

Workers from this unit told *WV* that they had petitioned Local 600 leaders to allow them to join the picket lines, but their requests were ignored. Local officials including president Mike Rinaldi stated that the bargainers would seek no additional benefits for the unit, nor would there be any union protection against threatened company firings. Two days after the national settlement was ratified the workers bitterly returned to the power house and oxygen plant having won nothing.

Meanwhile, there have been company victimizations at the Dearborn Stamping Plant in the Rouge complex. Five members of the Auto Workers United to Fight in '76 (AWUF) at the stamping plant were suspended today for alleged participation in an in-plant demonstration on the night the strike began. But instead of mobilizing to defend these victims of a management attack, Rinaldi proposed that a campaign be launched against "reds." He is calling for the formation of a 250-man "flying squad" (i.e., a bureaucratic goon squad) to insure that no "outsiders" distribute literature on union property.

Earlier, at a heated meeting held October 10 at Dodge Truck Local 140, president Nat Gooden clashed with supporters of a resolution that would have put the local on record against the Ford agreement. When the session was adjourned, the bureaucracy's goons surrounded and viciously attacked AWUF members. Reportedly one militant was knocked to the floor and another struck with a chain; two people were sent to the hospital for x-rays. The next day, two other Local 140 members were arrested at the plant when they tried to inform fellow workers of the attack.

The reformist AWUF program is nothing but a slightly more militant version of Woodcock's bargaining "demands." Moreover, its uncritical supporters of the Maoist Revolutionary Communist Party, themselves have a despicable record of attacks and threats against militants from other working-class tendencies. (After RCP attacks at the Fremont, California, GM plant, UAW Local 1364 passed a motion forbidding union members to interfere with sales of labor-socialist groups.) Nevertheless all union militants must defend the AWUF victims of company, cop and UAW thug attacks.

The pro-capitalist Woodcock regime in the UAW knows that it is sitting atop an increasingly restive union membership which could easily explode. However, neither the union-suing ISTC nor the mindless, programless "militancy" of AWUF can replace the gang at Solidarity House with a class-struggle leadership.■

# Vorster's Bantustans...

*(continued from page 9)*

of apartheid, notably Gatsha Buthelezi, chief minister of Kwazulu. Hence, it was courted by the ANC/Stalinist forces eager to cement an opportunist political bloc of all sectors opposed, on whatever basis, to the regime and policies of the Nationalist Party.

The liberation of the oppressed non-white masses of South Africa will not be achieved through the sham of Bantustan independence. Nor will it be accomplished under a Stalinist/nationalist leadership which attempts to construct a "national liberation front" politically tailored to attract the Bantustan parliamentary opposition forces, anti-apartheid petty-bourgeois elements in the urban black townships and white, "coloured" and Indian liberals. Lacking channels for legal opposition and with their leading cadres in exile or prison, the ANC and CP hope to regain their niche as critical supporters of the white opposition bourgeois parties by first ensconcing themselves in unprincipled alliances with self-serving black petty-bourgeois elements.

An alliance between black nationalist petty bourgeoisie in the townships and the anti-apartheid chiefs is already in the making, based on common support to the call by the white bourgeois Progressive Reform Party (PRP) for a national convention of all ethnic groups to draw up a constitution for a multi-racial government. A spectrum of political differences exists between the "one man-one vote" position of the ANC/Stalinist bloc and the PRP's proposed ethnic-geographical federation with a qualified franchise. Yet despite these political differences, there is agreement on the key proposition that the immediate task is to remove the Nationalists from power and replace them with a less blatantly racist bourgeois regime.

The white opposition bourgeois parties increasingly fear that Afrikaner intransigence is paving the way to a racial holocaust and economic collapse. The plebeian revolts that repeatedly convulsed urban black townships in recent months are the clearest manifestation of the profound crisis of the apartheid system. Despite two decades of massive removals of "non-productive" Africans to the Bantustans, the Nationalist Party has manifestly failed in its attempts to reduce the entire black workforce to "temporary sojourners" in the white areas. In fact, as a result of the post-war burgeoning of the manufacturing sector, the urban African population has expanded three-fold to 5.4 million in the past thirty years. If the blacks living in white rural areas and working as migrants are taken into account, it is clear that only a minority of the African population actually lives in their so-called "tribal homelands."

In pushing ahead with Transkeian "independence," Vorster is attempting to salvage some remnant of the "separate development" scheme, hoping to buy off some section of the black population while providing another legal buttress to tighter regimentation of the African workers. But each turn of the screw—increased scrutiny of passes, new repressive laws, loss of even formal South African citizenship—only adds to the boiling rage of the proletarians.

Liberation of the millions of impoverished peasants in the Bantustans requires that the 5-million-strong black proletariat assert its role as leader of the oppressed and undertake a determined struggle against all the forces of reaction, not only the Nationalist Party race-haters but also the "enlightened" English-speaking capitalists and the tribal leaders. This requires the forging of a Trotskyist leadership of the proletariat to link the anti-apartheid democratic demands of the masses with the struggle for a black-centered workers and peasants government!■

# SUB DRIVE SUCCESS!

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WORKERS VANGUARD

# Saxe...

*(continued from page 2)*

will refuse to testify,..." In exchange for pleading guilty to the theft of classified government documents from the Newburyport Arsenal and to a Philadelphia bank robbery (for which she received a two-year sentence and a ten-year sentence to run concurrently), it was agreed that she would not be ordered to disclose information about the "underground" movement from 1969 to the present.

Saxe also made it clear that she would not testify against Katherine Power, another alleged accomplice in the Boston robbery, who is still at large. Her declaration was all the more valiant in the face of the statement made by another feminist under similar circumstances—Jane Alpert. Alpert turned state's evidence against the Weather Underground and other supporters of the so-called "male left" in return for a lighter sentence.

The state's search for Saxe over a period of four and a half years was used as an excuse for the surveillance, infiltration and harassment of a number of feminist organizations. Because she had claimed that she intended "to fight as a lesbian, a feminist, an Amazon," many gay groups were also witchhunted by the government. And it is because she has refused to inform on associates that she is still being persecuted by the authorities.

Susan Saxe deserves the support of all labor militants and socialists for her bold resistance to the naked tyranny of the bourgeois state. The continued trials thrown against her are simply victimization for her courageous stand. We demand: NO MORE TRIALS! FREE SUSAN SAXE NOW!■

## After KKK Terror Attack

# Leftists Jailed in Houston

**The aftermath of last month's vicious attack on the Prairie Fire Bookstore in Houston by the KKK-front "Veterans for Victory Over Communism" (see *WV* No. 128, 8 October), who boasted they had "come for a shoot-out," once again exposes the treacherous collaboration between the capitalist state (in this instance, the local police) and these fascist scum. In a television interview, one of the thugs spoke of the thanks he had received from cops for helping to detain those inside the store after the shooting. And Thomas West, an attacker who was shot after heaving a huge rock through the storefront window, stated from his hospital bed: "Our only mistake was that we should have slaughtered everybody."**

**That these vermin, armed with shotguns, can freely assault leftist bookstores and get off scot free while seven of those inside the bookstore were hauled before a grand jury is a perfect example of the phony "even handedness" of bourgeois "law and order." Already one of those subpoenaed, Omar Godinez, has been jailed for contempt for refusing to testify. Moreover, last week another one of those present at the bookstore, October League (OL) supporter Walter Birdwell, was charged with "assault with intent to commit murder." West, however, merely had his wrists slapped with the charge of "malicious mischief"! If in fact, there were any justice in the system, West and his terrorist cronies would all be behind bars.**

**This investigation has been turned into a witchhunt against the OL. The entire left must unite to protest this blatant example of bourgeois "justice," where the victims of the crime are then victimized by the courts and cops. Stop the witchhunt! Free Birdwell and Godinez!**

# China...

*(continued from page 1)*

rested on their personal loyalty to Mao and not on any distinctive program. The cliquist nature of the "radicals" versus "moderates" conflict is revealed in Teng's insulting nickname for Wang Hung-wen: he called Wang "the helicopter," meaning the latter had scaled the heights of power easily through Mao's favoritism, without demonstrating personal leadership capacity. However, with Mao gone, the Chiang clique was greatly weakened; its main potential source of strength was the army, which has apparently decided to go with Hua instead.

If the "radicals" are essentially the Chiang Ching clique, then the "moderates" are no definable group at all. The term "moderate" is used in the bourgeois press as a catch-all category for anyone who is not a "radical." Always included among the "moderates" are Chou En-lai, who supported Mao in the Cultural Revolution, and Teng Hsiao-ping, who was a major victim of it. Hua is now labelled a "moderate" although he first came onto the central committee as a loyal Mao supporter at the height of the Cultural Revolution, and was reportedly nominated as acting premier (to replace Teng) by none other than Chiang Ching herself. Now, even though the Chiang Ching clique has been done away with, all the significant political conflicts which have beset Chinese Stalinism for three decades will re-emerge within the "moderate" post-Mao regime.

### For Workers Political Revolution in China!

Hua, Chiang Ching and all bureaucratic contenders for power in China will, of course, claim to represent the living continuity of Maoism. (That is one reason why the question of who will edit—i.e., censor—Mao's post-1949 writings is of considerable political importance.) Insofar as Maoism represents Stalinism (bureaucratic rule based on collectivized property forms) adapted to Chinese nationalism, such claims are legitimate. In this sense, Mao's heirs are unlike their Russian Stalinist precursors who *falsely* claimed to be continuing Lenin's work.

The continuity of Mao's fundamental policies can be seen in the fact that every major Chinese political figure has fulsomely supported the alliance with U.S. imperialism against the Soviet degenerated workers state. The *New York Times* (13 October) understands this when in an editorial it obliquely urges the Chinese bureaucracy to unite with the Pentagon against the "Russian menace":

> "...China's friends abroad can only hope that the power struggle now well under way will not produce major weaknesses that Moscow can exploit for its own purposes."

What is needed in the face of the present violent power struggle in Peking is a program that can unite the working masses against all sections of the bureaucracy of the Chinese deformed workers state, a program centered on proletarian rule through soviet democracy and an internationalist extension of the revolution. A key element in such a communist program is the defense of both China and the Soviet Union against the imperialist powers. As we wrote last summer:

> "Thus the stage is set for tremendous turmoil in China following the death of the Chairman (if not before). In this convulsion the workers must not simply act as cat's paws for one or another bureaucratic faction or clique. Their mission is to oust the parasitic bureaucrats who stand in the way of working-class political power, the democratic rule of soviets. It is with the aim of leading this anti-bureaucratic political revolution that a Chinese Trotskyist party must be built."
>
> *WV* No. 120, 30 July

### The Dismal Future of U.S. Maoism

The purge of Chiang Ching and the "Shanghai radicals" must be quite a shock for Maoist groups like the October League (OL) and the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP), who have already had to stomach Peking's open alliance with U.S. imperialism and white-supremacist South Africa. Things may be particularly sticky for the OL, whose leader Mike Klonsky commited the blunder of sending a message of "Eternal Glory to Comrade Mao Tse-tung" that ended by expressing "our sympathy to Comrade Chiang Ching." As Lovestone could inform Brother Klonsky, it doesn't pay to back a loser in Stalinist politics.

But the Klonsky clan's slip was understandable. The growth of Maoism in the West was closely associated with support for the Cultural Revolution. The New Leftists-turned-Maoists saw in the Red Guards a movement akin to themselves, fighting an entrenched, technocratic bureaucracy in the name of the people and self-reliance. For the New Left, China represented another chance for "socialism in one country" to work. In contrast to Brezhnev's Russia, Mao's China appeared egalitarian and anti-bureaucratic.

The jailing of the Chinese leaders who came to power through the Cultural Revolution should cause at least some Maoists to reflect on what brought them to Maoism in the first place. Within the conceptual framework of Stalinism, Maoists can respond to the succession crisis in Peking in two ways, each leading to a dead-end. One response is to consider the purging of Chiang Ching and the "Shanghai circle" as a counter-revolution against Maoism, and therefore China as no longer socialist. Such a response would lead to a position similar to Milt Rosen's Progressive Labor Party, and like PL such a formation would soon become an eclectic, nationally limited Stalinoid sect with little power of attraction.

For those Maoists who accept the charges against the Chiang Ching clique and hail Hua as the Chairman's rightful heir, the future is equally bleak. Mao's crown lies unsteadily on Hua's head. The source of Hua's present strength was his very insignificance before and during the Cultural Revolution—he didn't make bitter, powerfully placed enemies. But all the factors which have convulsed the Chinese bureaucracy for two decades great power aspirations in the face of extreme material backwardness, the demands of the workers and peasants will now act with full force on Hua's unauthoritative regime.

The purge of the Chiang Ching clique is not the consolidation of a new stable regime but the beginning of a time of troubles for the Chinese bureaucracy. The Peking-loyal followers of Hua Kuo-feng today will be hailing another leader tomorrow. And only cynical, worthless bootlickers will proclaim time after time that yesterday's "great revolutionary leaders" are today's "capitalist roaders."■

Wide World

Globe and Mail (Toronto)

Clockwise from top left: Teng Hsiao-ping, Chiang Ching, Hua Kuo-feng, Wang Hung-wen.

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WORKERS VANGUARD

# One-Day Walkout Against Wage Controls in Canada

TORONTO, October 17 More than a million workers walked off the job across Canada last Thursday in the largest political strike in North American history The forest industry in British Columbia ground to a halt, mining stopped in many single-industry towns across northern Manitoba, Ontario and Quebec, and not a single car rolled off the assembly lines in Canadian auto plants as trade unionists participated in the one-day general strike called to protest the Trudeau government's program of wage controls.

Joe Morris, president of the 2.2 million-member Canadian Labour Congress (CLC), which called the "day of protest," termed the strike an "inspiring victory" for the labor movement in its struggle against the government's attack. However, even within the limits (imposed by the reformist union bureaucracy) of a token work stoppage/protest, the size and impact of the strike were much less than they should have been.

Thousands of CLC members remained on the job, under orders from national and or local union leaders Thousands more broke ranks to scab on the strike, many of whom might instead have supported the protest if it had been more solidly organized and given a sharp political focus. Thus most railway workers, teachers and government employees stayed on the job, while steelworkers and postal workers went to work in many cities despite professed support for the strike from their national union leaderships.

While the day of protest was an important, if partial, demonstration of the potential power of the Canadian working class, it did little more than inconvenience the capitalists for a single day, and the wage control program remains intact

Particularly criminal was the union bureaucracy's failure to mobilize the ranks for the local demonstrations held in nearly 100 cities from Victoria, British Columbia, to St. John's, Newfoundland. Although 200,000 workers stayed off the job in Toronto, only 8,000 showed up at the main protest rally at Queen's Park. Only 2,000 of a projected 10,000 rallied on Parliament Hill in Ottawa, while 2,000 and 6,000 respectively marched in the auto and steel centers of Windsor and Hamilton, where local bureaucrats had likewise predicted crowds five times their actual size.

Even the largest of the local rallies in Montreal and Vancouver drew substantially fewer demonstrators than expected. In all, only about 150,000 of the million-plus strikers participated in the organized protest actions—a poor turnout directly attributable to sabotage by the union bureaucrats. For example, United Auto Workers Canadian director Kenneth McDermott told auto workers the night before the protest that he wasn't "so interested in demonstrations," and that they should "go home and drink beer and watch television if you want" (*Toronto Star*, 16 October).

The Liberal government's wage control program was introduced on 14 October 1975 in order to deal with the effects of the international capitalist economic crisis on Canada by forcing down the real wages of the working class. The three-year program limits maximum wage increases to 8 percent in the first year and 6 and 4 percent in subsequent years, well below the real rate of inflation. Already hundreds of negotiated wage gains have been rolled back by the Anti-Inflation Board (AIB), while prices and corporate profits continue to rise uncheck ed.

The trade-union movement responded to the government's attacks with piecemeal protests against the controls. But due to bureaucratic misleadership by the CLC hierarchy the strategy was to attempt to pressure Trudeau into making the controls program more "equitable"—a whole series of isolated strikes (most importantly by postal workers, paper workers and Quebec government employees) went down to defeat. Compelled to put up a show of militancy by growing rank-and-file discontent, the CLC leadership finally called for a mass demonstration in Ottawa last March, which was followed by another in Toronto in April. Although poorly organized, the demonstrations each drew upwards of 20,000 militant unionists

By the time of the CLC's national convention last May, Morris & Co. were facing great pressure to call a nationwide general strike as the only way to defeat the controls. The bureaucrats responded by temporizing on the general strike call, announcing that it would come "if and when necessary," and explicitly tying it to a class-collaborationist programmatic document entitled "Labour's Manifesto for Canada." The Manifesto, which was adopted by a two-to-one vote at the convention (including the support of the Stalinist Communist Party), openly projected tying the unions to the bourgeois state through tripartite government-business-labor boards to achieve what the document calls "social corporatism."

After a series of meetings with Trudeau and the federal cabinet over the spring and summer months—during which time local strikes against the controls continued unabated—the CLC tops were compelled to exercise their mandate and called the walkout on the first anniversary of the introduction of controls. The action was to last only a token 24 hours, and even the term "general strike" was avoided, as October 14 became a mere "day of protest."

Although this was the first nationwide general strike in North American history, such actions as the day of protest are by no means uncommon in certain European countries (notably France and Italy), where the bureaucracy often uses one-day work stoppages to allow a combative rank and file to blow off steam in a relatively harmless fashion. Now that the day-long protest is over, Morris and his fellow bureaucrats are prepared to resume their sellout closed-door negotiations with the Trudeau government over labor representation on government boards.

WV Photo

**Trotskyist League of Canada contingent in last week's "Day of Protest" march in Toronto.**

But despite all its bureaucratically induced shortcomings, the October 14 strike demonstrated the real possibility for the Canadian labor movement to defeat wage controls through a militant general strike which would stay out until the government is compelled to remove them. Several strong union towns across the country were completely shut down by the strike. In Sept-Iles, Quebec, about 17,000 workers reportedly stayed off the job—virtually every worker in town—and even non-unionized shops were forced to close for the day. Roving groups of picketers successfully cut off bus service in Vancouver, and no daily newspapers appeared in the West Coast metropolis.

The capitalist class must be backed off from its wage-slashing by a general strike which would shut down major industry, not just for a day but until the controls program is defeated. To combat inflation and unemployment there must be a struggle for full cost-of-living allowance and a shorter workweek at no loss in pay (a sliding scale of wages and hours). This is the kind of militant class-struggle action which should be labor's response to Trudeau's wage controls—not the token protests and class collaborationism of the CLC bureaucrats. But this requires a class-struggle leadership that can prepare the working class for the *political* battle of taking on the bourgeois state.

The social-democratic New Democratic Party (NDP) supported the one-day general strike only in order to channel the struggles of the working class back into the safe confines of parliamentary cretinism. Ontario NDP leader Stephen Lewis addressed what was billed as the centerpiece rally of the entire day of protest outside Queen's Park in Toronto, with the message that labor must "move from protest to politics." Lewis called for a return to "the route through the ballot box," and pontificated that "if you want to change objectionable politics, then you have to change the government."

The real answer to capitalist attacks does lie in "changing the government"—but not the parliamentary small change of switching from direct big-business rule through the Liberal Party to slightly more prettified capitalist rule through the NDP. There must be a struggle to build a revolutionary workers party which fights to smash the bourgeois state and replace it with an authentic workers government. Only this government can really eliminate the ravages of inflation and unemployment, by expropriating the capitalists and establishing a rationally planned socialist economy.

A general strike by its very nature poses the necessity of an independent political mobilization of the working people around their class interests. However, so long as it is saddled with a pro-capitalist, reformist leadership, the working class cannot emerge victorious in a head-on attempt to overthrow the bosses' state. Consequently, the aims of a general strike call in Canada today must be necessarily limited and defensive. Militants must raise the demand for a CLC-initiated congress of the entire labor movement to launch a full general strike to smash the wage controls.

Unlike the bureaucratically controlled October 14 action, a powerful and effective general strike must be controlled by the rank and file through elected national and regional strike committees, in order to ensure that the struggle is not stopped short. Thus the fight for such a general strike goes hand-in-hand with the struggle to oust the Morrises and McDermotts and replace them with a class-struggle leadership which can truly show the way forward for the Canadian working class. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

No. 131 29 October 1976

## Unions Balk as Berlinguer Props Up Government

# Revolt in Italian Communist Party

### Break with the Christian Democrats! For A General Strike Against Austerity Measures!

Sygma

**Factory workers cheer Berlinguer at PCI rally in Verona before June elections. No cheers for Berlinguer today.**

Italian trade unionists got a good taste of the Italian Communist Party's (PCI) "historic compromise" this month and they don't like it. The Christian Democratic party (DC) is pushing through its austerity measures with the active help of the PCI. The PCI's abstentions in parliament are the only way the minority DC government of Giulio Andreotti can stay in office, and the workers who will have to live with the government's "anti-inflation" austerity plan want to know why "their" party is not voting against the DC as it has for the last 29 years. Shattered illusions among the PCI's working-class base are being reflected in an unusually acrimonious public dispute among the PCI tops.

In spite of decades of class collaboration, the PCI has retained the loyalty of the mass of the Italian working class. But the PCI's support for the austerity plan ("stagnata") and its suspension of parliamentary opposition to the DC have triggered a revolt in that section of the PCI bureaucracy which is directly responsible for keeping the militant ranks in line—the trade-union wing of the party.

The "stagnata" which has provoked such a furor in the ranks was announced on October 8 and includes among its major points: a 25 percent increase in gasoline prices, a slash in the cost-of-living allowances, a reduction of the 17 paid holidays (the largest such number in Europe) and a price increase on state-taxed items such as cigarettes. The key plank is the attempt to arrive at an implicit system of wage controls—an attack upon industrial wages, which have been rising at about 25 percent a year according to the *New York Times* (8 October).

The "stagnata" depends upon the PCI's commitment to disciplining the workforce. In countries like Italy and France, where social democracy is not the dominant party of the working class, the Stalinist parties are busily showing the bourgeoisie that they "cannot rule without the Communists." The CP's must prove to the capitalists that they can be trusted. Thus the "stagnata" is an important test for the grovelling Stalinists and their dreams of a "historic compromise" with the DC which would hand the PCI a few ministerial portfolios.

As the DC's attack on the working class went into gear, the PCI ran along behind: "the gravest danger is inflation" which "threatens the democratic regime itself. Avoiding such a catastrophe is therefore the primary task of the workers, the laborers and of all democrats today," whined a 7 October PCI declaration (*Le Monde*, 10-11 October). PCI head Enrico Berlinguer promised that the parliamentary policy of the

*continued on page 8*

## CIA's Latin American Murder, Inc.

# Gusanos Blow Up Cuban Plane, 73 Die

### Connection with Letelier Assassination?

OCTOBER 25—On October 6, a powerful bomb ripped apart a Cuban passenger airplane, hurling the craft into the sea off the coast of Barbados and killing all 73 persons aboard. The next day in Trinidad a Cuban exile confessed to planting two bombs on the plane. Since then the unfolding of the case reveals an elaborate, well-organized and financed network of thieves and assassins who leave a bloody trail from Miami's "Little Havana" to Caracas, from Pinochet to the CIA.

In the last year, Castro has been gaining influence in the Caribbean. Cuba has been building schools and factories in Jamaica, and Castro's Angolan intervention won support from blacks throughout the region. Washington has been looking for a way to "teach Castro a lesson." The mass murder of 73 passengers is the lesson: that the U.S. is still determined to politically "quarantine" Cuba is the message.

Pique at the State Department over Castro's diplomatic successes coincided with a mood of desperation in Cuban exile circles. In fact, last spring in Miami at least 12 exiles were gunned down, at a rate of almost one per week, for supposed softness on Castro. With the increasing "legitimacy" of the Cuban regime as big business has been pressuring for relaxation of the trade embargo, the former *batistianos'* dreams of sailing back to Cuba, a bank book in one hand and a CIA machine gun in the other, have faded. So finding the "teachers" was no problem.

At the same time that Cuban exile groups in Miami claimed responsibility for the October 6 terrorist bombing, two men, Hernán Ricardo and Freddy Lugo, were arrested for the crime. Ricardo confessed to planting the bombs on the plane. The two reportedly boarded the plane in Trinidad, got off in Barbados without their luggage and returned to Trinidad. The two are supposedly the same ones who planted a bomb on another Cuban plane in Kingston, Jamaica, last month.

Meanwhile, in Caracas, Venezuela, police have arrested at least seven Cuban exiles in connection with the plane bombing. The most prominent was one Orlando Bosch, head of the exile umbrella group "Commandos of United Revolutionary Organizations." Bosch received extensive training by the CIA during the 1960's, spent four years in prison for firing a bazooka at a Polish ship in Miami harbor, was paroled and then skipped the U.S. in 1974. He spent three months in Chile last year and ended up in Venezuela in September.

Arrested with him was his close associate, Luis Posado Corriles, who left Cuba in 1960, was trained by the CIA in Brigade 2506 (the Bay of Pigs Cuban exile army), and after more training by the U.S. Army went to Venezuela as an aide to then Interior Minsiter Carlos Andrés Perez. He fought against Castroite guerrillas and ended up chief of operations for the Venezuelan secret police. The confessed bomber, Ricardo, reportedly works for a detective agency in Caracas owned by Posado and staffed with Cuban exiles.

Two other exiles, a special adviser on security to Venezuelan president Perez and an officer in the Venezuelan secret police are also in jail. In fact, it is now believed that Perez, president of "the last refuge of democracy in South America," has maintained contact with Pinochet through the Cubans in his secret police. It was these same Venezuelan secret police who last July tortured

*continued on page 10*

## *Break with All Wings of the USec!*

# French Militants Resign from LCR

We reprint below the resignation of three comrades from the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR), French section of the "United" Secretariat of the Fourth International (USec). The LCR is the showpiece of the centrist International Majority Tendency (IMT) of the faction-ridden USec; hence, empirical oppositions which have chronically sprung up in reaction against the LCR's petty-bourgeois opportunist practice have tended to gravitate toward the IMT's main factional antagonist within the USec, the Leninist-Trotskyist Faction (L-TF) led by the reformist American SWP. It was only after participating in several oppositional tendencies that these three comrades found their way to the Trotskyist politics of the international Spartacist tendency.

The comrades' resignation also highlights the internal disarray of the LCR. The principled Trotskyist course outlined in the document was a direct challenge to those critics of the LCR majority who have sought to pose as "orthodox" "left" oppositionists while refusing to break from the maneuverist methodology of the USec rotten bloc. One such grouping, Tendency A led by Matti, felt obliged to attempt a lengthy political answer. As the Matti reply states:

> "Our tendency has a particular responsibility since these comrades were politically closest to us before they began to look outside the organization for the political answers they could not find within it."

Matti's is a peculiar document which attempts simultaneously to use the comrades' resignation as a club to beat the LCR leadership and to reassure the leadership that, unlike these "sectarians," he has no intention of drawing from his partial and empirical criticisms the principled conclusions which would demand a break from the Pabloist USec.

Matti stresses that these comrades' resignation "is a politically serious event" as they are "valuable Trotskyist cadre" who "carried out their duty as militants of the LCR with exemplary discipline to the end." He notes that two of the comrades were long-time LCR members and part of its city leadership in Rouen. He is also obliged, to protect his own "left" image, to solidarize with important criticisms raised by the three comrades:

> "When they denounced the organization's impotence when confronted with the Union of the Left, when they denounced the tactic of building the party by conquering the 'broad vanguard' and the abandonment in practice of the method of the Transitional Program *these comrades were correct*." [emphasis in original]

To separate himself from the comrades' generalization of these criticisms into an attack on the fundamentally Pabloist method of the USec itself, Matti retreats behind empty characterizations of "dogmatism" and "ultra-leftism."

The only programmatic issue which Matti attempts to treat substantively is the question of the LCR majority's capitulation to the popular-front Union of the Left. Matti is forced to admit that the Union of the Left does not represent the independence of the working class and agrees "that the popular front obliterates the independence of the workers parties vis-à-vis the bourgeoisie." He is now caught in an intolerable contradiction. Unable to deny, as does the LCR majority, that the Union of the Left is a *bourgeois* formation, Matti in typical opportunist fashion wants to leave open the option of voting for it (through the intermediary of the workers parties in it). Accordingly, he terms this a "tactical" question. In other words, for this "left" oppositionist, voting bourgeois is a tactic!

Matti does not try to reply to the other issues raised in the resignation statement. Yes, he says, "the question of Pabloism must be broached sooner or later"—but, perish the thought, not now. Matti also waxes ironic over the characterization of the IMT as centrist and the L-TF as reformist, but dares not offer any alternative. This is not a matter of mere terminology; Matti must at all costs conceal that despite his "leftist" criticisms, he has aligned himself with the *right* wing of the USec.

Matti's rationale for remaining within the USec is quintessential opportunism: that's were the action is. Making a virtue of necessity, he boasts that the components of the USec are not "monolithic" and looks toward the integration of more of the same (perhaps Matti will get his wish, as the USec has apparently just hatched an even more ambitious non-aggression pact, to include not only the bitterly antagonistic factions of the present USec but the international grouping led by the French OCI as well). For Matti, one needs merely to gather together a sufficient number of centrists to have a "recomposition." But adding one centrist and another centrist does not make a Trotskyist party—merely a rotten bloc. Only in the bible is order born from chaos.

The international Spartacist tendency and its French sympathizing section, the Ligue Trotskyste de France, welcome Cochise, Clément and Thibault into the ranks of those fighting for the rebirth of the Fourth International.

[adapted from *Spartacist* (French edition) No. 12, November 1976]

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## Statement of Resignation

Dear comrades,

The LCR stands in the programmatic continuity of Pablo Mandel/Frank/Maitan's rejection of Trotskyism at the beginning of the 1950's, which led to the destruction of the Fourth International. This political line has been expressed in a long history of betrayals: political support to the Titos, Maos, Gomulkas, Castros—all deemed authentic anti-Stalinist revolutionaries; 15 years of entrism sui generis in Stalinist and/or social-democratic parties to pressure them to take up a revolutionary course; rejection of political revolution and thus of building Trotskyist workers parties in the deformed workers states, for example, China, Cuba, Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos; support to the Algerian FLN and Ben Bella's bourgeois government, presented as a "workers and peasants government"; enthusiastic embrace of petty-bourgeois guerrillaism for Latin America, Ceylon and Spain; tailing after the "new mass vanguards." But the fundamental line remains the same: *denying the need for the Leninist party, refusing to struggle to win over the working-class vanguard to the essential conclusions of the Trotsyist program, seeking to replace the Leninist party by substitutes which supposedly fight for the historic interests of the proletariat.*

Today the consequence of this Pabloist line is a perspective of fusing with the reformist PSU. On February 11, Pablo sent a letter to Mandel referring to a previous meeting between them, and noted: "we foresee this eventual unification in the framework of a new organization that would not at the outset be part of any international formation...."

Four months later, Mandel wrote: "What difference do labels make? If in the political arena we encountered forces which agree with our strategic and tactical orientation and which were repulsed only by the historical reference [Trotskyism] and the name [the Fourth International], we would get rid of the latter in 24 hours" (*Politique Hebdo*, 16 June 1976).

### The United Secretariat: A Rotten Bloc

The United Secretariat (USec) is nothing but an unprincipled bloc between the centrist International Majority Tendency (IMT) and the Leninist-Trotskyist Faction (L-TF) dominated by the reformist SWP. The USec's existence is not based on programmatic agreement but on the desire of its main elements to maintain the fiction that they represent the Fourth International. In most countries where the IMT and L-TF exist, they have already split into competing groups (Canada, Argentina, Peru, Australia, Mexico, Spain, U.S.). The rottenness of this international conglomerate was more than amply demonstrated over Portugal, where faced with a pre-revolutionary situation the main factions of this so-called "Fourth International" took positions which led each of them to a different side of the barricades!

The IMT lined up behind the Stalinist Communist Party and the "left" generals of the bourgeois Armed Forces Movement (MFA), in August 1975 signing the infamous declaration which politically supported the Gonçalves government and called for the formation of a popular front with the MFA. The reformist SWP tailed the Socialist Party, which covered for the reactionary July 1975 mobilizations against the Communists and the workers commissions. For the SWP, this anti-Communist hysteria was a manifestation of "the most courageous" workers fighting to defend "their right to decide for themselves who will run the country and the workers organizations" (*Militant*, 8 August 1975)—a position which aided the rapprochement between the SWP and OCI. These international tendencies in no way whatsoever represent Trotskyist politics.

The L-TF is led by the social-democratic SWP. During the Vietnam war, the SWP limited its intervention to the slogan "immediate withdrawal of troops," a demand also supported by a section of the bourgeoisie. By failing to call on the working class to take action against the war and not calling for military victory to the NLF—which would have damaged its bloc with liberal Congressmen—the SWP refused to oppose its "own" imperialism. It adopted feminism, a bourgeois ideology, as "revolutionary in itself" and opposed the slogan "free abortion on demand" so as not to weaken its bloc with feminist bourgeois politicians. This party's current presidential campaign has the goal of partially amending the American constitution to include a "Bill of Rights for Working People." It systematically demands sending the imperialist U.S. army to "protect" blacks against racist attacks, and fights against the slogan of black/labor defense squads. Today its faith in bourgeois democracy leads it to campaign for "respecting the democratic rights of fascists."

The centrist nature of the IMT is clearly illuminated by its policies of tailing after popular fronts. It is now turning toward the PSU social democrats in order to form a "big" pole whose function will be the same as that of the Portuguese FUR and of "Democrazia Proletaria" in Italy: to chain the workers to the popular front while pretending to push it to the left. Drawing their arguments from the arsenal of the POUM, the IMT Pabloists refuse to characterize the Union of the Left as a popular front because the Left Radicals are only the shadow of the bourgeoisie: they thereby avoid the "unpleasant" task of struggling against the popular front, of calling for the workers parties to break with the bourgeoisie, instead politely trying to push it to the left. As Krivine explains: "The bourgeoisie is the main adversary and we criticize the Union of the Left precisely because it doesn't *really* fight against the bourgeois state" (*Politique Hebdo*, 16 June 1976). Trotskyists demand that the workers parties in a popular front break the coalition with the bourgeoisie as a precondition to being able to struggle for the workers interests. With its line of capitulating to the popular front, the LCR leadership has no problem in forming electoral propaganda blocs with the social-democratic PSU, which is only awaiting the nod from Fabre [head of the Left Radicals] and the treacherous workers leaders to enter the popular front on an equal footing!

If the USec is only a rotten bloc, its factions themselves are unprincipled groupings. This was clearly shown by the split between the SWP and the Argentine PST over their differences on Angola. In this war, which began as a confrontation between rival nationalists and became essentially a war between American imperialism and the troops of the Cuban deformed workers state, the PST counterposed to the SWP's pro-imperialist "neutrality" (which refused to choose between the South African-supported FNLA and the MPLA) a formally orthodox position for military victory to the MPLA/Cuban army without political support to the nationalists of the bourgeois MPLA.

This orthodoxy in Angola is only a cover for a miserably opportunist political line. The PST has denounced the Argentine guerrillas as the "reflec-

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**WORKERS VANGUARD**

**Marxist Working-Class Weekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.**

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# Mexican Standoff in the USec

Although the presidential elections in Mexico this summer predictably installed the candidate of the ruling Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI), José Lopez Portillo, they nevertheless had some interesting side effects. For the first time in decades a left-wing opposition slate, whose candidate (Valentine Campa) is a member of the Mexican Communist Party (PCM), received substantial write-in support.

Moreover, the Stalinist-initiated ticket included one self-styled Trotskyist party and was supported by two others, all of them associated with different factions in the so-called "United Secretariat of the Fourth International" (USec). The sharp three-way polemic between these groups is of particular interest since Mexico is the main arena where representatives of all the competing international tendencies in the USec have squared off.

The bourgeois PRI, which maintains a rigid monopoly on political power at all levels throughout the country, was the only party on the ballot due to reactionary Mexican electoral laws. A party needs to have 65,000 signatures of supporters spread over two-thirds of the states to qualify. Given the victimization that an endorser of a left-wing candidacy could expect from the semi-bonapartist regime, this requirement is extremely difficult to fulfill. In the June elections, Campa supporters had to write in their vote following a complicated procedure. Nevertheless the PCM claims to have received about 10 percent of the total.

### USec: Two Divides Into Three

Following a period of quiescence subsequent to the 1968 "Tlaltelolco massacre" which ended a four-month student strike, there has been an upsurge in activity by ostensibly socialist groups to the left of the PCM along with ferment in the working class.

The oldest of the self-proclaimed Trotskyist groups, however, the Posadista Partido Obrero Revolucionario (POR), has mainly been active in hailing the "revolutionary government" of former president Luis Echeverría and then voting for the PRI's Portillo. Consequently, the POR has gone nowhere, and instead since 1972 two USec-affiliated groups have grown and managed to gain influence in a segment of the radicalized students. These were the Grupo Comunista Internacionalista (GCI) and the Liga Socialista (LS) which originated in a 1972 split from the GCI.

The GCI was associated with the International Majority Tendency (IMT) of the USec led by Ernest Mandel, while the Liga Socialista was the local affiliate of the Leninist-Trotskyist Faction (L-TF) led by the American Socialist Workers Party (SWP). Characteristically, the GCI oriented itself toward an eternal search for a "new mass vanguard" of Castroite-influenced youth, and the LS sought to implant itself in a more sedate academic milieu.

However, beginning last year there was a spectacular revolt in the LS in which the pro-SWP leadership was toppled by agents and supporters of the Argentine Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST), up until then the second major group of the L-TF. Following the LS split last fall/winter the L-TF split internationally as well, with pro-PST elements heading back toward the Mandelite majority.

In order to oust what it called the "Marxist professors"—the pro-SWP leaders of the LS—the PST-backed group founded the Militant Tendency (TM), captured a majority of the Liga, elected a new central committee and pushed through new organizational rules. Under these bizarre regulations,

Militant

**Tanks suppressing student demonstrators in 1968 anti-government protests in Mexico City.**

the membership was re-registered as candidates for a month's "testing" period to show their "activism," resulting in a classic Stalin-style bureaucratic political purge. Then, in typical USec fashion, the deposed leadership, now calling itself the Bolshevik-Leninist Faction (FBL), declared itself a "public faction" and began a fight in the public press. The TM, denouncing the old leaders as mired in abstract propagandism, announced it would go to the masses.

### PST/TM: Stalinism and Popular Frontism

For the Militant Tendency, a turn to the masses meant capitulation before the Stalinist PCM, the largest left-wing organization in the country. In mid-1975 the PCM had held a large rally in Mexico City at which Communist leaders called for a "Coalition of Left Organizations." Almost immediately after taking control of the Liga Socialista last fall, the new pro-PST leadership suddenly published a "joint PCM-LS electoral program" of 17 points.

It appeared surprising that the PCM had decided to form a bloc with an ostensibly Trotskyist party (particularly since in 1940 the PCM organized an attempt on Trotsky's life before he was finally assassinated by a GPU agent). But the PCM is trying to break out of isolation and for the moment is apparently willing to take any kind of electoral bloc it can get.

The more interesting question is why a so-called Trotskyist tendency should seek an election agreement with a Stalinist party. Hasn't the bitter struggle between Trotskyism and Stalinism over the past 50 years represented the battle between class struggle and class collaboration—between revolution and counterrevolution? What joint program could unite such opposites?

With its Mexican allies organizationally blackjacked by its international bloc partners, the SWP counterattacked by asking embarrassing questions about the Militant Tendency's coalition with the PCM. SWP leader Joseph Hansen wrote a letter (25 October 1975) to the Political Committee of the Liga Socialista pointing out that a joint electoral platform would only serve to mask other differences. "For example," he wrote, "does the PCM stand for the parliamentary road, for 'peaceful coexistence'?" ([SWP] *Internal Information Bulletin*, March 1976).

The explanation of the TM's opportunist behavior is that it has nothing to do with Trotskyism (nor has the SWP) and had no qualms about forming a bloc with the Stalinists. In fact, the TM reveled in it. On the point which Hansen worried about—"peaceful coexistence"—not only did the PCM support it, but it turned up in the final version of the joint electoral program the following January, with of course a vague pro forma disclaimer by the TM.

Concretely, the joint program is from the very outset aimed at the reform of the capitalist state, not its overthrow; calling for "a limitation on capitalists' profits," but not an end to them, and for a better "fiscal policy" (*Intercontinental Press*, 1 March 1976). The program had its radical-sounding side as well. Not only was there a call for nationalization of all basic industry, but it added, "whether in the hands of national, foreign or mixed capital...." There is a demand for the elimination of large estates and "the big capitalist landholdings," and turning "the land over to those who work it."

As for the rest of the program, it is no accident that it leaves out of its so-called "revolutionary" call for nationalizations the necessary demand that they be without compensation. The section dealing with foreign policy, in addition to calling for "peaceful coexistence" and defense of the "socialist states" without a mention of political revolution, calls for Mexico to join up with the money-hungry sheiks of OPEC, hardly an "anti-imperialist" measure.

Behind the left rhetoric, the Stalinists invite all those forces who are for "democracy" and for the alliance between the workers, the peasantry "and other sectors of the people" to join its Coalition of the Left. This appeal for the participation of bourgeois democrats and the support for peaceful coexistence clearly make the electoral bloc *popular-frontist* in character. Although it does not now include direct representatives of the bourgeoisie, the coalition sought to include left populist forces and put forward a class-collaborationist program of reforming capitalism.

The program is certainly somewhat left for a Stalinist party, and the TM has used this to argue that bourgeois forces could never support it. But in times of need the bourgeoisie will sign just about anything. In Bolivia in 1972 the so-called "Revolutionary Anti-Imperialist Front" (FRA), which included former president General Juan José Torres, came out for a workers and peasants government without for a moment ceasing to be a bourgeois popular-front formation. Unable at present to win more respectable liberal petty-bourgeois bloc partners, the Mexican Stalinists settled for a coalition with "Trotskyists" on a mutually acceptable paper program.

If there was ever any doubt about the real intentions of the Mexican Communist Party, an interview with Arnoldo Verdugo, general secretary of the PCM explains it all. Describing the PCM's concept of "the broad alliance," Verdugo includes among the forces his party seeks to unite those who are "rejuvenating the church," as well as the "patriotic democratic" forces in the army, and even some "progressive" businessmen (*Intercontinental Press*, 31 May). The PCM, which has supported the bourgeois PRI in the past, even says that the "official left" within the PRI could be their allies.

### IMT/GCI: What's to Complain About?

The international majorityites of the Grupo Comunista Internacionalista (GCI) greeted the split in the LS last fall with glee, reveling in the problems this would cause for the USec minority L-TF, while adopting a generally pro-Militant Tendency slant. Since the disarray in the LS momentarily relieved it of the obligation (imposed by the USec's 10th World Congress) to fuse with the LS, the GCI proceeded to fuse instead with the tiny Rojo group, forming the Liga Comunista Internacionalista (LCI). (Rojo was itself an earlier split from the GCI, having balked at the horsetrading deals cooked up at the world congress.)

Although the SWP faction has now been gotten rid of, the USec's penchant for wheeling and dealing continues and the current issue of *Inprecor* (21 October) announced the fusion of the pro-PST Liga Socialista (Militant Tendency) and the LCI at a conference in mid-September to form the Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores (PRT).

In the electoral maneuvering last spring, the LCI, after engaging in some mild "comradely" criticism of the Militant Tendency, put forward its own election gimmick, the "Revolutionary Left Front" (FIR). The LCI called for a "class-conscious and revolutionary" vote—i.e., a vote for Campa but not the program of the "Coalition of the Left." Instead, it proposed the program of the FIR which called for nationalization of basic industry without compensation, and included the demand for a workers and peasants government.

All the LCI had to say about peaceful coexistence was that it was the "weakest link" of the Coalition of the Left program. The Mandelites totally refused to admit the popular-frontist character of the Stalinist-initiated coalition. Moreover, the LCI specifically said that "it is one thing to be dealing with a front with a reformist program and another to be dealing with a popular front.... This is not the case presently..." (*Bandera Roja*, 17 April 1976). It cautioned that criticism directed at the PCM/LS (Militant Tendency) bloc "should not be exaggerated in a sectarian manner."

As Trotsky wrote to Victor Serge in 1937 defending the necessity of maintaining working-class independence from the bourgeois popular front in Spain, "If it is sectarianism, then all of Marxism is only sectarianism, since it is the doctrine of class struggle and not of class-collaboration" (letter to Victor Serge, 30 July 1937). For Marxists the popular front is not simply a matter of addition—the more parties, the stronger. The PCM-initiated Coalition of the Left openly invites unity with all those "seeking democracy." In other words, it seeks to unite with bourgeois "democrats," who in the end are unalterably opposed to *proletarian* democracy and will fight alongside the arch-reactionaries and even fascists against the working class.

In any case, the LCI's refusal to support the PCM-dominated front was simply factionally motivated. USec majority groups elsewhere have formed or joined fronts with openly bourgeois forces, as in the Bolivian FRA, and joined explicitly popular-frontist blocs, such as the Portuguese FUR. All that Mandel, leader of the international majority, demanded of his followers in these cases was that they issue a formal disavowal of some of the more gro-

*continued on page 11*

# Arab CP Mayor of Nazareth Condones Zionist Occupation

BERKELEY, October 15 Two leading members of the Israeli Communist Party (Rakah) who are currently touring the U.S. spoke last night at a forum held at the University of California. A sharply divided audience of 400 containing many Zionists heard Felicia Langer (a prominent Israeli civil-rights attorney who has defended numerous Palestinians victimized by the Israeli bourgeoisie) and Tawfik Zayyad (the Arab mayor of Nazareth) graphically describe the oppression and persecution dished out by the Zionists to both those Arabs living within Israel and those who live in the territories occupied by Israel following the June 1967 war.

Yet Langer's and Zayyad's solution to this brutal oppression to the Zionist policy of confiscation of Arab lands, destruction of Arab housing and forced resettlement of Arabs in refugee camps; to the systematic harassment, torture and murder of Palestinian militants by Israeli occupation authorities; to the infamous British emergency regulations issued in 1945 and now used by the Israelis against all opponents of Zionism is only the mildest reformism.

Both Langer and Zayyad made it very clear that they accept the pre-1967 borders of Israel. Further, they accept the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) as the "sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people." And while calling for the right of return for those Palestinians driven out of Israel by the Zionists' military terror campaigns, they accept the imperialist sop of a West Bank mini-state as a just solution to the Palestinian national question.

Following Zayyad's speech a supporter of the Spartacist League pointed out to the speakers that while

R. Shaanuel Sygma

**Nazareth mayor Tewfik Zayyad**

Israel must immediately and unconditionally withdraw from the territories it has occupied since 1967, the pre-1967 borders of Israel are also, as is clear in the case of Galilee, "occupied territories." The Spartacist supporter went on to point out that the state of Israel was created by the forcible dispersal of the Palestinian people and that neither the West Bank mini-state nor a solution which denies the national rights of the Hebrew-speaking people would represent an equitable resolution of the problem. He then asked how Zayyad could project a just and democratic resolution of the conflicting national claims in the area without overthrowing the respective ruling classes, both in Israel and the Arab states, and establishing a socialist federation of the Near East.

Zayyad's response was that it was "infantile and dogmatic" to propose socialist revolution as the only way forward for the working masses of the region. According to the wisdom of Comrade Zayyad, the Palestinians need not await the destruction of Zionism to achieve an equitable solution of their national rights! After all, he stated, didn't the Vietnamese achieve peace and national independence without the destruction of U.S. imperialism??!!

"The main obstacle to peace," said Zayyad, "is the expansionist policy of Israel." If the Israeli bourgeoisie could be pressured to withdraw to its pre-1967 borders, admit all the Palestinians it has forced out since 1948, and bring itself to accept a West Bank Palestinian mini-state, then, this Stalinist assures us, all would be fine. Meanwhile, Nazareth Arabs would still be subjected to Zionist rule.

Langer and Zayyad did not, of course, speak to the other side of Stalinist policy in the Near East, namely the role of the Soviet Union. In part this was doubtless motivated by fear of alienating the liberal public opinion the speakers were so zealously attempting to appeal to, and in part because Soviet policy in the Near East has been an unmitigated disaster.

Although the Soviet Union favored the formation of the state of Israel (Stalin saw the formation of Israel as a blow to British imperialist interests in the Near East) it quickly reversed this position. From that time onward the USSR has lavished billions in military and economic aid on the various Arab bourgeois regimes of the region, with calamitous results.

In Sudan Soviet weaponry was used by the Numeiry regime to massacre the largest Communist Party in Africa. Egypt, which for a long time was the chief recipient of Soviet arms in the Arab world, has expelled all Soviet military advisors and closed down the Soviet naval facilities at Alexandria. Iraq and Syria, two other major recipients of Soviet arms, have currently massed troops along each other's border, threatening war. And while the Syrians are now busy butchering Palestinians with Russian tanks in Lebanon, the Iraqis have made effective use of Soviet arms to curb the struggles of the Kurdish people living in Iraq.

Clearly the working masses of the Near East cannot look to Moscow or to any of its followers to solve any of the fundamental problems facing them. ■


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**Lewis 17X Dupree (second from left) outside Manhattan Criminal Court with Angela Davis and attorneys.**

# Black Muslim Victim of Cop Frame-Up

# *Free Lewis 17X!*

Four years after a New York City police raid on the Nation of Islam's Harlem Mosque No. 7, the case of a Muslim accused of killing a cop in the incident has finally come up in court. The trial on murder charges of Lewis 17X Dupree, a school teacher at the mosque, began on August 2 in N.Y. Supreme Court. Although the defense has not yet made its presentation, the damaging admission by the key prosecution witness that he was a paid police informer came like a bombshell in court September 21.

The charges against Dupree and a second Muslim—Bobby 9X Hopes, who is charged with felonious assault in the case and will be tried separately—stem from the 14 April 1972 cop invasion of the mosque. It began when two cops barged into the premises claiming they were responding to a call that a detective was in trouble inside. More cops piled in close on their heels, and shots rang out as the occupants tried to expel the invaders.

Outside, thousands of Harlem residents poured out of neighboring stores and restaurants and gathered round the building. Some threw bottles and a police car was burned in protest against the invasion. Within minutes a full-scale cop riot had broken out as over 100 policemen, decked out in bullet-proof vests and some sporting machine guns, descended upon the area beating residents and firing into the air.

Three days later Patrolman Phillip Cardillo, one of the cops who broke into the mosque, died of a gunshot wound and the heat was on to nail someone for his death. Five members of the mosque were taken into custody, and Lewis 17X and Bobby 9X were subsequently booked for assault. *Two years* later Dupree's charge was changed to murder.

There is much evidence to suggest that Cardillo was actually killed in the police crossfire. Witnesses who were present in the lobby during the melee have testified that the area was so jammed with people it was impossible to tell what was going on. Moreover, a thorough search of the premises after the shooting produced no weapons, and the only witness who claims he saw Dupree shoot the policeman now turns out to have been a paid cop informer!

In any case, the cops had no right to invade the mosque in the first place. As Louis Farrakhan, the minister of Mosque No. 7 at the time of the incident, charged, the police committed an "unprovoked, wanton, and possibly premeditated attack." The mosque has long been a center of black nationalist activity in Harlem (it was the home base of Malcom X and was recently renamed the Malcolm Shabazz Mosque). At the time of the attack, more than a thousand children were attending school in the building.

Farrakhan pointed out that, to prevent incidents, police and mosque officials had worked out an elaborate procedure for police visits, including a stipulation that the cops would not proceed past the lobby without an official escort. But in this case, in a clear provocation Cardillo and his buddies rushed past the desk clerk and up the stairs to the second floor. Particularly suspicious was the speed with which scores of heavily armed police in battle gear descended on the mosque.

No "Detective Thomas," who allegedly called the police for aid, ever turned up. However, when prosecution witness Foster 2X Thomas (who claims Dupree killed Cardillo) testified on the stand, he admitted under cross-examination that he was on the police payroll at the time, at a salary of $140 per week. Thomas denies he made the contested phone call and says he has not been offered any deal in exchange for implicating Dupree, but does not deny that he is presently under indictment for using stolen credit cards.

Stop the Frame-Up! Drop the charges against Lewis 17X Dupree and Bobby 9X Hopes! The Partisan Defense Committee has sent a contribution for the defense of these victims of a cop frame-up and urges the readers of *WV* to do likewise. Donations can be sent to the Lewis Ali Defense Fund, c/o Malcolm Shabazz Temple No. 7, 102 W. 116th St., New York, N.Y. 10026. ■


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## The First Workers Political Revolution Against Stalinism

# SL Commemorates 20th Anniversary of Hungarian Revolution

WV Photo

**Spartacist forum on Hungary 1956/China 1976 drew 125 participants in NYC.**

Approximately 125 people attended a New York Spartacist League forum October 23 held in commemoration of the 20th anniversary of the 1956 Hungarian workers' revolt. In his talk, Charles O'Brien, editor of *Young Spartacus*, hailed the rising of the Hungarian proletariat as a key event of the post-World War II period and a profound vindication of the Trotskyist analysis of Stalinism. For communists, he said, the uprising was a "beacon for the future because it indicated the forms of organization and the political leadership the future revolutionary overthrow of the Stalinist bureaucracies" will take.

His discussion of the course of the first workers political revolution against Stalinist rule contrasted the Hungarian Revolution with the present intra-bureaucratic fighting among Mao's heirs in China. In drawing the lessons of the Hungarian uprising, O'Brien pointed first to the key role of the workers councils. The vital importance of the proletariat throwing up its own organs of soviet democracy to organize the insurrection and provide the framework for a revolutionary workers government is not generally understood in the radical movement, whose image of an anti-bureaucratic struggle is the so-called "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution" in China.

"The Hungarian uprising was a genuinely anti-bureaucratic struggle," said the speaker. "The bureaucracy dissolved and the remaining state force, the AVH [Stalinist secret police] was shattered. The workers created their own organizations. They formulated manifestos.... They weren't poetry; they weren't references to Confucius; they weren't references to dark evil snake-like capitalist roaders who had been the closest comrades-in-arms of Imre Nagy for the past 45 years, or perhaps even his wife!"

In contrast, Mao's Cultural Revolution was a bureaucratic clique fight where decisions were made behind closed doors in high party circles. "Then after the decisions are made and the lines are drawn..., then the struggle is taken to the streets, *then* the masses are told who it is in their midst that has been a secret capitalist roader for generations, whose innermost carefully hidden thoughts have been the introduction of capitalism in China."

"The Cultural Revolution was against the so-called 'rights' who were Mao's opponents," he said. "Now, although it's against the so-called 'left,' it is the same kind of struggle. They decide that Chiang Ching was secretly planning the restoration of capitalism and even worse, nagging Mao as he lay in his deathbed...." "So that's the first important lesson—that a political revolution has to have a program and organization, that it's a genuine political struggle."

Secondly, O'Brien continued, the events in Hungary dramatically destroyed illusions of bureaucratic self-reform which had been perpetrated by the "reform" Stalinists. In the wake of Stalin's death and the short-term wave of liberalization which swept through East Europe and even more briefly in China, there arose the illusion that "under the pressure of the masses" the Stalinist bureaucracies would no longer be a bureaucratic excrescence on a collectivist economy, but would give way to an ever-expanding democracy.

"Hungary demolished all that," he said. "At every step, from October 23 on, the only consistent demand which came out of the Nagy government in Budapest was for the workers to lay down their arms. Nagy made this demand until the very day the Russian tanks rolled up to Parliament. That government would have either strangled the workers councils had it achieved a certain independence from the Soviet bloc, or it would have had to be overthrown by the workers councils."

The third lesson of Hungary, O'Brien said, lies in the character of the Stalinist bureaucracy. The Hungarian Revolution definitively smashed all "new class" theories on the nature of the deformed and degenerated workers states. The

*continued on page 10*

## Smash New York's Taylor Law!

# UFT Loses Dues Check-Off

It was announced in Albany October 11 that New York City's United Federation of Teachers (UFT) will have its payroll dues check-off revoked for a two-year period for violating the state Taylor Law forbidding strikes by public employees. The action by the New York public employment relations board was a reprisal for the UFT's September 1975 contract strike. The Democratic state administration also provided an "escape clause" which underlines the union-busting character of the action, which will cost the UFT an estimated $2 million: all the union has to do to get the sentence reduced is to recant its "no contract, no work" policy and its claim on the right to strike!

Simultaneously the Buffalo Teachers Federation (BTF) was ordered to pay a $50,000 fine in reprisal for its three-week strike last month, and its president was served with a 30-day jail sentence and an additional $250 fine. The BTF, which is associated with the National Education Association, is challenging the decision in court.

Were the fate of the 50,000 UFT members not bound up with UFT-head Albert Shanker's fall from grace with the Democrats, labor militants might get some wry satisfaction out of the humiliation of this labor faker. After years of licking his masters' boots, he now hollers out in protest when they step on his face. But it was only after a prolonged probing, during which Shanker repeatedly proved to Albany he would take anything it could dish out, that the state selected the UFT as its target for a confrontation over the Taylor Law.

Last summer during the midst of the bank-manipulated NYC "fiscal crunch," in a desperate effort to appease the state and avoid loss of his dues base through mass layoffs, Shanker threw $150 million of the UFT's pension funds down the rat hole by buying worthless Big MAC bonds. Unimpressed, the school board went ahead with the layoffs and by the time the union's contract came up in September it had lost an estimated 20,000 jobs! Sentiment for a strike was then so strong in the ranks that even Shanker could not avoid it.

Obviously the state would not now be suspending the dues check-off had the union won the strike, refusing to go back to work without a guarantee against reprisals. This it could have done by rallying to its cause the masses of poor and oppressed people affected by the NYC cutbacks and spearheading a movement for a general strike of all city labor. Instead, the union went down to defeat, with Shanker settling the strike over the heads of the massively disgruntled membership. Since then the teachers have been working without a contract while their wages have been frozen and preparation periods have been eliminated. And the paltry 2,000 jobs which were returned are being paid for by the use of $25 million in court penalties and teachers' salaries which went unpaid during the strike.

This defeat is the answer to the snivelling question Shanker raised October 17 in his *New York Times* column when he asked why the teachers had been singled out from the rest of the city unions for such harsh discipline. It is, of course, true that Victor Gotbaum, Shanker's rival who is head of NYC municipal workers' organizing drives, anyone when it comes to grovelling before city rulers. Last summer Gotbaum gave up the hospital workers' cost-of-living allowance in the AFSCME Local 420 contract. But the state apparently saw more advantage to picking this fight with the UFT, which had previously been in the forefront of municipal workers' organizing drives especially in the late 1960's when the Taylor Law was written.

In a separate announcement this week the state Board of Regents released new statistics showing that over one-half of New York City's public school students drop out before high school graduation, a damning indictment of the miserable conditions in the city schools which have now been worsened by the enormous teacher layoffs and budget cuts.

WV Photo

**UFT president Albert Shanker (left) marching with striking teachers a year ago.**

The need is ever more urgent for the forging of a class-struggle leadership in the city labor movement which can rally behind it all the exploited against the austerity program of the bankers, corporations and capitalist politicians. The union leaderships' suicidal policy of appeasement must be stopped! The labor fakers' class collaboration with the capitalist courts and their treacherous "friends" in city hall must be broken! New York teachers must answer the state's attempt to bankrupt and gut their union with a strike aimed at mobilizing the entire state labor movement to smash the Taylor Law and roll back the murderous layoffs and cutbacks. ■

# The Fall of Swedish Social Democracy

Economist

Thorbjörn Fälldin, newly elected Center Party prime minister

STOCKHOLM/NEW YORK—After 44 years in power, the Social Democratic Workers Party (SAP) of Sweden was voted out of office in the September 19 parliamentary elections. Although the SAP remains by far the largest party in the country (with 2.3 million votes and 152 seats in parliament), its three bourgeois opponents together garnered an 11-seat majority in the Riksdag.

The bourgeois parties trumpeted the end of "one-party domination," and incoming prime minister Thorbjorn Fälldin pledged "to lead Sweden step by step toward decentralization." Social Democratic leader Olof Palme, however, reacted to this signal defeat with a calm prediction that his party would regain office "within the foreseeable future."

Palme's confidence appears well-founded. Although it has lost ground in parliament over the past six years, the SAP retains the advantages of a loyal working-class vote and a politically fractured bourgeois opponent bloc. Virtually the only point of unity among the Center, People's and Moderate parties was their opposition to continued rule by the Social Democracy, which they attacked as the party of "establishment and bureaucracy."

The bourgeois parties mounted their "anti-bureaucratic" campaign by tapping middle-class resentment over high taxes, making a cause célèbre out of the cases of tax evasion by wealthy film director Ingmar Bergman and other famous personalities who have recently left the country. The Center (formerly Agrarian) Party headed by Fälldin also sought to win votes by appealing to the national quasi-religion of returning to nature, the so-called "green dream" of unfettered country life, and calling for channeling more government funds to rural regions.

In the last weeks of the campaign, the issue of energy policy was pushed to the fore. Sheep farmer Fälldin successfully garnered votes from the ecology-minded petty bourgeoisie of Stockholm by opposing nuclear power. In an unusual twist, the Center Party managed to capture a large share of the youth vote (the age limit was lowered to 18, adding half a million new voters) with a campaign pledge to close Sweden's five nuclear plants and scuttle the government's plans to build eight more by 1985.

Although the nuclear plant issue was a successful device for mobilizing support from the rural and urban petty bourgeoisie, it also provides an index of the instability of the new Center/Liberal/Moderate coalition government. The People's Party (Liberals) and Moderates had supported the Social Democrats' nuclear power programs as necessary for industrial growth, turning a jaundiced eye to the ecology movement's prescription of installing windmills and turning off the lights. Within days of the election, pressure from his allies forced Fälldin to shelve his opposition to opening a new nuclear power plant (*International Herald Tribune*, 9-10 October).

In the campaign the bourgeois parties could not work out a common platform and, in fact, they publicly squabbled right up to election day. Relations between the People's Party, supported by urban intellectuals and various pacifist and temperance groups, and the Moderate Party, based on the conservative bourgeoisie, senior civil servants and armed forces officers, have been particularly frosty. At the time of the elections, the pro-Liberal *Aftonbladet*, the biggest evening paper in Sweden, called on Moderate leader Gösta Bohman to resign.

While the campaign rhetoric of the bourgeois parties talked of eliminating bureaucracy, in presenting his government to the Riksdag Prime Minister Fälldin was careful to promise to continue Sweden's extensive social welfare system. The first decisive test for this government of sheep farmers, green dreamers and big businessmen will be posed next month when national contract negotiations begin between the employers' confederation (SAF) and the trade-union federation, the Landsorganisation (LO), representing 1.8 million members in 25 industrial unions.

For decades, the single national LO/SAF framework agreement covering all unions, usually for a one- to three-year period, has served the bourgeoisie and its labor lieutenants as a straitjacket on the class struggle. However, the long era of labor peace was premised on an expanding economy, higher wages and more social welfare schemes. Facing an openly bourgeois regime for the first time in two generations, the LO bureaucracy will most likely be constrained to bluster a bit, since it can no longer assure the workers that cooperation on the economic front will be rewarded by token concessions from "their" government.

### Weakening of Social Democratic Political Dominance

The dual nature of the Swedish Social Democracy—balancing between the pressures of its working-class base and the needs of capitalist rule, which it supports—has been particularly evident over the past three years. Following the 1973 elections, the SAP and its "Communist" backers held exactly half the seats in the Riksdag. Under parliamentary rules, tie votes would be broken by pulling "yes" or "no" votes out of an urn! Hence, passage of major legislation required compromises with one or another bourgeois party (usually the Liberals).

But beset by falling exports, rising unemployment and a current inflation rate of 11 percent, the SAP has faced mounting dissatisfaction from its trade-union supporters (expressed in demands for greater government programs and in an increased number of wildcat strikes) along with sharpened criticism by the big bourgeoisie.

In June the Palme government introduced a bill allowing the unions "co-decision...on questions relating to management and the assignment of work, the commencement and termination of employment or the conducting of the firm's activities in general." The bill passed after a stormy 13-hour debate during which it was amended by the bourgeois parties to allow employers to withhold information on company finances and to increase fines on wildcat strikes.

Although the big corporations have prospered under the long Social Democratic rule, growing sections of the bourgeoisie have been considering alternatives to continuing SAP domination of Swedish political life. One of the more outspoken, Lars Eric Thunholm, managing director of Skandinaviska Enskildabanken (the country's largest commercial bank), wrote in a blunt article in the conservative newspaper *Svenska Dagbladet*:

Simon/Gamma

Olof Palme, ousted Social-Democratic prime minister

> "If we can't stop inflation, we'll have to get rid of democracy. Such a change, of course, cannot come all at once but must come gradually. Various government regulations, price controls, subsidies, fiscal measures, etc. will gradually undermine the free market economy. "One must, in this connection, remember that among the strong groups is the organized workers movement. Sooner or later this process must result in a collision between the political regime on the one side, which must secure for itself more and more authoritarian power, and the trade unions on the other side. This is a confrontation that is taking place in several European countries today."
>
> —quoted in *Inprecor*, 9 September

The ruling class waits expectantly to see if the Fälldin regime can effectively wield its heterogeneous constituency against the labor movement. If the evident shakiness of the bourgeois coalition opens the road to heightened class struggle, the capitalists may well long for the return of the staid era of Social Democratic class collaboration.

### The Myth of Swedish "Socialism"

The so-called "middle way" of Swedish "socialism" has long been the subject of enthusing by bourgeois New Dealers and hardened labor reformists alike. In fact, Swedish "socialism" rests on one of the most monopoly-dominated economies in West Europe. Sweden has the greatest concentration of inherited wealth of any country on the continent, and only 6 percent of production is from state-owned enterprises, far less than in Christian Democratic Italy (where more than half of industrial production is in state hands) or the rest of West Europe, and even lower than in such bastions of "free enterprise" as the United States. The Social Democrats have traditionally encouraged new capital formation and productivity boosts by enormous corporate tax breaks, in contrast to steep personal income tax rates.

The Swedish government's sole claim to "socialism" is its wide-ranging welfare-state programs, which the bourgeoisie has accepted because the country has one of the highest per capita incomes in the world. Even leaving aside Sweden's vastly superior social services, the average wage of a Swedish worker is higher than that of an American. The secret of this prosperity is not a planned economy but the success of the Swedish ruling class in remaining neutral during two world wars while assiduously doing business with both sides. As the rest of European industry was systematically reduced to rubble, Sweden's SKF trust was making a tidy profit from the sale of ball bearings to Hitler's Wehrmacht, and the Swedish Intelligence Bureau (IB) was unobtrusively collaborating with the Gestapo.

In return for high wages and job security, the Swedish worker is subjected to a killing work pace. Most industry is run on a piecework basis. Commenting on Volvo's famous experiment in "abolition of the assembly line," Per Ahlstrom, editor of the Metal Workers union newspaper, pointed out that:

> "Interruptions always occur on the continuous assembly line, since the speed of the belt is geared to the operation that requires the most time. No such pauses arise in group work. All working time is utilized....
>
> "With piecework no moving assembly line is required. The worker is still forced and enticed to work hard in order to earn as much as possible."
>
> —*Sweden Now*, March 1976

Moreover, so effective are the Social Democracy's techniques of delivering labor discipline that Volvo has lost exactly *one* work day to strike action since 1932!

The innovations of the labor reformists are strictly geared to the needs of capitalist industry. The so-called "solidarity wage policy" (eliminating wage differentials) of the LO has been welcomed by Swedish big business. Its practical effect has been to hold down the pay of skilled workers in large industry while driving low-wage small businesses to the wall, thereby accelerating the concentration and rationalization of the economy. (Neither the LO nor the SAP calls for expropriating the Wallenbergs and other monopolists who control the means of production.)

Likewise, the SAP government constructed a (still inadequate) number of day care centers in order to ease the traditional labor shortage, enabling 60 percent of Swedish women to enter the workforce. This is combined, however, with tremendous pressure, both financial and social, encouraging couples to have children and otherwise reinforcing the bourgeois family. The social welfare schemes of the 1930's were similarly motivated by a desire to offset a declining birth rate.

The political bankruptcy of Swedish Social Democracy is graphically demonstrated by its newly adopted "maximum program," the Meidner Plan. According to this scheme, 20 percent of

before-tax profits of all businesses with more than 50 employees would be diverted to a fund under the control of union bureaucrats, which would be used to purchase corporate stock. Thereby the labor fakers would presumably be enabled to gradually and painlessly buy out the capitalist class!

In an interview in *Le Monde* (23 June), Palme explained that "Nationalization is not a Swedish solution." He reassuringly added that the Meidner Plan would have to spend ten years on the drawing board because of its complexity. Any remnants of panic in corporate boardrooms ought to have been eliminated by the speech of LO chairman Gunnar Nilsson explaining the purpose of the plan at this summer's union federation convention: "The mixed economy is not put into question. We want a little less capitalism and a little more influence for the workers."

While the ossified SAP and LO hacks have been chloroforming the Swedish proletariat with utopian programs and a few crumbs from the bourgeois larder, they have not neglected to keep the machinery of state repression well-oiled. "Neutral" Sweden maintains a large, well-equipped and -trained military establishment closely associated with the armies of NATO members Denmark and Norway. Since 1965 the police budget has tripled, and the budget of the security police has increased from 17.6 million to 65 million kronor.

In 1973 the Swedish magazine *Folket i Bild/Kulturfront* revealed that the Intelligence Bureau had compiled dossiers on 20,000 citizens, and that its agents were involved in burglary, forgery and attempted murder. For example, IB provocateur Gunnar Ekberg, as head of a Palestinian support group in 1969, had made the first bomb threat on an Israeli airliner. The journalists responsible for these revelations were promptly arrested and charged with espionage (*Daily World*, 14 December 1973).

## The "Revolutionary Left" and the Elections

The Social Democratic Workers Party remains the recognized party of the Swedish proletariat to a degree unequaled elsewhere in West Europe. Fully 80 percent of the working class votes for the SAP. Moreover, approximately three-fifths of the party's membership is in the form of collective membership by trade unions, which subsidize the Social Democratic press, support the SAP at election time and whose leaders are themselves Social Democratic bigwigs.

Recently, the SAP has also sought to mobilize the large number of foreign workers on its behalf. Under new election laws, non-citizens who had lived in Sweden for at least two years (approximately 250,000) were allowed to vote for the first time in local elections, and here the Social Democrats did much better than in the parliamentary vote.

Although the Swedish Social Democracy has been reformist practically from its birth, this bourgeois workers party still contains some token "leftist" trappings (when compared to Helmut Schmidt's West German SPD, for instance), such as singing the "Internationale" and sending a few thousand kronor to various petty-bourgeois nationalist movements in Africa. More importantly, it has met resistance within its ranks to blocs with any of the bourgeois parties, even where there were strong pressures in this direction in order to secure a majority in the Riksdag. Thus in 1973, when the parliamentary deadlock led to talk of a coalition government, LO chief Nilsson stated that the labor federation "would oppose every form of organized cooperation between the Palme Government and any opposition party," according to the *New York Times* (20 September 1973).

Under these circumstances, where a mass reformist workers party is running independently of the capitalist parties (and has not recently committed a major atrocity leading the most militant sections of the class to break from it), a small revolutionary formation could call for critical support to the candidates of the Social Democratic party. In doing so, it would make clear that its purpose was to draw a class line against the direct representatives of the bourgeoisie and to place the reformist misleaders in power in order to expose the bankruptcy of their parliamentary cretinism and welfare-state panaceas.

However, while critical support is one of the tactical weapons in the arsenal of a Leninist vanguard, it is by no means obligatory, and after having experienced 44 years of Social Democratic rule, the Swedish working class doubtless has a good idea of what re-electing Olof Palme and his cohorts would mean. Thus a Trotskyist nucleus in Sweden would make a particular effort to present a revolutionary alternative to Social Democratic reformism in the elections. However, the various ostensibly communist tendencies which presented candidates all ran on election programs of varying hues of reformist pink, in no case qualitatively superior to the SAP.

The "official" Communist Party, the VPK, some time ago changed its name to "Left Party (Communist)," and is today little more than a wart on the left flank of the Social Democracy. Like the Italian PCI, the VPK espouses a unique "Swedish road to socialism" in order to distance itself from the Soviet bloc bureaucracies. (Programmatically, it beat Berlinguer and Marchais to the punch by eliminating all references to the dictatorship of the proletariat three decades ago.) There are a number of left oppositionists in the party, from unregenerate Kremlin loyalists to former student radicals, and the factional beat threatened to sink the VPK vote below the 4 percent minimum for parliamentary representation.

Almost from the day he stepped into office, Olof Palme was dependent on Left Party support in the Riksdag. This merely confirmed the VPK leadership in its standing policy of acting as a pressure group on the Social Democrats, and the relationship between the greater and lesser parties of labor reformism in Sweden was accurately characterized by one Western diplomat as "a case of the dog wagging the tail" (*New York Times*, 20 December 1974). In the recent elections, the "Communists" called for voting VPK in order to save the "workers government."

Apparently, at least some workers had a different idea of how to strengthen the "socialist bloc," and there was evidence of noticeable vote shifts from the VPK to the Social Democrats. Thus even though the voting percentage was a high 90 percent of the electorate, and more than 500,000 youth were added to the rolls, the Left Party lost 22,000 votes, a stunning setback.

The VPK has also been losing influence in the trade unions, where in the past it has had support among iron miners and dock workers. More and more often it has found itself on an equal footing with other left groups in size and ability to intervene, and has occasionally been outflanked. But while the Maoists had a surge of popularity a few years ago, their hysterical propaganda about a "Soviet threat" to Scandinavia has begun to alienate serious militants en masse. When Kissinger came to Sweden in late May, the Maoists complained that he was coming to make Palme more obedient to the USSR!

Since the last elections, one of the Maoist groups, the KFMLr, has lost almost half of its organization and this year passively boycotted the voting. Only the largest of the phony "Marxist-Leninist" groups, the Swedish Communist Party (SKP), ran candidates this year with the central aim of taking votes away from the VKP so as to drive the "agents of Soviet social imperialism" out of the Riksdag. The SKP is politically similar to the West German KPD-ML of Ernst Aust—who sued the federal defense minister for failing to adequately arm against the "Soviet threat"—and just as crazy and dangerous. They are playing with age-old Russophobia in Sweden, and on the anniversary of the invasion of Czechoslovakia the Maoists held a demonstration together with the youth leagues of the bourgeois parties. Altogether the SKP received 16,000 votes, down about 2,000 from 1973.

## The KAF: Pabloists Tailing the "Broad Vanguard"

With the Maoists increasingly isolated on the left and the "official" Communists embroiled in factional difficulties, large groups of their respective sympathizers have been left homeless. A whole forest of support groups for different "Third World" nationalist guerrillas has shot up, including one devoted exclusively to the cause of the Polisario Front in former Spanish Sahara. There is also increased interest in several centrist groups collectively referred to as the "anti-Stalinist left." A propaganda bloc called the "Red Front for Workers Power" on May Day this year brought together three of them, the FK (Communist League, associated with Lotta Continua in Italy), the FAM (League for Workers Power, a mysterious mixture of classical syndicalism and Bordigism) and the KAF (Communist Workers League, Swedish section of the fake-Trotskyist United Secretariat [USec]).

After a period of being one of the leftmost groups of the centrist USec majority, the KAF has been moving sharply to the right in recent months. In general it has sought to form unprincipled blocs with forces it considers to be the local embodiment of the "broad vanguard" of radicalized youth and workers. Thus it tried to entice the FK (which did not run candidates) into voting for the KAF slate by offering it a page per issue in the KAF's newspaper, *Internationalen*. Instead, the FK called for a vote to the VPK, arguing that in some cases these reformists acted as a voice for "extra-parliamentary movements" (such as Chile, South Africa, tenants' and child-care protests).

The KAF has also been sidling up to the VPK, and at the big Volvo plant in Göteborg earlier this year it formed a joint opposition with pro-Moscow elements and independents, receiving 27 percent of the votes. (The KAF hailed this as a great victory, although the previous year the VPK alone got 22 percent and the year before that 29 percent.) The program of the campaign was centered on demands for more union democracy.

For the first time, the USec supporters decided to run in the parliamentary elections, fielding over 275 candidates and receiving an unexpected 2,700 votes. They attracted a certain degree of attention in the radical milieu and brought more than 2,000 to hear Mandel speak in Stockholm in late August. However, the program they ran on was a bland hodgepodge of left social-democratic reformism that was astounding in its vagueness. (The crowning demands were for a "democratic and fighting labor movement," a "new workers party" and a "real workers government"!)

The election platform (*Internationalen* supplement, 5 August) had tendencies toward social-democratic anti-Stalinism, supporting anti-bureaucratic protesters in the deformed workers states while leaving out a call to defend these states against imperialist attack. (This is not unimportant given the Maoists' anti-Soviet frenzy and the importance of Sweden as a sounding board for anti-communist Russian dissidents—for example the Nobel prize awarded to tsar-lover Solzhenitsyn.) Other foreign policy statements could have been uttered by Olof Palme himself in a left mood: calls for solidarity with workers the world over; break with bloody dictatorships and imperialist institutions; not just neutrality but active help to peoples struggles for liberation; break ties to the Common Market, etc.

ArbetarKamp

**Shipyard workers in Sweden face layoffs and wage reductions due to increased international competition among shipbuilders.**

In fact, except for a single abstract reference to a "society based on soviet organizations of the working class," the KAF's call for a "true workers government" was nothing more than a left-wing version of an SAP government of the capitalist state: six-hour day, protect the environment, make decisions in democratic discussions with mass organizations and through referenda, open radio and TV up to all workers organizations.

The only issue where the KAF did sharply differ with the Social Democrats was on nuclear power, and here it sided with the reactionary utopian petty-bourgeois ecology furor whipped up by the Center Party! Rather than warning about how capitalism sacrifices the safety of working people, it called for junking atomic power and relying on windmills and solar power (not much help during Sweden's long winter!). Marxists do not oppose technological progress as such or call for a return to pre-industrial eras of rustic stagnation; we fight instead for the most comprehensive safety precautions and the overthrow of a society that kills tens of thousands every year in death-trap factories for the sake of increased profits.

(The FK took up the anti-atomic power cause with even greater fervor, adding a call for recycling garbage, and coining the catchy slogan, "Better active and red than radio-active and dead!")

The Left Party is nothing but a "left" support to the SAP, not an alternative to Social Democracy. The SKP is actively championing the interests of

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# Italian Communist Party...

*(continued from page 1)*

party would be limited to a "fight within parliament to have our constructive proposals passed." Another top Communist leader, Georgio Amendola, went on the offensive against the trade unions and others who "lack consideration of the seriousness of the danger of inflation" (*New York Times*, 19 and 21 October).

The world bourgeoisie looked on approvingly as the PCI squirmed to keep the workers in line. The London *Economist* (16 October) explained the price of bourgeois respectability to Luciano Lama, secretary of the PCI-dominated CGIL labor federation: "But unless Mr. Lama can keep control of his unions' rank and file, the government's economic policy may prove unenforceable." And the *New York Times* (24 October) editorialized: "Now, Communist leaders underscore the workers' interest in fighting inflation...." But since the new program "may" have "painful impact on many workers" and "the new line is bewildering for many Communists and workers," the PCI must be prepared "to pay a price" to prove its "responsible behavior" and "give credibility to the new Eurocommunist myth."

The workers who are faced with drastic cuts in their wages and living standards have far more immediate concerns than the bourgeois respectability of Amendola and Berlinguer. On October 7, even before the announcement of the terms of the austerity plan, 8 million workers staged a two-hour protest walkout across Italy. The following day, within hours of the concretization of the government's measures, the factories of northern Italy were in revolt. Beginning at the Alfa Romeo plant near Milano and the Fiat plant in Torino, massive wildcats unleashed large-scale protests and demonstrations which swept across the industrial region (*Panorama*, 19 October). After walking out at Alfa Romeo, the workers marched to the regional union hall and demanded strike action (*Lotta Continua*, 10-11 October). The local union bureaucrats quickly switched gears, calling a four-hour general strike—the traditional manner of defusing class struggle—in Torino for October 13.

The proletariat, far from being placated by this tokenistic defiance, wildcatted in Milano, Torino and Genova on October 12. The Torino general strike burst the bounds intended by Italy's three national labor federations and became a militant demonstration led by the metal workers. Repeated wildcats and roadblocks set up by the workers of Milano and the surrounding region followed the Torino general strike.

L'Espresso

**Luigi Longo and Berlinguer**

**Berlinguer and Giorgio Amendola**

### Bureaucrats on the Defensive

The PCI tops moved to stave off any challenge to their bureaucratic stranglehold. On October 10 Luciano Barca harangued the militant Torino workers for two hours, and at 5 a.m. the next morning the 27-man party/trade-union local leadership was out at the plant gates trying to appease the angry workers. Similar mass meetings were abruptly called in major centers throughout the country.

Among the trade-union tops the kneejerk reaction to the announcement of the "stagnata" had been to call a token walkout. At the October 8 meeting of the coordinating committee of Italy's three labor federations, the initial position was to condemn the government and to proclaim a general strike. During a break, the word came down from the PCI, Socialist and DC heads to play ball with the government. Upon resumption of the meeting only one voice was raised in opposition—that of "left" Communist Sergio Garavini who denounced the measures as "unilateral and anti-popular." Significantly, it was Luciano Lama who did the hatchet job for the PCI. Lama shut up Garavini with a few words of caution, "Sergio, you don't know how things stand" (*L'Espresso*, 17 October).

However the wave of wildcats soon straightened out the trade-union tops as to "how things stood." The PCI was pushing a policy of lie down and die, but the working class wasn't buying. Within days Lama, terrified that escalating working-class militancy would leave the PCI behind, was orchestrating the trade-union proposal for a series of general strikes protesting the austerity measures.

The rank-and-file discontent provoked by the manifestly anti-working-class thrust of the "stagnata" provisions rekindled unrest over the PCI's propping up the DC in parliament. In the last week Amendola has made headlines again, this time in opposition to PCI "hardliner" Luigi Longo. The debate opened up over how far the party would be willing to capitulate to the austerity plan. Taking off from Berlinguer's dictate that the PCI must keep the DC in power, Amendola proclaimed that the party and trade unions must "go all the way," subordinating everything to the anti-inflation fight. Longo led the section of the party—comprising a goodly number of the trade-union leaders—who challenged the "inequality" of the sacrifices demanded of the workers while accepting cutbacks and controls in the "fight against inflation."

In this dispute Berlinguer and the majority of the Central Committee have been harsh with Longo while keeping at arm's length from Amendola. Despite CC member Napolitano's correct disclaimer that "the Longo and Amendola positions are not rigidly counterposed, but are two ways of seeing the contemporary crisis with the same line" (*La Stampa*, 21 October), the debate is unusually acrimonious, revealing a more fundamental tension in the PCI.

### Social-Democratization of the CP's

The point at issue is not any vestige of a policy of class independence among the well-trained Stalinist hacks, or even an impulse to defend the Italian proletariat against inflation and government wage-slashing attacks. Both wings of the PCI are fully committed to the "historic compromise"—the full-blown program of popular frontism. The difference between Longo and Amendola is symptomatic of the conflicting pressures operating on a bourgeois workers party.

By its very nature, a bourgeois workers party—Lenin's expression for the social contradiction embodied in the bourgeois program of reformism as opposed to its proletarian social base—must balance between its policy of pro-capitalist conciliationism and the limits imposed by the necessity to preserve the social weight of its mass base. Reformist workers parties such as the PCI are capable neither of breaking with the interests of capitalism nor of directly smashing the mass organizations of the working class—the trade unions—upon which they rest.

Panorama

**Demonstration against factory closings in Milano.**

In this context Amendola's obscene eagerness to get into the government soon is merely the crassest expression of toadying to the DC. PCI president Longo presently stands with those in the party who are more acutely conscious of the immediacy of pressure from the rank's. Aware that the PCI's ability to make itself valuable to the bourgeoisie depends upon the maintenance of a mass base to sell out, he warns, "we not only will lose the influence and prestige among the masses that is the source of our strength but we also will lose our bargaining power" (*New York Times*, 21 October). To be an attractive governmental partner for the DC, the PCI must not allow the militant workers to bypass its hegemony.

A similar phenomenon can be observed in the Spanish Communist Party (PCE). The PCE holds out its control of the semi-clandestine workers commissions (and with them the major sectors of the industrial proletariat) as a calling card for its popular-front "Coordinación Democrática." Within the PCE a public dispute, analogous in content to that within the PCI, has broken out between the exiled general secretary, Santiago Carrillo, and the organizer of the workers commissions, Marcelino Camacho. Carrillo wants to throw the PCE's lot in with the major sectors of the liberal bourgeoisie, in pursuit of which he is prepared to liquidate the workers commissions into the corporatist CNS union structure. Camacho, who also supports the Coordinación Democrática, places emphasis upon the maintenance of the workers commissions and with them the party's ability to consolidate its influence among the working class.

The PCE and PCI are experiencing a similar process of social-democratization. The mass Stalinist parties are seeking greater credibility in the eyes of their nations' bourgeoisies. The appeal of ever broader popular fronts (in Italy the "historic compromise" with the DC, in France the Union of the Left, in Spain accommodation to the timid bourgeois opposition to the Francoist state) results in intra-party strain between those who most strongly feel the pressure of conciliationist appetites and those whose political weight within and outside the party rests upon their bureaucratic control of the trade-union movement.

Thus the debate in the PCI represents more a difference in milieu than a left-right political difference. The pressure on Berlinguer and Amendola is to impress their bourgeois friends in parliament by their reliability in disciplining the workers in the service of capitalist austerity. Longo and Lama are the ones who have to marshal the forces in the unions, and it is they who fear losing control of the workers by a too naked display of pro-capitalist "responsibility."

### The Popular Front and the Far-Left

The PCI is caught in the web of its history of class collaboration. Its strategy for class treason—the popular-front "historic compromise"—stands exposed as never before. Both wings of the PCI accept this sellout strategy: the "right" grabs single-mindedly for "power sharing" while the "left" cautions that if "we lose influence among the masses...we also lose our bargaining power." This "bargaining power" is the PCI's route to convincing the bourgeoisie to accept the "historic compromise."

Revolutionists forthrightly refused to critically support the PCI in the June elections, insisting that the PCI was not running a campaign independent of the bourgeois parties. Only this policy could have demonstrated to the advanced workers a programmatic alternative to the class collaborationism of the Stalinist reformists. The PCI campaign was based on a proposed coalition with the DC and the promise to do whatever was necessary to bring about a popular-front government, thereby guaranteeing in advance the elementary class betrayal which has been so graphically demonstrated by the PCI's response to the anti-government strike wave.

L'Espresso

**CGIL head Lucio Lama**

Yet with the exception of the Nucleo Spartacista d'Italia, sympathizing section of the international Spartacist tendency, no left group in Italy took the position that the PCI's proposed coalition with the DC precluded critical electoral support both in the 1975 "administrative" elections and in this year's parliamentary vote, and called for a break not only with the "historic compromise" but with popular frontism. In contrast, several centrist and reformist organizations, some of which supported PCI candidates in 1975, ran on the Democrazia Proletaria (DP)

ticket, an unprincipled electoral bloc with a program for a mini-popular-front compromise of its own—less "historic" but no less class-collaborationist in intent.

Against the PCI's "historic compromise," the DP posed the "government of the lefts"—a bourgeois parliamentary reform coalition. Following the bloody demise of the Chilean model for popular frontism, the Popular Unity (UP) government of Salvador Allende, which paved the way for the reactionary Pinochet coup, the PCI had reasoned

Rinascita

**Italian premier Giulio Andreotti**

that the UP was not popular enough, proposing that in Italy the popular front be broadened to include the historic party of capitalism, the Christian Democracy. In response, the "far-left" DP conglomeration replied that the UP was just what the doctor ordered, proposing an Allende-style "government of the lefts" which would be "open to Catholic forces that free themselves of the political Catholicism of the Christian Democracy"—that is, liberal-bourgeois forces similar to the bourgeois Radicals in the Chilean UP.

Now that the PCI's pro-capitalist strategy stands nakedly exposed and the most militant workers threaten to break out of the PCI's stranglehold; now, when those workers are cursing the votes they cast last summer for the PCI; now that the hegemonic CP is having visible trouble in its balancing act between labor and capital—now is the time for a Trotskyist policy that can speak to the workers breaking out of the reformist mire of Stalinism toward the road of class struggle. ■

# Small-Change Reformism...

*(continued from page 12)*

in favor of Ford, McCarthy was excluded from the ballot last week. Nevertheless he continues to poll around 6 percent nationally and is expected to get 10 percent of the vote on a write-in basis in California, where it takes 99,284 petitioners to get on the ballot (*New York Times* Sunday Magazine, 24 October). Despite such manipulations, the protest vote this year will probably be a higher percentage of the total count than in any presidential election since the days of Henry Wallace's Progressive Party.

### Reformist Twins

Speaking on nationwide television as a result of a successful "equal time" suit, the SWP's Peter Camejo was asked by interviewer Tom Snyder what separated him politically from Snyder's previous guest, Gus Hall of the CP. Camejo replied with a speech about how the SWP's program differs from that of the Democrats and Republicans. In fact, this year—with the CP having temporarily shelved its "fight the right"-style thinly concealed support for the Democratic "lesser evil"—the SWP and CP look very much alike. The CP has even picked up on the SWP's gimmick of "revolution" by constitutional amendment, now offering its own "workers charter" of "anti-monopoly" reforms.

Neither group attempts to address the problems of the working class from the perspective of a militant *class* struggle against capitalism. Both, for instance,, treat unemployment in much the same way as the "progressives" of the Democratic Party—as a matter of misplaced "priorities." The SWP suggests that money from the military budget can be funneled into jobs. The CP, which calls for a version of the demand for a shorter workweek with no loss in pay to eliminate unemployment, infuses this demand with a purely reformist content.

Both the SWP and CP have managed to pick up a lot of publicity. The SWP has virtually become a darling of the media with its civil libertarian propaganda surrounding its anti-FBI court suit. As a reward for its shameless reformism, Geoffrey Stokes of the *Village Voice* is backing the SWP for New York state senate: "In this election, at least, the SWP offers a left alternative that is neither mired in the internecine squabbles of the past nor blinded by a cloud-cuckooland of the future" (*Village Voice*, 25 October). In other words, the SWP has long ago abandoned any reference to its revolutionary Trotskyist past and does not pose a revolutionary future for the U.S. working class.

The CP is having an easy time denouncing Carter, who is favored neither by the CP Central Committee members who admittedly voted for McGovern last time around, nor by Moscow which if it has a preference probably opts for Ford. So for the first time in years the CP is actually running against the Democrats, and as Gus Hall said "on a scale without precedent in our party's history" (*Daily World*, 3 April). Last weekend the CP held a Madison Square Garden rally; the nearly 4,000 who attended heard Hall give an unaccustomed speech against "lesser evilism."

Neither of these reformist campaigns deserves the votes of militant workers. The main point of the CP's "anti-monopoly" campaign is the idea that a large CP vote will help to pressure the capitalist parties into passing progressive legislation: "a big Communist vote in Detroit would become a serious concern for the executives of GM and Ford"; similarly, a good showing in New York City would "make the banks come to the rescue of NYC" (*Daily World*, 3 April). A vote for the SWP is a vote for "community control" strike-breaking and anti-Sovietism, as Camejo regularly equates the lack of "democracy" in Chile, Spain and the USSR.

The SWP candidates often give the impression that they believe they might be elected if only the election laws were fair and if they could get more media time. This willingness to cater to the illusion that the bourgeoisie will permit itself to be voted out of power only betrays the SWP's fundamental electoralism. For revolutionists, an election campaign is only one tactic for bringing the party's propaganda before the working masses. The main arena in the battle against the Democrats must be the mass organizations of the working class—the trade unions. There the SWP calls for support to Sadlowski, the treacherous up-and-coming bureaucratic faker in the Steelworkers, as the wave of the future. Meanwhile, the CP (which also likes Sadlowski) is busy grovelling before the entrenched pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy; Hall's polemics against "lesser evilism" never pass the lips of CP supporters in the unions.

In order to consider giving critical support to one of these propaganda groups, it would have to break to the left on some key issue facing the working class, such that a vote for its candidate could be understood as a vote not for "reform" of the capitalist state but for class struggle against it. Neither the CP nor the SWP meets this criterion.

Nor do any of the smaller groups deserve the votes of militant workers. In the 1974 elections the Spartacist League called for critical support to the candidates of the Workers League as a minimal expression of a working-class thrust. But the present activity of the WL is centrally defined by its vicious and baseless slanders against SWP leaders Hansen and Novack, charged by the WL with being "accomplices" of the Stalinist secret police in the 1940 assassination of Trotsky. When the WL's Harlem candidate came to speak at City College, she spent her time pushing one of her tendency's vile slander pamphlets. Increasingly given over to provocative physical attacks on other left groups, these Vishinskys of the second mobilization deserve only the condemnation of the workers movement.

The Stalinist Communist Labor Party is running a few candidates on a totally reformist program. In Detroit the CLP is running General Baker in the district of Democratic Congressman Conyers, but on a program indistinguishable from the CP's. Meanwhile Lyn Marcus, cult leader of the semi-psychopathic Labor Committee/U.S. Labor Party, has come out for Gerald Ford.

The Carter-Ford presidential contest is a telling example of the bankruptcy of the bourgeoisie, but the ostensibly socialist candidates have provided nothing in the way of a proletarian political alternative. In the campaigns of the SWP and CP capitalism was not opposed, and as one or another imperialist front man steps into the White House, the SWP and CP are already planning to "continue the struggle" ...by mounting bigger and better reformist electoral campaigns.

A revolutionary opposition to capitalist rule, while making use of bourgeois elections to the extent possible, must struggle within the mass organizations of the working class to oust the present misleaders who are the main roadblock standing in the way of a militant proletarian mobilization against the bourgeoisie. In addition to demanding the ouster of the Woodcocks and Meanys, class-struggle militants call for a workers party based on the trade unions, to fight for a workers government. This is what the CP, SWP, CLP, WL and other reformist or centrist left tendencies fail to do, preferring instead to tail after the "progressive" bureaucrats. In the U.S. as elsewhere, the possibility of a programmatic alternative to capitalism remains with the Trotskyists of the international Spartacist tendency. ■


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# Hungarian Revolution...

*(continued from page 5)*

speaker asked the audience to suppose for a moment that there had been some new type of capitalist class in Hungary, which had consolidated its rule in the decade prior to the 1956 revolt. "Then what does this 'new class' do?" he asked.

"It dissolves! Eighty percent of the Communist Party cadres and the military either become neutralized or become active supporters of the workers councils. One would be hard put to think that the American ruling class—if the workers of this country were to rise up, form workers councils and have a general strike—would simply dissolve, with 80 percent of the capitalists becoming partisans of the new soviet state power."

"The lesson of Hungary," he concluded, "is that only Trotskyism provides a guide and a road forward for the workers to overturn these bureaucracies, in the process forming the revolutionary parties and organs of soviet rule so that all the deformed and degenerated workers states will become in a genuine sense bastions of proletarian communist revolution."

A vigorous discussion followed O'Brien's talk, as the Trotskyist position was attacked from both sides—first by the Marcyites, who support the Russian invasion, and then by various Shachtmanite groups and individuals who argued for a social revolution to overthrow what they characterize as "state capitalist" and "bureaucratic collectivist" regimes.

The exchange grew heated at times, and norms of workers democracy were violated by disruptive cat-calling by some groups. Particularly egregious were repeated interruptions by the Communist Cadre, which calls the Hungarian uprising counterrevolutionary while supporting the Mao faction in the Chinese "Cultural Revolution." Insistently, these crackpot Marcyites defended the Russian invasion on the grounds that, despite the dual power situation in Hungary in which the bulk of the Hungarian armed forces as well as most of the Communist Party's cadre had gone over to the workers councils, it was supposedly the impotent Nagy government (containing within it members of the conservative peasant Smallholders Party) which dominated events.

This led one SL speaker to note that the Marcyites' notion of the state was not Marxism but simply inverted liberalism: they ignore the concentration of effective power in the workers councils and argue that in the unlikely event that parliamentary elections had taken place and the Smallholders Party won, capitalism would automatically have been restored to Hungary.

"The slogan, 'Victory for the Smallholders Party Equals Capitalist Restoration,' telescopes a civil war," said the speaker. "Between these two conditions there is a civil war in which the Smallholders Party would have to organize the embryo of a new state power to smash the workers councils. Implicit in [the Marcyites] lack of confidence in the revolutionary capacity of the working class is a denial of the Leninist theory of the state." ■


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# S.F....

*(continued from page 12)*

personal fiefdoms. Proposition E would allow department heads to fill vacancies by selecting from the top three on civil service examination lists, rather than the top one. Proposition I would exempt about 65 top-level management positions from civil service requirements altogether. The effects of Proposition M, which changes the method of funding city employees' pensions, is not immediately clear, and it is opposed both by the CLC and by anti-labor supervisor Quentin Kopp.

This massive array of union-busting propositions must be sharply defeated! Class-struggle union militants must show the way by providing a program to mobilize the Bay Area labor movement to smash the S.F. city rulers' continuing

WV photo

**1974 demonstration against anti-labor Proposition "L"**

offensive against the workers movement!

All these anti-labor measures are the fruit of the CLC's strategy of class collaboration. Had the CLC pulled out all of San Francisco labor to defeat the attack on city craft workers, there would be no union-busting propositions on the ballot today, for city rulers would fear to again provoke the powerful organized labor movement. This time the right to strike itself has been put on the chopping block of the ballot box referendum, yet the traitorous bureaucrats have done virtually nothing but gear up their usual electoral machine for the Democratic "friends of labor."

It was just such class collaboration which helped elect the Board of Supervisors and Mayor Moscone, who have spearheaded the anti-labor drive and even humiliated their buddy Joe Mazzola of the plumbers union by removing him from the airports commission through a mock "trial" in order to intensify the anti-labor atmosphere. Yet the CLC continues to make endorsements of Democratic "friends of labor," from anti-union Senator Tunney to peanut boss Jimmy Carter for president. It should be clear to all union militants that these labor bureaucrats are totally committed to class collaboration. The road forward lies in *ousting* the labor traitors on a class-struggle program—including a call to strike against all the anti-labor propositions, and the creation of a workers party to fight for a workers government. ■


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# Gusanos...

*(continued from page 1)*

to death Jorge Rodriguez, general secretary of the Liga Socialista.

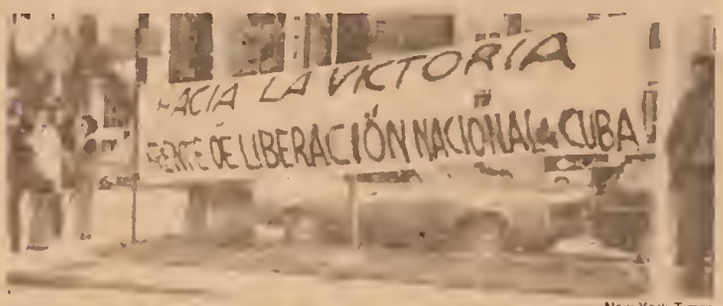
These are the gusanos, the counterrevolutionary "worms," whose services in assassination, torture and other terrorist and criminal specialties are constantly on call for the agencies of imperialist "law and order." Two weeks ago they sent 73 victims to the bottom of the ocean, and it is now believed they are connected with the assassination of Orlando Letelier, former Chilean foreign minister under Allende, and a co-

AP

**Orlando Bosch**

worker in Washington, D.C., last month. Having spent the last month "investigating" the absurd "theory" that leftists murdered Letelier, now that Venezuelan authorities uncovered evidence of the possible connection, the U.S. is reluctantly requesting extradition of Bosch.

The FBI's latest ploy to take the heat for Letelier's murder off the hated Chilean secret police agency, DINA, is to blame gusano exiles. They are certainly plausible enough as triggermen. But as the incident of the Cuban airliner shows, it is illusory to think that the gusano terrorists are independent agents: virtually every one of them has been trained or employed at one time or another by the imperialist secret police and spy agencies. Cuban exiles are




New York Times

**Anti-Castro Cubans demonstrating in Miami.**

suspected in several international bombing cases, and when Venezuelan police raided Posado's heavily fortified villa they found maps of Washington along with "equipment and plans" linking him and Bosch to the October 6 attack.

A connection between Bosch, who recently spent time in Chile, and the bloodthirsty DINA would not be hard to imagine. Even such liberal publications as *Newsweek* (1 November) now speculate that Bosch may have assassinated Letelier on a "contract" from DINA.

In response to the heinous mass murder of 73 plane passengers by CIA-trained exiles, Castro could only threaten to bring a halt to the fledgling mini-détente with U.S. imperialism by breaking the anti-hijacking agreement signed in 1973. (American authorities, who at least trained and maintained for some time the bloodthirsty gusano bombers, thereupon had the gall to reply that they would hold Cuba accountable for "any encouragement of hijacking or any act of terrorism"!)

Revolutionaries have no illusions that a mere diplomatic snub would put an end to the determination of the rapacious imperialists and their sadistic gunmen to take Cuba back into the U.S. orbit, reopening it to profitable investment by American corporations and lucrative gangland activities. The collectivized property forms in Cuba must be defended against imperialist attack, but the workers must have no illusions in Cuban Stalinism and its class-collaborationist *lider máximo*.

Castro has been a target of U.S. imperialism for 16 years, and his militant reputation is based essentially on this hostility. But Castro does not just build schools and resist gusano attacks. He fostered treacherous illusions in the supposedly "constitutionalist" military officers in Chile before the 1973 coup, and in the last year has begun training the Jamaican police.

From putting out a Mafia "contract" on Castro's life to mass murder in the skies to the Cuban missile crisis threatening world war, the imperialists will stop at nothing unless met with the infinitely more powerful force of international workers revolution. Jail the October 6 bombers and the murderers of Orlando Letelier! Smash the FBI CIA DINA through proletarian revolution! Hands off Cuba! ■

## CORRECTIONS

In our last issue (*WV* No. 130, 22 October), the name of Chief Kaiser Matanzima was misspelled in two articles on the Transkei. Also in that issue, on page 11 the captions for Chinese leaders Wang Hung-wen and Hua Kuo-feng were listed in reverse order.

# Spain Expels Krivine, Arrests Four

**On October 19 Alain Krivine, a leading member of the French Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR) and Pierre Jouvet, an editor of the LCR's newspaper *Rouge*, were arrested in Madrid and "invited to leave Spanish territory." The arrest and expulsion followed an address by Krivine on the subject of amnesty.**

**Arrested with Krivine and Jouvet were four Spanish left-wing political leaders: Lucio Lobato, a member of the Central Committee of the Spanish Communist Party; Miguel Castell, lawyer; Jaime Pastor, member of the LCR; and his wife, Lucía Gonzalez. As we go to press the four are still being held.**

**The Partisan Defense Committee and Spartacist League protest this attack, which is directed against the entire left, and demand that Lobato, Castell, Pastor and Gonzalez be released immediately! Full amnesty for all victims of Francoist terror!**

# LCR...

*(continued from page 2)*

tion" of the AAA [death squads] and other ultra-rightist organizations (*Intercontinental Press* 28 October 1974). In one of the meetings with the Argentine government, PST leader Coral promised President [Isabel] Perón that the PST would "struggle for the continuity of this government because it was elected by the Argentine workers and because it authorized the exercise of some democratic freedoms..." (*Avanzada Socialista*, 15 October 1974). In addition, the ease with which the PST slid from the L-TF toward an accommodation with the IMT—which in Angola literally liquidated itself into the MPLA—reveals the fundamentally unprincipled nature of the main factions in the USec.

### Break with Pabloism!

None of the various current oppositions in the LCR has been capable of breaking with Pabloism. The Matti tendency presents itself as the champion of "mass work" trying to cover up its capitulation to the workers' present level of consciousness behind a facade of orthodoxy. Its program, to the right of the IMT's, is entirely contained in the "unity" panacea which leads it to put forward a minimum program in order to round up as many people as possible. Such a line opens up the possibility of a bloc with the SWP and an accommodation with the right-centrist OCI. Tendency A, although it has an "orthodox" characterization of the Union of the Left as a popular front, has fundamentally the same line as the IMT toward it: to push the popular front to take power, push it to the left. The Matti tendency's "orthodoxy" even leads it to term the Second Congress of the LCR as the 25th congress of the "French Section of the Fourth International"—thus recognizing that they stand in the tradition of Pabloist politics from 1952 to the present.

As for Tendency C, the fact that it is run by the reformist SWP's "Leninist-Trotskyist Faction" suffices to define its rightist character. Applying the SWP's line in France, the L-TF would probably demand that the riot police (the CRS) occupy Algerian neighborhoods to protect them against attacks by racists! Last summer, when the Portuguese Social Democrats, with the financial support of the CIA, organized reactionary mobilizations, the L-TF covered for them and wrote that because of the Communist Party's "totalitarian methods," the Social Democrats "*inevitably* had to ask support from the European socialist parties and 'democratic' capitalist governments" (August 1975 L-TF resolution, our emphasis).

This line prepares the French L-TF for the SWP's accommodation with the right-centrist OCI, which has been analyzing the interests of the working class from the viewpoint of classless democracy (*Informations Ouvrières*, 8-15 September 1976). The French L-TF avoids all questions which might embarrass the SWP, in particular the key question: the nature of the USec and its main components. The French L-TF, and even more so Tendency C*, represent attempts to build a rotten bloc between elements which support the SWP's reformist practices and militants who really criticize the LCR leadership from the left.

The Matti tendency, as well as the French L-TF, proposes to refuse to vote [in the 1977 municipal elections] for the single slates of the Union of the Left [which are required in cities of over 30,000 inhabitants]. Aside from the fact that they called for a vote for Mitterrand's "single slate" in [the] 1974 [presidential elections], there will not be two different policies presented by workers candidates on the two different kinds of slates: they are all part of the popular front and will be presented in its name. In cities of less than 30,000 inhabitants, the Communist Party (PCF) and Socialist Party (PS) will merely ask the voters to vote for whichever workers party is best able to govern in a coalition with the bourgeoisie!

Trotskyists do not call for votes to the candidates of a popular front, whether the candidates belong to a workers party or a bourgeois party. They must make breaking the coalition with the bourgeoisie a precondition to electoral support to the reformists. The popular front obliterates the independence of the workers parties toward the bourgeoisie: only when this independence exists is it possible to consider voting for them.

For the Matti tendency and the French L-TF (as for the OCI), the call for a "PCF-PS government" represents a call for the popular front in power to form a government without bourgeois ministers within the parliamentary framework. For Trotskyists, the slogan "break with the bourgeoisie, take power in your own hands" makes sense only if it means: "commit yourselves to the path of forming a government based on working-class mobilization, responsible to the working class organized in embryos of soviet power, and expropriate the bourgeoisie." The essential function of this slogan is to set the base of the reformist parties against their leaderships. But what the Matti tendency and the French L-TF are demanding is a parliamentary "workers" government!

### Forward to the Rebirth of the Fourth International!

All past oppositions [in the LCR] have capitulated before the international majority or minority because of their incapacity to make a coherent reply, based on a grasp of the nature and history of Pabloism, to the bankruptcy of the two main factions of the USec. Up until now the only tendency in France which has recognized that the USec has nothing in common with Trotsky's Fourth International was the Bolshevik-Leninist Faction for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International led by Laffitte, bureaucratically expelled in April-May 1975.

As for us, we are convinced that the only organization which is fighting for an authentically Trotskyist program and for a democratically centralized international organization is the *international Spartacist tendency*. We are resigning from the LCR in solidarity with the iSt and its French sympathizing section, the Ligue Trotskyste de France.

*which also includes some non-L-TF members

2 October 1976

Thimbault,
secretary,
Elbeuf/Renault-Cléon section

Clément,
member of the leadership,
Elbeuf/Renault-Cléon section

Cochise,
member of the leadership,
Rouen city aggregate

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# Mexican Standoff...

*(continued from page 3)*

tesque, class-collaborationist sections of the coalition programs. This is exactly the fig leaf the Militant Tendency gave itself in Mexico!

The USec has nothing to complain about in the TM's scandalous behavior: it's all according to the Pabloist rule book. It is not surprising, therefore, that the United Secretariat last July voted down an SWP motion to dissociate itself from the Mexican Coalition of the Left.

### SWP/FBL: Look Who's Talking!

The most "orthodox" arguments against the Militant Tendency's participation in a popular-frontist bloc have emanated from the SWP-backed Bolshevik-Leninist Faction. In an article entitled, "Is the Mexican CP No Longer a Stalinist Organization?" (translated in *Intercontinental Press*, 1 March 1976), the FBL takes the TM to task for the statement in the Coalition election program referring to the "socialist objectives" and "revolutionary method" of the signatories.

The Coalition platform, in fact, openly declared that the Mexican CP is no longer a Stalinist organization and has become revolutionary. Challenged on this by FBL spokesmen, the leader of the Militant Tendency yelled out to a crowd at a Campa campaign meeting that "The Communist Party is more revolutionary than you are!" The TM newspaper went on:

> "We do not want to educate the masses, because then our task would be to become good professors of Marxism. Our task is to pose concrete solutions to concrete problems.... Therefore we prefer raising a class-struggle program, even if it is not our own, and achieving unity which makes mass work more possible...."
>
> —quoted in [SWP] *Internal Information Bulletin*, July 1976

To charges that it had betrayed Marxism by signing a document calling for "peaceful coexistence," the TM replied blithely that "foreign policy is a problem that interests the masses least now" (*ibid.*)!

Against this unashamed anti-Marxist drivel, it is not hard for the FBL to look orthodox. But the TM was able to land some telling blows of its own. If the program of the Coalition of the Left is really reformist, then the Liga Socialista (Militant Tendency) should be expelled from the USec, it pointed out—well knowing that for the SWP and its allies to propose this obviously appropriate step would have meant bringing the whole shaky USec house of cards crashing down.

Moreover, said TM leader Ricardo Hernández, how can they vote for Campa (as both the LCI and FBL did), while claiming that the Coalition is popular-frontist, and consequently Campa is a candidate "not of a 'class' organization but of class collaborationism" ("Reply to an Essay on Sectarianism," quoted in *ibid.*). A good point, since the SWP/L-TF/FBL repeatedly denounce the IMT's capitulation to popular fronts, yet then turn around and themselves vote for popular-front candidates!

The Mexican situation shows in microcosm the bitter triangular polemic now wracking the USec. The fact that the pro-PST Militant Tendency could go from L-TF pseudo-orthodoxy on the popular front into a class-collaborationist alliance in a matter of a few weeks tells a great deal about the reformist character of the L-TF. And the fact that the most right-wing grouping (both in Mexico and internationally) can effortlessly shift from the international minority to accommodation with the majority speaks volumes about the unprincipled nature of all the factions.

Now a new PRT has been born, at a fusion conference in the "Miguel Enríquez Auditorium" at the National University of Mexico. The 1,000 people present at the meeting reportedly named Mario Roberto Santucho, the murdered leader of the Argentine PRT/ERP, honorary president of the congress. Given the ex-Militant Tendency's unabashed rejection of Trotskyist opposition to popular fronts and the TM's naked Stalinist methods, it is entirely appropriate that the unification should take place under the symbolic auspices of Enríquez and Santucho, two leaders of centrist groups set up by the USec who became renegades. As Santucho was taking the PRT out of the USec, he blasted "the Fourth International" composed of "counterrevolutionary adventurers" and based on a "scarcely redeemable tradition." No doubt in short order we will be hearing similar words from some of the more intrepid renegades from Trotskyism in the Mexican PRT.

The *Inprecor* article on the LCI/Militant Tendency fusion says it demonstrates that "in spite of genuine political differences (especially on international questions)," groups that support the USec "can and must unite in a single organization and settle their debates in the framework of democratic centralism." But the whole experience of the last four years in Mexico (as well as the record of the international faction fight) demonstrates just the opposite: the various currents cohabiting in the USec cannot remain together in a common organization. The latest fusion will not last much longer than earlier combinations, nor will it contribute to achieving Marxist clarity on the issues in dispute.

Only a struggle against all wings of the fake-Trotskyist United Secretariat, which is united only in its common rejection of Leninism, can lead to a rebirth of the Fourth International. No electoral support to any parties of the popular front! Not popular-frontist coalitions but a struggle to build an authentic Trotskyist party in Mexico! ■

# Swedish Social Democracy...

*(continued from page 7)*

U.S. imperialism and the Swedish bourgeoisie against the USSR. As for the KAF, its program is not-very-left social-democratic in content, and on the only question where there is a sharp counterposition to the SAP it lines up with the bourgeois opposition. Even though revolutionary Trotskyists would relish a chance to vote for a class-struggle opposition to moribund Social Democracy, with the SAP running independently of the capitalist parties we can find no reason why Swedish workers should pick VPK reformists of the second mobilization, SKP anti-Communists or the KAF's warmed-up reformist pablum over the historic party of the working class. In the September 19 elections, a correct policy was to call for votes to the candidates of the Social Democratic Workers Party, while placing no confidence in its pro-capitalist leadership and policies. ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

## Hall/Camejo No Answer to Carter/Ford

# Twin Candidates of Small-Change Reformism

Commentators from one end of the political spectrum to the other have had a hard time with the current U.S. presidential election campaign. For the bourgeois media whose job it is to try to wake up the voter, the biggest "news" stories about Carter and Ford are their slips of the tongue and mind. So they endlessly editorialize on Carter's famed *Playboy* interview and relish Ford's gaffe about Eastern Europe's not being under the thumb of the Kremlin. One day last week the featured television news event was Ford's campaign speech at the University of Iowa where, at a football stadium packed with cheering "Hawkeye" pep-ralliers and the marching band, he greeted his audience with outstretched arms and the words, "It's great to be in Ohio!"

But it has also been a difficult campaign for the left-wing press whose traditional stock-in-trade is to expose the bourgeois candidates' lying promises to reform capitalist society. This year the capitalist twins are not even bothering to make the usual empty claims. To a yawning, disgusted, increasingly anti-political population—an unprecedented number of which will probably not vote this year—Ford and Carter say this system can't get any better.

Into this otherwise uninterrupted vista of gloom come the candidates of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and Communist Party (CP). They burst upon the scene with the energy of an old "Mighty Mouse" cartoon to "save the day," declaring that capitalism *can* be reformed. This is the consistent and fundamental message of the campaigns of the SWP's Peter Camejo and the CP's Gus Hall, the reformist left's Tweedledee and Tweedledum lookalikes, courting the votes of an electorate starved for an "alternative." Although the SWP and CP are part of the workers movement, the Camejo and Hall campaigns do not differ in their essential pitch from the message of bourgeois "challenger" Eugene McCarthy.

Camejo and Reid — Militant

Hall and Tyner — UPI

McCarthy's capitalist "protest vote" campaign has been greeted by systematic anti-democratic harassment by the state, which has utilized its legal system and control of broadcast media to shore up its "two-party system." Court decisions have systematically ruled against "equal time" for any but "serious" candidates, and election laws are geared to run sweet for the Democrats and Republicans but decidedly bitter for minor parties.

The Democrats have been particularly zealous in driving the McCarthy campaign off the air and the ballots. In New York, a key state where Democratic bigwigs feared he could tip the scales

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# Defeat Anti-Labor Propositions in S.F.

Once again the working class in San Francisco faces a barrage of anti-labor propositions on the November ballot. The broad sweep of the propositions is a direct result of the defeat of last spring's city craft workers strike, which was sabotaged by the refusal of the Central Labor Council (CLC) to implement its own call for a general strike.

This time around the CLC has identified *eight* anti-labor propositions! The most drastic union-busting measure is Proposition B, backed by virtually the entire Board of Supervisors. This charter amendment would require the dismissal of all city workers who engage in strikes, or who "cause, instigate or afford leadership to a strike." Any worker dismissed or suspended under this draconian measure would be denied appeal to the Civil Service Commission; workers would be tried by a "special committee" consisting of the presidents of the various city commissions (airports, civil service, fire, police and public utilities).

Proposition B is a rewrite of last June's Proposition E, which was removed from the ballot as part of the "settlement" of the craft workers strike. Gloating in victory, the supervisors now restore the measure to the ballot. Clearly this must be voted down; but even if it is passed, the labor movement must not allow its central weapon to be thrown away by a manipulated ballot vote. It will be necessary to organize strike action against this vicious measure, against the wishes of the labor traitors of the CLC.

Other ballot measures must similarly be opposed. Proposition D, sponsored by anti-labor supervisor John Barbagelata, would define in great detail what "prevailing rates of wages" are for most municipal job categories, using the five Bay Area counties and the ten largest cities in those counties. This is a newer version of the notorious Proposition L of 1974, which was designed to lower city workers' wages and lock them into a precise "legal" formula, thereby undermining any basis for collective bargaining.

Proposition J, also sponsored by Barbagelata, would allow the city to hire private contractors for certain city jobs "where the work or services can be practically performed under private contract at a lower cost to the city or county." Proposition O, backed by all members of the Board of Supervisors, would require that if there is a deadlock in wage negotiations between the Board and any city labor group, a referendum would be called to choose between the Board's final offer and the union's last demand!

Proposition L, sponsored by Barbagelata, would reduce the overall

S F Bay Guardian

Supervisor John Barbagelata

S F Bay Guardian

San Francisco mayor George Moscone

accrued retirement benefits of new city employees. While controversy has centered on the police, who are not part of the working class, the measure would affect other newly-hired employees as well, and hence should be opposed.

Propositions E and I undermine civil service regulations and would make it easier than before for bourgeois politicians to dispense favors and build

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WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

No. 132 5 November 1976

## Unemployment Escalating Sharply

# U.S. Economic Recovery on the Rocks

Attempting to drum up a little interest in the final weeks of a deadly presidential election campaign, the candidates last month engaged in some completely phony polemics over their supposed "differences" on the economic question. In the third television debate on October 22 Carter played Roosevelt to Ford's Hoover, hinting about broad social programs to "put our people back to work," while Ford warned people to "tighten their belts" for the coming period.

With both candidates avoiding any concrete promises at all to aid inflation-ravaged working people and the unemployed, the bourgeoisie was unconcerned about the "debate." But it *was* worried about the economy. For the second straight month, the official Department of Commerce index of leading economic indicators has fallen. Jimmy Carter naturally jumped on the figures to denounce Ford and assert that "there will be more hard times ahead of us if the Republican mismanagement continues" (*New York Times*, 30 October). In reply, Ford's chief economist and neanderthal right-wing ideologue Alan Greenspan discounted the September index as a fluke, blaming it in large measure on the auto strike.

### Bourgeois Optimism Versus Marxism

A few months ago almost every bourgeois economist was predicting that the recovery from the 1974-75 depression would go on and on. Last March Ford was crowing about the "new prosperity" and in May the chairman of the Federal Reserve, Arthur F. Burns, stated that "We're looking ahead to another full year of expansion" (*Wall Street Journal*, 10 May). In June Greenspan assured Congress that the unemployment rate would fall below 7 percent by New Year's Day 1977 and that the gross national product would grow at about 7 percent during 1976.

Even Jimmy Carter, who now finds it smart electioneering to compare the economy to the Great Depression, believed the recovery would continue and unemployment would decrease. Carter limited himself to arguing that the unemployment rate under the Republicans was still substantially higher than when Lyndon Johnson was forced out of office during the height of the Vietnam war.

Moreover, even the prestigious Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) in its July 1976 *Economic Outlook* predicted that the U.S. economy would grow at a 6 percent annual rate in the second half of 1976, while the major capitalist countries as a whole would grow at a 4.75 percent rate.

In contrast to the bourgeoisie's optimistic impressionism, the Spartacist League pointed out the shallow and ephemeral factors generating the 1975-76 recovery. While the recovery was in full swing last January, *Workers Vanguard* (No. 90, 2 January) wrote:

> "The factors producing the recovery this past summer and fall are entirely ephemeral—an inventory cycle and a trade surplus achieved through exchange rate manipulation. Every serious bourgeois economist recognizes that unless the recovery feeds into a capital investment and/or housing construction boom, it must collapse.
>
> "The prospects for a strong increase in new plant and equipment are virtually nil, given the enormous existing excess capacity."

An internal memorandum of the SL/US dated 21 April 1976 went into more detail:

> "The present recovery is essentially an inventory cycle, the turnabout in the massive liquidation of stocks in late '74/early '75. On its own momentum the factors expanding the economy should exhaust themselves by fall/winter '76.
>
> "The narrow base of the recovery is indicated by the fact that present capital investment plans are for zero growth with a significant decline in new plant. In the short-term, the absence of investment is conditioned by great excess plant capacity and in the longer term by heavy corporate indebtedness. Businesses are using the increasing profits generated by the recovery to repay loans and improve their liquidity position."

Today almost every statistic released indicates the beginning of a new downturn, and this spells skyrocketing unemployment. Even the *slowdown* in economic growth which began last spring sent the unemployment rate climbing from 7.3 to almost 8 percent. In early October new applications for unemployment insurance totaled 452,000, the highest level all year; a manufacturing layoff rate in October of 1.5 per 100 workers is the highest in almost a year.

At present almost every serious bourgeois economist is busy radically scaling down earlier optimistic predictions. For example, Tilford Gaines, chief economist for Manufacturers Hanover Trust, who had earlier predicted a growth rate of 5.5 percent annually for the fourth quarter, has now revised his forecast to a mere 1.2 percent (*New York Times*, 1 October)!

The same factors which account for the weakness of the recovery and early downturn in the U.S. also govern the conjuncture throughout the advanced capitalist world. The 1 November issue of *Business Week* contains an article entitled "The Bleak Outlook for European Economies" which summarizes the recovery:

> "The strength of the recovery earlier in 1976 was based heavily on inventory accumulation in anticipation of new orders that did not materialize. In neither Europe nor Japan has there been a dramatic takeoff in either consumer or business spending."

Relying heavily on the most recent OECD forecasts, the article predicts that growth rates for late 1976 will be halved from the earlier part of the year, with Britain experiencing a zero rate and with output in Italy actually falling. Even the strongest economy in capitalist Europe, that of West Germany, is currently operating at only 80 percent of industrial capacity. But despite these worsening conditions of production,

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Edward R. Noble/Oakland Press

**Job seekers line up at Pontiac, Michigan plant.**

**The Battle Over France-Soir and Freedom of the Press ..... 6**

## Stalinists Spread Junta's Lies

# Videla Regime Slanders Muñoz Campaign

The work of the Committee to Save Mario Muñoz was successfully concluded last month with the announcement of the safe arrival from Argentina of Muñoz' family, who were reunited with the Chilean miners leader in Paris on September 30. (The Committee had been formed five months earlier, following an April 26 pre-dawn raid on Muñoz' home in western Argentina by a squad of heavily armed federal police who brutalized his wife and relatives and threatened to shoot the "subversive" trade-unionist on sight.) But just as the struggle to free the victims of reactionary repression in Chile and Argentina continues, so the military butchers and their apologists have not abated their own "campaign" of lies and slanders against the foes of junta terror.

It is not surprising that the campaign which saved Mario Muñoz became a target of the vicious slander barrage. For the campaign did more than simply tear Muñoz and his family out of the blood-drenched grip of rightist reaction. It also played an important role in ripping away Videla's "democratic" facade and served as a focus for the mounting international outrage against repression in Argentina. The Partisan Defense Committee (PDC) takes as further confirmation of the success of this political defense campaign the obvious lies being spread by the juntas in Santiago and Buenos Aires, by Birchite American Congressman Larry McDonald, and by the Stalinists who solidarize with Videla against his leftist opponents.

The defense campaign—co-sponsored by the PDC and the Europe-based Committee to Defend the Worker and Sailor Prisoners in Chile—mobilized broad support internationally among trade-unionists, leftists and prominent individuals. Through it, Mario Muñoz became a symbol of the desperate plight of the many thousands of working-class militants and their families who fled the murderous Pinochet junta only to find themselves imperiled by the Videla coup in Argentina.

The Argentine government—fearing itself threatened by the kind of international ostracism which its Chilean counterpart brought down upon itself—responded with efforts to discredit the Muñoz campaign. As fast as the Muñoz committee could discredit one rumor, another popped up: there was no such person as Mario Muñoz; Muñoz was not in Argentina; Muñoz was a dangerous criminal "terrorist"; Muñoz was in no danger from the Argentine government; there was no manhunt; Muñoz

Hubert Schatzl

Mario Muñoz

was safe in a United Nations refugee camp.

The Committee to Save Mario Muñoz painstakingly combatted this smokescreen. It not only circulated factual material documenting Muñoz' history as a respected trade-union leader in Chile (including an affidavit from Allende's former foreign minister, Orlando Letelier, later assassinated by Pinochet's henchmen) but above all struggled politically against Videla's "democratic" hypocrisy.

Concomitant with its efforts to enlist the broadest possible support for militant protests in defense of Muñoz, the Committee mobilized concerted pressure on the United Nations to actively intervene on his behalf. On July 2, Mario Muñoz was arrested along with twelve others at a UN refugee hotel in Mendoza, in a stark confirmation of the Committee's warnings of the precarious situation of refugees under nominal UN protection. Initially threatened with deportation, Muñoz was released after intervention of higher officials who indicated that adverse international publicity stayed the hands of the Argentine authorities. Subsequently, a substantial delegation from the Committee obtained an audience with the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) in Geneva and demanded active UN support in obtaining safe-conduct for Muñoz from Argentina. With the assistance of the social-democratic government of Austria, visas were eventually secured and Muñoz arrived in Vienna on August 4.

The campaign had engaged the Videla junta in a battle over the fate of Muñoz, and international solidarity carried the day. The Argentine government did not take this defeat lying down. It continued its efforts to discredit the Muñoz campaign and its sponsors. An August 26 press release from the Argentine embassy in Washington, D.C., brazenly announced that "a Chilean mining union leader reported to have disappeared in Argentina actually is safe in Austria..."! A Vienna embassy communiqué (undated) added that while under Argentine law political refugees can be extradited to their country of origin, no such actions had been taken. This is a bare-faced lie. Chilean MIR leader Edgardo Enriquez was handed over to the Chilean butchers last May and is presumed to have been tortured to death at their hands.

A number of Australian supporters of the Muñoz campaign who had lodged protests with the Argentine embassy received a mimeographed letter from the embassy chargé d'affaires ad interim in Canberra. The letter, dated August 30, claimed that there was no record of any charges against Muñoz and that:

> "Mr Muñoz Salas has not been in Argentina for the last few months. The fact that he appeared in the Argentine Consulate in Vienna, Austria, on 9th August [to seek visas for his family] ... proves by far the intention to create a false image of the Argentine reality."

In a similar vein, the Chilean ambassador to the U.S., Manuel Trucco, wrote to Senator Edward Brooke that:

> "Mr. Muñoz, an active terrorist in Chile... voluntarily and secretly left the country for Argentina. Through his contacts with international extremists, he traveled to Europe with forged documents—as has been the case in countless other situations—where he lived secretly, allowing his 'disappearance' to be used as a weapon against the Governments of Argentina and Chile.... Thus is uncovered another case of falsification of facts by extremists on an international scale...."

Of course, ultra-rightist Georgia Congressman Larry McDonald—who places some 200 anti-communist items in the *Congressional Record* each year and had already used his Congressional immunity to red-bait the campaign (see "Birchite Congressman Witchhunts Muñoz Campaign," *WV* No. 126, 24 September)—picked up this slander in the 1 October *Congressional Record*:

> "Argentine officials denied any knowledge of Muñoz' location and it was not too surprising that the 'missing' Muñoz turned up unharmed in Vienna on August 4."

There is indeed a "falsification of facts on an international scale" taking place, but it is being perpetrated by the junta butchers and their hangers-on. The claim that "Mr. Muñoz Salas has not been in Argentina for the last few months" is patently fraudulent and presupposes a conspiracy not only by "international extremists" but by the UN, the Austrian government and various other governmental bodies as well. During those "last few months" Muñoz had been issued refugee documents by the UNHCR delegate in Mendoza and an international travel document from the Red Cross office in Buenos Aires. The UN refugee office in the Argentine capital arranged Muñoz' departure to Austria in early August, the Austrian consulate issued him a visa and the European Committee on Migration (CIME) office provided him with a *laissez-passer*. In September the same process was repeated for the Muñoz family.

Using the well-worn technique of the "big lie," the junta butchers who hunted Muñoz, harassed his family, arrested him and later arrested his brother, now in frustration turn their venom against the sponsors of the Muñoz campaign.

### Stalinists Pick Up Junta Lies

The Argentine junta's slanders have also found an echo within the workers movement. In keeping with the pro-Moscow Stalinists' policy of alibiing the Videla regime, the Brezhnevite Socialist Party of Australia (SPA) took up the junta's defamation campaign. Under the title, "Trotskyists Profit from Muñoz Campaign," the 15 September issue of the SPA's *Socialist* published a letter by one Gisele Mesnage charging:

> "The latest issue of [*Australasian*] *Spartacist* carries a front-page headline claiming that Mario Muñoz is now safe in Austria (Note well that at no time was he in the hands of his hunters.)
> "So, the elusive Mario Muñoz is safe and the Spartacist League a few hundred dollars richer."

The Australian Muñoz committee immediately responded to this poisonous slander with an offer to open its books to responsible representatives of the working-class movement.

Two independent examiners then reviewed the committee's records. Steve Cooper, a research officer for the Amalgamated Metalworkers Union, noted:

> "They appeared to me to be a well kept record of the money received and expenses incurred by the Committee over the past six months. Details of every expenditure were available to me and the total impression compares very favorably with the records of similar appeals made from time to time in the progressive movement."

Ron Webb, of the financial committee of the Vietnam Moratorium, wrote to the *Socialist* on 26 October that:

> "I responded to the public invitation to inspect the books of account of the Mario Muñoz Defence Committee. I am no stranger to the accounts of both political mass movements and capitalist companies and I have no hesitation in stating that the books of the Mario Muñoz Defence Committee were in every respect adequate to the requirements of a political defence campaign and that their maintenance was nothing short of immaculate."

The SPA itself accepted the committee's offer and appointed Mesnage to inspect the books, but she could find no misappropriations whatsoever.

Mesnage's slander is a normal Stalinist modus operandi. The idea is simple: smear the financial operation and thereby cast a cloud of suspicion over the integrity of the entire campaign. But this time it did not work. The SPA did not expect to encounter the Muñoz campaign's policy of open financial accountability.

Caught out, Mesnage turned to the technique of the well-placed red-bait: "The political position of the PDC is in direct line with the international Spartacist tendency (Trotskyist International)." This line of attack—which would be devastating to the garden-variety Stalinist "front group" which has roped in liberal support by concealing its political coloration—falls flat on its face here. For the PDC openly proclaims that its class-struggle defense work is "in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League."

Unable to smear the PDC financially or red-bait it as a front group, Mesnage was forced back to the real source of the Stalinists' hatred for Muñoz and the

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*SPARTACIST LEAGUE FORUM*

Mao's Heirs at Each Other's Throats

**VIOLENT POWER STRUGGLE ERUPTS IN CHINA**

*Speaker:* JOSEPH SEYMOUR
*Spartacist League Central Committee*

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**CHICAGO**

## No to the Steelworkers' Arnold Miller!

# Sadlowski Hits Campaign Trail

CHICAGO—The campaign for president of the United Steel Workers of America (USWA) picked up steam late last month as challenger Ed Sadlowski announced his full slate for International officers. Meanwhile, the incumbent bureaucracy loyal to outgoing USWA president I. W. Abel has added a fake militant of its own to the official ticket headed by Lloyd McBride and has picked up some Sadlowski-style rhetoric as well.

Trying to consolidate support on his home turf—Chicago-Gary area USWA District 31—Sadlowski and his "Steelworkers Fightback" held an official campaign kickoff meeting on the South Side October 25. Speaking before about 250 steel workers, the candidates offered only routine exercises in union loyalty and empty rhetoric ("return to the principles this union was founded on"). However, some sharp questions from the floor made Sadlowski distinctly uncomfortable and cracked open some of his slate's phony posture of "unity."

His candidate for treasurer, Andrew Kmec, who has been a union staff representative for years, praised the USWA staff as "one of the greatest," while Jim Balanoff, who is running as Steelworkers Fightback candidate for Sadlowski's present post as District 31 director, railed against "lazy" staffers. Oliver Montgomery, Sadlowski's choice for the newly created post of vice-president of human affairs, came out in favor of setting up special women's committees in the union, only to have Kmec denounce them minutes later with the sharp retort, "Damn it, we're all Steelworkers!"

The question of union democracy was left deliberately vague. Significantly, at no time did Sadlowski or any of his slate bring up the hated Experimental Negotiating Agreement (ENA)—Abel's touted no-strike deal—or the union's present "ratification" procedure, which deprives the membership of the right to reject a contract! When a supporter of Breakout, a steel workers' opposition caucus backed by the Maoist Revolutionary Communist Party, asked, "Would you sign a contract with ENA?", Sadlowski uttered a fast "no" and changed the subject. This "no" was a sham—Sadlowski might not sign a *new* no-strike pledge, but he is fully committed to carrying out the present ENA, which does not expire until 1980!

Predictably Sadlowski tried to dismiss all critics as supporters of the incumbent Abel slate. One speaker, noting that Sadlowski had come into office after obtaining U.S. Department of Labor intervention to rerun the District 31 election, asked how Sadlowski now felt about bringing the government into the union movement. Sadlowski snapped back that the speaker should go vote for Lloyd McBride—as though the only choices were supporting the pro-company Abel bureaucracy or running to the bosses' state.

Sadlowski's politics are so close to McBride's that the latter's slate has been able to beat him to the punch with a number of campaign maneuvers. Thus the newly created position of vice-president of human affairs, which will deal largely with the problems of minorities and women, was initiated by the Abel machine. One member of Sadlowski's slate complained that McBride had stolen from it the practice of referring to the employers as "bastards." This sufficed to throw "Steelworkers Fightback" into a panic since tough language is all they really have to offer.

The Abel slate's biggest coup thus far has been to jazz up the official family with the addition of Joseph Odorcich, director of USWA's McKeesport-area district as candidate for vice-president of administration. The *Wall Street Journal* (27 October) commented that Odorcich is an "aggressive advocate of occupational health and safety" and "a vocal spokesman for the rank and file... whose rebel credentials rival those of Mr. Sadlowski."

The Chicago meeting brought out numerous supporters of radical groups who back Sadlowski, reflecting his success in collecting liberal and left backers who are attracted to his combination of militant rhetoric and absence of program. The Communist Party and the Socialist Workers Party, for instance, are completely behind Sadlowski without a word of criticism.

The Revolutionary Steel Workers Caucus, supported by the Revolutionary Socialist League, claims it does not support Sadlowski, but the group's leaflet distributed at the meeting counseled that "Sadlowski's program for the elections should revolve around...: 1—tear up the ENA... 2—for the democratic right to vote on contracts... 3—build a national strike..." Aside from counseling Sadlowski, nothing was mentioned about key political issues facing the USWA, such as government intervention in the unions, the need for the unions to break with the Democrats and build a workers party, or the question of expropriation of industry.

Several Local 1014 rank-and-file militants distributed a leaflet at the

*continued on page 11*

UPI

**Sadlowski, right, announcing his slate for USWA presidential campaign.**

Ergatiki Pali

**Athens courtroom during recent trial of leftist militants.**

## Free Jailed Defense Witnesses!

# Greek Leftists Acquitted for May 25 Protests

On October 8, 14 Greek leftist militants, charged with "moral responsibility" for massive anti-government demonstrations last May 25, were acquitted in an Athens court. However, three other leftists were charged with insulting a government witness and the prosecuting attorney and received sentences of up to eight months in prison. Meanwhile, another militant who had been arrested and beaten following a July rally for the defendants faces 16 more months in jail for "abusing the authorities."

The defendants, with the exception of one independent, were members of Maoist and ostensibly Trotskyist organizations, and the prosecution obviously intended to set the stage for subsequent legal action against "far left" groups. At the trial, defendants denounced the massive police crackdown on May 25 as a deliberate plot to whip up anti-communist hysteria in order to pass the reactionary bill 330/76.

The May 25 demonstrations were organized by several leftist and independent unions against this bill, which outlaws all strikes not approved by the government-controlled Greek Confederation of Labor. Ever since coming to power in 1974—after the notorious "colonels' junta" bowed out in the aftermath of a failed coup in Cyprus—the Karamanlis regime has maintained its semi-bonapartist rule by constant attacks on the workers movement. It has also resisted pressures from liberals and reformists to cleanse the state apparatus of the more notorious criminals of the colonels' regime.

The trial of the 14 showed that the government had no case at all and was simply interested in witchhunting the left. The prize witness, Markou, was head of state security and in the past had been responsible for denying passports to hundreds, perhaps thousands of Greek leftists and democrats, forcing them to remain in the country to face the junta torturers and prison camps. Markou admitted on the stand that the secret police maintains constant surveillance of the "extreme" left, but said he knew nothing at all of the activities of the fascist New Class gang.

In response to the security chief's testimony, Kristina Stamatopoulou, a member of the Proletarian Left Group, received an eight-month contempt of court sentence for supposedly "insulting" Markou. Another woman militant got two months for saying that his testimony was no evidence at all since he was a fascist. When a policeman testified that he had "come to the conclusion" that, if free to do so, the demonstrators would have burned down parliament, a defense witness said he had "come to the conclusion" that the prosecuting attorney had the ideology of a fascist. For that statement, he received a five-month sentence for contempt of court.

At one point the defense sent shock waves through the courtroom with a brief showing that Siouti, the prosecuting attorney, had been responsible for determining the classification of citizens as "subversives" under the dictatorship. During the trial Siouti had been using such arguments as, "the demonstrators should not have defamed Greece to the outside world. We live on the tourist trade" (quoted in *Ergatiki Pali*, 16 October).

The defendants did not bow to the government's witchhunting attack. Felekis, a leader of the Organization of International Communists of Greece (OKDE, section of the "United Secretariat of the Fourth International"), said that it "would have been an honor" to lead the May 25 protests, but the militant demonstrations were "a spontaneous action by the working class." However, the Maoists reportedly spent a good part of their testimony excoriating the "two superpowers" (U.S. and Soviet Union) as threatening Greek national independence. The ultra-rightist prosecutor mockingly retorted that he was "in complete agreement" with the Maoists on this point.

The trial of the 14 leftist militants brought predictable responses from the bourgeois press and parties, who termed them provocateurs. But lined up with the mouthpieces of capitalist reaction were the treacherous Stalinists of the pro-Moscow Communist Party (KKE Exterior), who likewise took up the "provocateur" slander. As for the KKE Interior and the PASOK social democrats, they failed to come to the defense of the accused militants. Perhaps most damning was the unchallenged report by a policeman at the trial that following the May 25 events two Stalinist trade-union officials had gone to the police to denounce the anti-government demonstration and to thank them for breaking it up!

The working class internationally greets the acquittal of the 14 defendants in the anti-communist show trial in Athens. But socialist and labor militants denounce the brutal imprisonment of their comrades for speaking against the police-state laws and phony "justice" of Karamanlis' courts Free the four jailed militants and all class-war prisoners in Greece! Down with the anti-labor laws and the Karamanlis regime—For a workers and peasants government in Greece! ■

## Drop Charges Against Markley and Suares!

# U.S. Labor Spy Conspiracy Frames UE Militants

Support is growing within the labor movement for Alex Markley, a field organizer for the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers in western Massachusetts (UE) who is currently under indictment for conspiracy to blow up scab trucks. On October 30 some 225 people, including striking trade unionists from UE Local 262 in Cambridge who traveled across the state to be there, attended a Springfield,

WV Photo

**Alex Markley**

Massachusetts, rally in defense of the framed-up unionist.

The charges against Markley stem from a strike in September 1975 by UE Local 259 against the Worthington Compression Corporation in Holyoke, Massachusetts. At the time, Markley, a former worker at the plant and past president of Local 259, was on assignment from the UE to assist the Local's negotiating team. During the course of the 11-week strike Markley was approached by a casual acquaintance, "Lee," who then introduced him to a second man, "Jerry." According to the defense committee, the two asked Markley to provide them with "material that could be used to 'take care' of the scab-driven trucks" which the company, supported by the Holyoke police, was repeatedly trying to run through the picket lines. But nothing happened, even though "Jerry" kept after Markley for the rest of the strike to let him "handle" the trucks.

On 8 July 1976, nearly eight months later, Treasury Department agents from the Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms Bureau (ATF), arrested Markley and a friend of his, Tony Suares, also a trade unionist. The agents claim the two had given "Jerry"—who turns out to be an ATF undercover agent—homemade bombs, consisting of cardboard toilet-paper rolls filled with black powder and stuffed with firecracker wicks.

At the time of his arrest Markley was held in the Treasury office in Springfield for 12 hours while the agents tried to coerce him into spying on the labor movement. Markley was threatened with a 60-year jail term; then the agents offered to void the pending indictment if he would provide them with information on several local unions which they named. Markley refused to cooperate and, when finally released, reported the incident to the union.

According to the Markley-Suares Defense Committee, when a newspaper reporter asked Arthur Montuori, New England chief of the ATF bureau, why Markley had been singled out by his agents in the first place, Montuori replied that "they had information to the effect that Markley had a potential for violating the law." The defense committee is stressing that due to the increased public scrutiny of the FBI and CIA the government is reviving a 1930's-style labor spy network through the Treasury Department.

This outrageous attempt to harass and terrorize a union activist must be met with strong working-class solidarity. Government provocations against labor militants are on the increase, making the need for strong defense ever more urgent.

A highpoint of the Springfield rally was the message of support given by Eugene O'Sullivan, a *Washington Post* pressman who is facing a 41-year jail term growing out of the bitter *Post* strike last year. O'Sullivan and 14 other members of Local 6 of the International Printing and Graphic Communications Union are facing a combination of felony charges ranging from incitement to riot to grand larceny.

Also speaking at the rally was Sandy Polanski, head of UE Local 262 in Cambridge, Mass., which has been on strike against the Cambion-Cambridge Thermionic Corporation for nearly half a year. Five members of Local 262 will go on trial later this month on charges of assault and battery growing out of police attacks against the picket lines.

When a strike support meeting for the Cambion workers was sponsored by the Spartacus Youth League in Cambridge in October, Markley conveyed a message of solidarity to the meeting through the Partisan Defense Committee. The Partisan Defense Committee participated in Saturday's Springfield, Mass., demonstration and has sent a financial contribution to Markley's defense. Others wishing to do so can send checks to the Markley-Suares Defense Committee, P.O. Box 5001, Holyoke, Mass. 01040. The PDC is also actively supporting the defense of the victimized Cambion strikers.

Drop the Charges Against Markley and Suares—Down with the Government Labor Spy Conspiracy! Drop the Charges Against the Cambion Strikers! Victory to the Cambion Strike!

WV Photo

**Demonstration October 30 in Springfield, Mass., against frame-up of union militants by Treasury agents.**

**Free Gary Tyler march in Detroit October 30.** WV Photo

## Detroit Demonstrators Demand

# Free Gary Tyler!

DETROIT—More than two years after the arrest of Gary Tyler, an 18-year-old black youth from St. Charles Parish, Louisiana, this innocent victim of racist capitalist "justice" remains in jail and fighting for his life. He has been framed on a murder charge in the 1974 shooting of a 13-year-old white youth, Timothy Weber.

On Saturday, October 30, over 200 militants attended a rally and march in downtown Detroit called by the International Socialists-led Detroit Committee to Free Gary Tyler and the Socialist Workers Party's National Student Coalition Against Racism (NSCAR). Members of several socialist, anti-racist and Detroit community organizations demanded freedom for Tyler and linked his case to that of other victims of racist cop frame-ups, such as Delbert Tibbs, "Hurricane" Carter and the Wilmington 10.

A speaker from NSCAR pointed to the right-wing mobilizations in Chicago, Boston and other cities where Nazis and Klansmen have been spreading their fascist filth and decried the ties between cops and nightriders as partners in racist terror. However, the SWP/NSCAR call for these same cops and the imperialist U.S. Army to protect blacks from right-wing terror contradicts the understanding that the enforcers of capitalist "law and order" are the enemies of all oppressed minorities and working people.

Statements from the Spartacist League (SL) and the Partisan Defense Committee which were read to the rally counterposed working-class defense of blacks' democratic rights to the SWP's liberal illusions: "Behind the black robes of capitalism's 'justice' stand the white robes of the KKK, and many of these nightriders are cops. The KKK must be smashed with labor/black defense guards."

Mrs. Juanita Tyler, Gary's mother, gripped the entire audience with a moving account of her son's 1974 arrest and the two years of struggle to free him. There was violence that October 7 at Destreham High School between white racists who were enraged over desegregation of the school and black students. When school let out, the black students were ushered onto a bus under a barrage of bricks and bottles thrown by racist students and parents, as 200 police approvingly stood by. ("Just like they always do," Mrs. Tyler added.) During this assault, someone fired the shot which killed the white youth.

Despite the fact that a man with a rifle was seen near the bus, the black students were searched for two hours at gunpoint. It was during this search that Gary Tyler protested at having a gun held at his head and was arrested for obstructing justice. Later, while waiting for her son, Mrs. Tyler herself stood with the driver as two cops walked onto

WV Photo

**Juanita Tyler, Gary's mother, speaking at rally in Detroit last Saturday.**

the bus. The driver told her that they would find nothing, since other cops had already torn up the bus in a vain search for the murder weapon. A few minutes later the cops reappeared with a .45 caliber police pistol, which was alleged to have killed Weber.

At the police station, Mrs. Tyler asked to see her son, who was charged with first-degree murder, but a cop told her, "It will be six months before you see him. My cousin's brains have been blown out—someone's got to pay for it." When Mrs. Tyler finally did see Gary, he had been beaten on the head, shoulders, arms and legs. He said to his mother, "They're going to kill me. Get some help." Gary told her that he was forced to pull down his pants because the cops said they wanted "to see what a nigger looks like." He was then kicked in the groin and buttocks.

During the past two years, the Tylers have been continually harassed by phone threats, and Klansmen have patrolled their neighborhood. Two of Gary's brothers have been arrested. Terry Tyler was charged with a burglary in Louisiana which occurred when he was in Detroit, and Mrs. Tyler's husband lost his job of 20 years, as did Gary's brother Steve and Mrs. Tyler's daughter-in-law. Mrs. Tyler concluded with a call for solidarity for the countless present and future victims of racist cop oppression.

Following the rally, most of the audience marched in the rain to the Federal Building and then to *Detroit Free Press* offices to demand that the case be publicized. The contingent of SL and Spartacus Youth League members and trade-union supporters raised class-

*continued on page 11*

# Reopen Teamster Contracts: "30 for 40" Key Demand

# Spread UPS Strike!

NOVEMBER 1—A strike of 17,000 Teamsters (IBT) members at United Parcel Service (UPS) in 15 eastern states is now in its seventh week.

Picketers outside the UPS facility in Watertown, near Boston, told *WV* today that they expected to be out on strike for at least two more months. They had been informed by union officials that since operations probably could not be resumed in time to handle the Christmas rush, the company would most likely seek to extend the strike into 1977, hoping to wear down and starve out the strikers. UPS workers are receiving only $35 a week in strike benefits and complain that they had not been prepared by Teamster leaders for the eventuality of an extended strike.

The Teamster officials have implemented only a partial shutdown of UPS facilities. Workers at Watertown complained that supervisors were being permitted through picket lines and that packages were being hauled in and out of the depot in unmarked delivery vans, often destined for non-struck UPS depots in other areas of the country. Customers are passing through picket lines undisturbed to pick up their merchandise. The Teamster bureaucrats have also gone along with a court injunction that allows only skeleton picket lines of five workers at each gate.

The most egregious act of treachery by the IBT officials has been to limit the strike to only selected UPS facilities on the East Coast. A similarly isolated strike of Midwest UPS workers was sold out after two weeks last spring. The contract deadline of East Coast UPS workers was extended several months before a strike was called, and since picket lines have been set up, the key UPS operation in New York City has been exempted! This is similar to the Midwest strike, in which the union bureaucrats refused to strike UPS in Chicago.

Work has been diverted not only to the NYC facility of United Parcel, but to the U.S. Postal Service as well. The volume of bulk mail handled by the Post Office in the 15-state strike area has almost doubled. More than 3,000 casual employees have been added to the workforce several weeks before the usual Christmas hiring. Regular postal employees are working an extremely heavy schedule of overtime: all bulk-mail processing centers in the Northeast are running on two 10-hour shifts, six days a week (*Business Week*, 1 November)!

United Parcel is the largest single employer of Teamsters in the U.S., and in recent years its operations have expanded rapidly. UPS' ability to take business away from the Post Office has depended on the greatly increased productivity of United Parcel workers (UPS employees are subject to incredible speed-up and work rules that are unheard of in the Post Office).

Management at UPS has been able to achieve this status by negotiating what amounts to a sweetheart deal with Teamsters officials: bargaining for IBT members at UPS is separated from the 450,000 Teamsters covered by the national Master Freight Agreement. As a result, UPS workers have traditionally been stuck with inferior contracts, particularly with respect to working conditions and part-timers.

The major obstacle to a settlement of the East Coast strike is the issue of part-timers. Except in the East, most UPS "inside" workers (those who sort and handle packages in terminals, as opposed to drivers) are already part-timers. This way UPS can work its employees at a killing pace that could not conceivably be maintained over a full day. Moreover, part-timers receive significantly less in pay and fringe benefits than full-time workers. In most Eastern hubs part-timers receive no fringe benefits, no cost-of-living allowance and no personal holidays.

A substantial majority of all United Parcel workers today are part-timers. Teamster leaders in the South, Central States and Western States conferences have already negotiated agreements with UPS giving the company the right to phase out full-time inside workers. However, part-timers are not nearly so prevalent in the Eastern states, except in New York City. Of the 17,000 strikers, over 10,000 are full-time workers.

Management has been pushing to consolidate the separate local and regional agreements into a nationwide bargaining arrangement, to become effective in 1979. Their precondition for this is ending the restriction on use of part-timers in the Eastern states—the company's key demand in the current strike. Militants of course call for a uniform nationwide contract, but as a part of the Master Freight Agreement, and with the provision that it not be accomplished by taking away the relatively better working conditions of any section of UPS workers. All part-timers must immediately receive full union wages and benefits and be upgraded to full-time status through a 30-hour week with 40 hours' pay.

Rank-and-file militants have expressed considerable dissatisfaction with the bureaucrats' weak-kneed policies in the face of the company's intransigent refusal to negotiate over the part-timer issue. One worker in Watertown remarked that the strike could be won if Chicago and other key hubs were pulled out on strike. Militants are demanding that pickets be dispatched to non-struck UPS depots outside the Eastern states as well as in NYC.

Unfortunately, most of the dissatisfaction has thus far remained unorganized. The only existing opposition within the IBT at United Parcel is UPSurge, a reformist grouping supported by the International Socialists (I.S.). UPSurge has consistently tailed after the spontaneous militancy of the rank and file. In the current strike, it has largely confined itself to echoing the cry for dispatching roving picket squads to non-struck sites, while boasting that it is prepared to initiate this action.

The demand to expand the strike nationwide is certainly correct. However, this demand cannot be realized without calling for the reopening of the UPS contract nationwide and providing a class-struggle solution to the question of part-timers. The mass of part-time workers who predominate in UPS in NYC and outside the Eastern states can be drawn into the strike only if demands are raised in their interest as well.

At one time a job at UPS usually meant a second income or extra cash for college students. However, with today's high rate of unemployment, many UPS workers must support themselves and a family on the slim wages of a part-timer. The only way to provide a decent living for all UPS workers is to fight for 30 hours' work at 40 hours' pay, combined with a substantial wage increase and full cost-of-living protection against inflation.

This demand, which challenges the assumption shared by management and the union bureaucracy that the labor movement can only demand what the capitalist can "afford," has never been raised by UPSurge. In fact, UPSurge not only accepts the bureaucracy's framework for bargaining under capitalism but also the divisions within the working class which the union leadership perpetuates. Thus, UPSurge has never mentioned the need for postal workers to come to the aid of their beleaguered class brothers and sisters at UPS with solidarity strike action. Nor did UPSurge ever demand that UPS workers go out on strike jointly with Teamster drivers covered by the Master Freight Agreement, the only way UPS workers will achieve meaningful gains.

Such actions would violate existing contracts, and UPSurge is careful to tailor its strategy to what is "legal." Even its current demand to dispatch roving picket squads to halt the shipment of scab goods is not motivated by what is necessary to win the strike, but is justified on the grounds that UPS workers have the contractual right to refuse to handle scab goods.

The Midwest UPS strike last spring was quashed when the company, in collaboration with the union bureaucracy, suddenly announced that the old contract was being extended after two weeks of striking. UPSurge had mass-leafletted strikers, assuring them that such an action was manifestly illegal. However, this did not stop the company, which backed up this "violation of the law" with court injunctions to boot! Thus UPSurge's reformist fetishism of bourgeois legality served to disarm the workers. Both in the present strike and future battles, victory can be achieved only through a class-struggle strategy that recognizes the need of the working class to rely on its own organized strength. ■


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**Scottsboro Nine in 1931. Clarence Norris is second from left.**

## Last of Frame-Up Victims Pardoned

# The Scottsboro Boys: Four Decades of Racist Injustice

After 45 years of unrelenting racist persecution, the state of Alabama last week pardoned the only known surviving "Scottsboro Boy," Clarence "Willie" Norris. Norris spent 15 years in Alabama's prison hellholes, five of them on death row; was dragged through one kangaroo court after another, convicted and sentenced to death three times; suffered threats to his life by lynch mobs in and out of uniform; was taunted, tortured, beaten; had his parole initially denied; and has lived the last decades as a fugitive from Alabama's "justice" after being finally paroled in 1946.

"Alabama owes me a lot," Norris said at a recent press conference (*New York Times*, 15 October). But for Norris and the eight other black youths who became known as the "Scottsboro Boys," hauled off a freight train at Scottsboro, Alabama, in March 1931 to face an angry lynch mob on trumped-up charges of raping two white women also on the train, this pardon cannot undo the life-long injury inflicted on them.

The pardon that racist demagogue George Wallace signed agrees with the unanimous finding of the Alabama Pardon and Parole Board that Norris was *innocent from the outset*! (By implication, so were the other eight youths, since the evidence against all was the same.) Wallace hopes by his cynical gesture to gain a cheap "pardon" for Alabama justice, supposedly showing that the state is no longer a haven for the white-sheeted lynch mobs of the 1930's.

But in fact the pardon is a stinging indictment of the entire racist system of capitalist "justice"! While Norris' pardon comes after life-long damage has already been inflicted on him, countless other victims of racist legal terror rot in jails today. To name only a few of the countless victims of America's racist society, Gary Tyler, framed up on a murder charge in Louisiana, is still in jail; Johnny Ross in Louisiana and Delbert Tibbs in Florida, black victims of rape frame-ups, are still in jail.

The case of the "Scottsboro Boys" became the focus of a blistering international attack on Southern lynch law "justice." It was the mass protests by hundreds of thousands which saved the lives of the Scottsboro Nine. Today, similar mass protest must be organized against the racist frame-ups of Gary Tyler, Johnny Ross, Delbert Tibbs and the many other victims of capitalist legal terror. ■

Between August 18 and 23 and again on August 26, the largest circulation daily newspaper in France, *France-Soir*, was shut down by a strike of its 206 newspapermen and editors. The strike action, supported by the United Journalists Unions, was prompted by an impending takeover of *France-Soir* by right-wing newspaper syndicate head, Robert Hersant. The Hersant publishing empire already controls

Andanson/Sygma

**France-Soir publisher Robert Hersant**

eleven daily newspapers (including the conservative Paris daily, *Figaro*)—which with the addition of *France-Soir* would have a combined circulation one-sixth the total French newspaper readership as well as nine weeklies or bi-weeklies, nine magazines, a news agency and several printing plants.

The opposition to the Hersant bid comes at a time of continuing turmoil in the newspaper industry in France. In recent years there has been a general contraction of circulation, resulting in diminished profits. Numerous newspapers have found themselves severely hit, the older press syndicates are breaking up and management is seeking to drastically reduce payroll costs by switching over to modern photocomposition production techniques. One such attempt to restore profitability resulted in a plant occupation (still going on) and pitched battles in the streets during the bitter and protracted *Parisien Libéré* strike (see "Paris Printers Defend Closed Shop," *WV* No. 80, 10 October 1975).

The August 26 action included a Paris demonstration of over 2,000 journalists and the shutdown of French press activity for periods ranging from a few hours to the 12-hour stoppage at the national press agency. The *France-Soir* journalists have also attempted to secure the intervention of French president Valéry Giscard d'Estaing and have sought court action against the Hersant purchase. A month later, between September 17 and 24, the newspaper's writers refused to sign their articles in protest against censorship by the publisher.

From the outset, the dispute over ownership of *France-Soir* has involved a number of complex questions: demands for "journalists' control of editorial policy" in response to censorship by the owners; calls for an "independent and honorable" boss rather than a former Nazi collaborator; a bid by supporters of the Union of the Left and squabbling within Giscard's presidential majority; appeals for state intervention against monopolization of the press; and defense of job security in the face of declining employment in the industry. The complexity of the dispute reflects the more general clash between the bourgeois-democratic right of freedom of the press and capitalist property relations.

Hersant has a reputation in the depressed French press industry for his ability to make newspapers "viable" through drastic job-slashing. He euphemistically refers to the sacking of several hundred employees, such as followed his takeover of *Paris-Normandie* and *Figaro*, as a "compression of personnel." The journalists have taken up the question of job security in their demands, primarily in response to pressure from the printers union. However, this is clearly a secondary issue: in the words of a strike leader, "the essential reason is Hersant, but economic security is also a consideration" (*Le Monde*, 23 August).

The striking journalists state that their action is in defense of "freedom of information" and of "pluralism." This has accompanied constant reference to the dangers posed by the monopolization of the French press. Thus on July 8, shortly after the sale of 50 percent of *France-Soir* stock to Hersant, the editors of the paper asked for the nomination of a judicial administrator to investigate the sale and to apply an obscure 1944 law restricting press ownership. However, the opposition is far from a simple reflex action against monopolization, as evidenced by the fact that there has been virtually no mention of the former owner of *France-Soir*: Hachette, the largest publishing concern in Europe.

### The Politics of the France-Soir Takeover

The dispute over ownership of *France-Soir* has distinct political overtones. As one of the editors said, "The problem is political; we began the strike in order to force the government to get Hersant to draw back, because we know that Hersant is simply the creature of certain political powers" (quoted in *Informations Ouvrières*, 25 August-1 September 1976). In this respect, the histories of Hersant and *France-Soir* are quite significant.

During the German occupation of Paris, Hersant headed a pro-Nazi youth group and was the editor of its newspaper, *Jeune Front*. Following the lifting of a ban on political activity by collaborators, Hersant was elected as a Gaullist deputy to the National Assembly and re-entered journalism. Yet the means by which he built up his newspaper empire are shrouded in mystery: he is said to pay for all his purchases with 500-franc notes so as to cover up his sources (*Economist*, 28 August). Reportedly Gaullists in the government, principally former prime minister Jacques Chirac, have intervened to secure loans from the nationalized banks on his behalf.

*France-Soir*, on the other hand, was the leading newspaper of the war-time bourgeois resistance in France. During the war it came out clandestinely under the title, *Défense de la France*; its commercialization began in 1947 when Hachette began to invest in the enterprise. Following Hachette's complete takeover, circulation dropped markedly, falling from 1.2 million in 1963 to its present 600,000. The newspaper is now operating at a deficit.

The propaganda of the journalists has been filled with references to this period. "We who fought for the liberation of France...now fight to remain free journalists." Implicit in much of this propaganda is the desire to find an owner with views more akin to the journalists union (which is generally pro-Union of the Left) rather than Hersant. One motion of the coordinating committee of the journalists unions was to "take up official contact with all honorable offers to aid *France-Soir*" (including a bid by Michelin, the tire monopoly). A source of grievance has been the fact that an earlier bid to purchase the newspaper on behalf of Claude Perdriel, the millionaire publisher of the pro-Socialist Party (PS) *Nouvel Observateur*, was not even considered.

The takeover of the paper by Hersant is in itself a rather shady deal reflecting the current political divisions in France. The economic crunch has taken a particular toll upon the pro-government commercial newspapers, as opposed to the Communist Party's *L'Humanité*. There has been a considerable attempt to prop up these threatened papers, and the rejection of the *Nouvel Observateur* bid undoubtedly follows from that magazine's popular-front editorial policy.

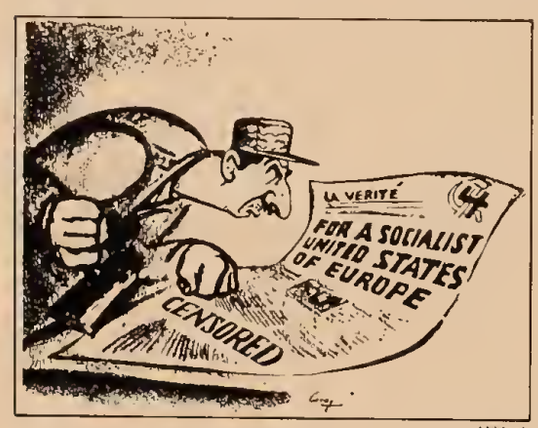
The direct sale of the paper to Hersant would probably have created an even greater uproar. Instead the person who

**Pressroom at France-Soir**

# The Battl France-S Freedom of the P

# First French Resistance Paper Was Persecuted Under "Anti-Fascist" Laws

Under several post-liberation decrees and laws in France, collaborationist and Nazi newspapers were banned. However, the same laws required government approval in order for newspapers and magazines to be published legally. Under a series of Gaullist information ministers (Pierre-Henri Teitgen, Jacques Soustelle and André Malraux) and because of pressure from the Stalinists, this authorization was repeatedly denied to *La Vérité*, organ of the Trotskyist Parti Communiste Internationaliste (PCI).




Militant

**Tripartite post-WWII French Government banned Trotskyist newspaper.**

In an article entitled, "The First Organ That Resisted Hitler," the 30 September 1944 issue of *La Vérité* protested this Stalinist-inspired persecution:

> "We are asked whether *La Vérité* was an organ of 'resistance' for four years. The first issue of *La Vérité* was secretly mimeographed as early as August 1940. There was another clandestine organ, *L'Humanité* (official organ of the French Communist Party) but all Parisians remember that it was then distributed in the streets with the tacit consent of the occupying forces and besides had officially applied for legal publication. *L'Humanité* appeared then without a single line against German occupation by virtue of the German-Russian agreement, which it warmly defended
>
> "In contrast, *La Vérité*, which had on its masthead 'Neither Pétain Nor Hitler—For a Workers and Peasants Government,' violently attacked Nazism, denounced the [Nazi] raiding of goods, appealed for regrouping against fascism on both sides of the demarcation line, etc. To our knowledge, *La Vérité* was the first resistance paper.
>
> "For four years, in 19 mimeographed and 54 printed issues, *La Vérité* campaigned against fascism and the occupying imperialism."

The article went on to detail how the paper directed its struggle against fascism, racism and anti-semitism; for the right of self-determination for "all the peoples, including the colonies"; and against imperialist war. On the struggle for fraternization, it wrote:

> "We appealed to the German soldiers to turn their arms against their officers and to fraternize with the workers of Europe, at the same time as we appealed to the workers of this country to address the workers dragooned by Hitler into his army, calling upon them to struggle together against fascism and capitalism. This propaganda is that for which

*continued on page 10*

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bought it from Hachette was one Paul Winkler. Hersant at the time stated that he "did not foresee taking control of *France-Soir*" (*Le Monde*, 20 August). However, less than a month after taking over, Winkler sold 50 percent to Hersant and has indicated that "financial problems" could force him to sell the rest. There is every reason to believe that Winkler was simply an intermediary for the sale.

For its part, the Union of the Left (which has turned its back on the ongoing militant *Parisien Libéré* strike) quickly denounced the government's monopolization of the Paris daily press. PS leader Mitterrand, Communist Party (PCF) head Marchais and the Movement of the Left Radicals have all made public declarations backing the *France-Soir* journalists. Furthermore, the government now faces a split between Giscard's Independent Republicans and the Gaullists headed by Chirac. The bank transactions on behalf of Hersant, a pro-Gaullist, were set up by Chirac while Giscard was on a state visit to Africa this summer, and it is widely believed that with Chirac out, state loans to Hersant will not be forthcoming.

### Defend Freedom of the Press!

Hersant has tried to pose as the savior of *France-Soir*, alleging that the paper will lose 20 million francs this year and claiming that he is "salvaging the jobs of 2,000 professionals." At the same time, he issued an open threat to the journalists, asserting that there are no "philanthropists ready to dump their money into a newspaper without any return while leaving a newsroom independent" (quoted in the *New York Times*, 27 August). Winkler assured the journalists that "I am still the only editorial boss for the journalists," but this, too, has turned out to be a threat...and Winkler is not expected to be around long.

Faced with Hersant's statements and his past record at *Figaro* and other acquired newspapers, the journalists unions warned that freedom of the press was in danger in the *France-Soir* dispute:

> "Journalistic independence, the guarantee of honest and high-quality news; the professional dignity of the men who provide it...; the exercise by the citizenry of the public liberties known as freedom of the press, freedom of expression, the right to information—these are what is at stake in the *France-Soir* conflict."
>
> —*Le Monde*, 27 August

That this threat is real was indicated by a chain of events following Winkler's assumption of the positions of editor-in-chief and managing editor (in addition to publisher) of *France-Soir*. He has reportedly angered journalists by heavily censoring their articles over the telephone. After one incident—when he wrote in an endorsement of right-wing interior minister Poniatowski's hard-line stance endangering the passengers of an aircraft hijacked by Croatian reactionaries—the journalists and editors voted to refuse to sign articles for a week in protest (*Rouge*, 20 September).

Trotskyists stand by the *France-Soir* journalists in their struggle against monopoly control and censorship of the press. However, it is important to understand the context of the struggle, which is peculiar to French conditions. In the U.S., for instance, we take no sides in the disagreement between the publisher of the *New York Times* and its editorial page writers. Although the latter are slightly to the left of the Sulzbergers (favoring Bella Abzug over Patrick Moynihan in the N.Y. Democratic senatorial primary), in the past they have been the loyal mouthpieces of the liberal bourgeoisie in general and their employer in particular.

Even where the political differences are greater, as between the Gaullist prospective publisher of *France-Soir* and the pro-Union of the Left journalists union, this should not induce class-conscious workers to favor the "progressives" over the reactionaries. Nor, under conditions of bourgeois rule, do Marxists call for preventing one or another capitalist party or political current from expressing its views in the press. However, in France there is a historical tradition of a degree of editorial autonomy and political independence for journalists, derived from the fact that the bourgeois press collaborated with the Nazis and the post-war newspapers were built by journalists who created clandestine resistance organs. This measure of autonomy is threatened in the *France-Soir* takeover.

The striking journalists at *France-Soir* went beyond their opposition to Hersant to demand "the exclusive responsibility of the editorial crew over management of news" (*Rouge*, 21 August). The demand for journalists' control of press policy, which was prominently raised during the May-June events of 1968, is utopian liberalism. (Why should journalists set policy, or even printing industry workers? Under a workers government, press capacity and printing supplies would be allotted proportional to the support for different tendencies in the working class.) However, without sharing the *France-Soir* journalists' *autogestionnaire* ("self-management") illusions or the liberal myth of an "objective" press, the labor movement must support their fight to preserve the degree of journalistic autonomy won in the past and oppose management censorship.

### Press Monopolization and State Control

Opposition to monopoly control of the press is a just cause. As a liberal Parisian journalist wrote at the time of the August strike, "the press, the purveyor of ideology, is not, as M. Hersant would have people believe, a commodity like any other" (*Le Monde*, 24 August). Whereas in the case of industry and finance Marxists give no support to utopian "trust-busting" sentiments harking back to the days of pre-monopoly capitalism, we favor the maximum diversity of the press. However, this does not mean supporting a "progressive" boss against a "reactionary" publisher. Moreover, appealing to the state to determine permissible ownership of the news media is fraught with danger.

As Trotsky stated in "Freedom of the Press and the Working Class" (August 1938):

> "It is essential to wage a relentless struggle against the reactionary press. But workers cannot let the repressive fist of the bourgeois state substitute for the struggle that they must wage through their own organizations and their own press. Today the state may appear to be 'kindly' disposed to the workers' organizations; tomorrow the government may fall, inevitably will fall into the hands of the most reactionary elements of the bourgeoisie. In that case, whatever restrictive legislation exists will be thrown at the workers. Only adventurers with no thought other than for the needs of the moment would fail to heed such a danger.
>
> "The most effective way to combat the bourgeois press is to expand the working-class press."

In the hands of the capitalist state, even the seemingly most favorable press laws are at best a two-edged sword which can be used to swing back at the working class. This can be clearly seen by examining the history of the post-liberation press legislation to which the *France-Soir* journalists appeal.

The particular law involved is a 26 August 1944 ordinance aimed at eliminating the corruption and treachery of the press under the Third Republic and Vichy rule. According to its provisions, no individual or entity may own more than one daily newspaper with a circulation over 10,000, or more than one weekly with a circulation over 50,000. Hersant is already in violation of this seldom (if ever) used law, since at least *Figaro*, *Nord-Matin*, *Nord-Eclair*, *Paris-Normandie* and *Le Havre-Presse* fall under its provisions.

The articles of this ordinance (which was prepared in Algiers and issued on the day de Gaulle's provisional government entered Paris) make clear that its targets were the German-subsidized fascist/collaborationist newspapers and the reactionary yellow press. The anti-monopoly provisions (Articles 4 and 9) were directed against the financial manipulations and press empire-building brought to light by the Stavisky affair in 1934. Another section (Article 10), requiring editors to provide the police with the real names of writers using pseudonyms, was aimed at the scandal sheets and wanton character assassination, particularly of leftist politicians, which characterized the overwhelmingly rightist monoploy press before the war. Article 3 (all backers of a newspaper must be French) and Article 13 (no newspaper may receive a subsidy from a foreign government) were motivated by Doriot's German-financed fascist paper and other collaborationist organs.

It is equally clear, however, that such a measure could easily be used against the left and labor press. Certainly, the anonymous leftist soldier protesting repression in the barracks will be prosecuted before the police go after a rightist slanderer hiding behind a pseudonym. It will be the press of a truly internationalist communist tendency that is hit with charges of "foreign backing," not Catholic publications subsidized by the Vatican. As for the anti-monopoly provisions, one need only note that by October 1944, the French Communist Party had 17 daily newspapers and close to 200 weeklies, thus directly violating the August 26 ordinance!

Moreover, even where there is legislation which could be voted for by revolutionary deputies in a bourgeois parliament, such as the May 1945 French law whose sole aim was expropriating the collaborationist press, Marxists do not *call for* the capitalist state to suppress reactionaries. When legislation is enacted for this purpose, it is almost always aimed at "extremists" in general and used mainly against the left. A classic example of this was the 30 September 1944 French press law which (unlike the ineffectual August 26 ordinance) was implemented precisely because it had teeth and could be used as a weapon of bourgeois repression.

Rouge

**General assembly of France-Soir workers.**

Again, the ostensible purpose was to ban all Nazi and collaborationist papers (those published after mid-1940 in the German-occupied regions and after 1942 in Vichy France). However, the same law requires all newspapers and periodicals to receive prior authorization from the minister of information in order to be legally published. All of the former underground publications were subsequently authorized...except the Trotskyists' *La Vérité*! As late as December 1945, almost a year and a half after liberation *La Vérité* was still forced to appear clandestinely, and in June 1945 the tripartite government (including the PCF) arrested three of its editors.

### The Left and State Intervention

Even when it is not wrong per se to call for state action—as in the case of the

*continued on page 8*

# France-Soir...

*(continued from page 7)*

*France-Soir* journalists' demand that the courts block the sale of the paper to Hersant under anti-monopoly provisions of the 26 August 1944 press ordinance. Marxists warn of the dangers of censorship which any government intervention can bring. But such considerations are completely foreign to the pseudo-Trotskyist adventurers of the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR). Promising that "this ordinance permits an interesting battle bringing together all the workers in the profession," the LCR sums up the *France-Soir* dispute, stating: "The objective of applying the 1944 ordinance is: dismantling and expropriating the Hersant group" (*Rouge*, 21 August).

But who is to expropriate the Hersant group—the bourgeois state, either under Giscard or the Union of the Left? The LCR does not exclude this possibility. But if Hersant, why not Prouvost, Amaury and the rest of the syndicates? The demand for nationalization of the media by the bourgeois state is an open invitation for massive censorship—a direct threat to freedom of the press. Not only does this open the door to restrictions on the labor and socialist press, but even bourgeois investigations such as the *Washington Post* Watergate revelations, the *New York Times*' publication of the Pentagon Papers—or the *Nouvel Observateur/Canard Enchaîné* disclosures in 1973 about massive phone-tapping by Poniatowski—would be virtually inconceivable.

This is not the first time the LCR has demonstrated a criminal blindness to the class character of the state. In 1973 Krivine & Co. called for outlawing the fascists, whereupon the Gaullist regime obliged by outlawing Nouvel Ordre *and the Ligue Communiste*! Appropriately enough, the 21 August *Rouge* article on the *France-Soir* journalists strike recalled last year's *República* affair in Portugal, where the LCR had called on the bourgeois state to expropriate press facilities and apportion them equitably to the workers movement!

**Clandestine publications of French Trotskyists published under Nazi occupation and post war "democratic" regime.**

In a similar vein, the LCR calls for nationalization of France's unique monopoly press distribution system, the Nouvelles Messageries de la Presse Parisienne (NMPP). Because of the NMPP, set up by law in the late 1940's, Paris papers are delivered to newsstands throughout the country at low cost. A side effect of this system is that it makes it easier for low-circulation fake-dailies like *Rouge* or the Maoist *Quotidien du Peuple* to exist. However, the delivery system is currently threatened by the introduction of computerized facsimile transmission equipment making it possible for the big syndicates (who bankroll the NMPP) to instead produce their papers in regional editions at a lower cost.

While revolutionaries would oppose any attempts to curtail service by the NMPP, the LCR typically calls for expropriation of the distribution system and facsimile transmission equipment. In other words, these fake-Trotskyists are calling for the bourgeois state (which in France regularly seizes issues of newspapers on political grounds) to concentrate in its hands the sole capacity for distributing the press!

Freedom of the press is an important issue for communists as well as journalists and all working people. While opposing monopolization of the media by press barons like Hersant, Hearst and their ilk, Marxists resolutely struggle against all limitations on information and expression of opinion imposed by the capitalist state. Under decaying capitalism newspaper failures and press monopolization will continue, but unlike the case of industry (where we call for expropriation) nationalization of the press by the bourgeois state does not prefigure rationalized production. Rather, it strikes a blow (immediate or potential) against democratic freedoms.

Only under a regime of soviet democracy is it possible to expropriate the reactionary press syndicates while guaranteeing true freedom of the press through equitable distribution of press facilities for all except directly counterrevolutionary tendencies. ■

# Economic Recovery...

*(continued from page 1)*

inflation rates remain high and in some cases are rising. France, Britain and Italy all suffer inflation rates over 10 percent.

### Bourgeois Pessimism and the "Secular Stagnation" Thesis

The economic upturn during 1975-76 was the weakest such recovery in the entire post-World War II period. In every one of the four previous recoveries output rose within four quarters (one year) of the upturn to 4-6 percent above the previous peak. Now *five* quarters after the spring 1975 upturn, output stands only *1* percent higher than the previous fourth quarter 1973 peak.

The weakness of the recovery is particularly evident in the area of capital investment. In every previous recovery, investment increased by at least 10 percent in the first year after the upturn. Today capital spending is only *3* percent higher than the *low* point reached in early 1975.

The unusual weakness of the recovery combined with the present imminent downturn has produced expressions of bourgeois pessimism. In the October 1 *New York Times*, mainstream liberal economist Leonard Silk recalls the "secular stagnation" thesis put forward by liberal Keynesian Alvin Hansen in the 1930's. Hansen blamed the Great Depression on long-term structural changes and argued that the classic business cycle was obsolete. In particular Hansen pointed to reduced population growth and a falling off in technological innovation. Hansen's structural stagnationism was quite voguish until World War II revitalized the economy.

Like all forms of bourgeois pessimism (e.g., Malthusianism), the "secular stagnation" thesis ascribes the obvious failure of the capitalist economy to

Editions Sociales

**Protesting workers "distribute" scab edition of Parisien Libéré at beginning of strike last year.**

# Victory to the Parisien Libéré Strike!

Although the *France-Soir* dispute has focused primarily on the issues of press monopolization and freedom of the press, the printers union—CGT Livre—reluctantly backed the journalists' protests primarily out of concern over the threat to jobs posed by the likely introduction of modern offset printing systems. A dramatic confirmation of the printers' fears—and also of their will to resist the vicious attack on their livelihood—is the bitter strike at *Parisien Libéré*, which has continued for a year and a half.

The striking printers, who walked off the job on 3 March 1975, have demonstrated tremendous determination, militancy and courage. When *Parisien Libéré* owner Emilien Amaury attempted to print a scab edition of the paper in Belgium, trucks carrying the pirate edition were stopped by an armed border patrol mounted by Belgian and French workers. In May 1975 strikers occupied the printing plant, barricading themselves behind 1,200-pound rolls of newsprint and giant metal plates to fight off the reactionary publisher's private militia and attack dogs. Since then Amaury has succeeded in printing a scab *Parisien Libéré* in the provinces, but when bundles arrive in Paris they are regularly destroyed by the striking workers.

The disputes at *France-Soir* and *Parisien Libéré* are closely related. In May of this year, the publisher of *France-Soir* and Robert Hersant (the publisher of *Figaro*, who is in the process of taking over *France-Soir*) walked out of the newspaper bosses' Syndicat de la Presse Parisienne in opposition to a proposed deal with the CGT Livre for introducing modern production techniques. In leaving the publishers association, they linked up with Amaury, who has boycotted its meetings for years. The right-wing press magnates refused to consider any negotiated agreement, clearly indicating that they intended to throw hundreds of printers onto the streets.

That the intensity of the battle at *Parisien Libéré* has not abated was demonstrated by two events which occurred in late September. First, the offices of the Paris printers union were robbed by thieves looking for documents. Second, when Amaury attended a meeting of the Syndicat, obviously encouraged by the prospect of an alliance with Hersant, the striking printers also showed up and locked the publishers in the building in an attempt to force the *Parisien Libéré* boss to negotiate.

In accordance with the militancy of

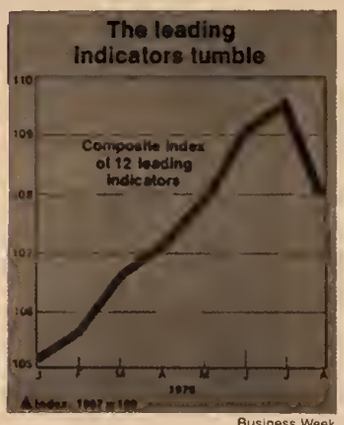
*continued on page 10*

factors *external* to capitalist relations of production. In contrast, Marxists understand that depressed economic conditions do not arise from negative changes in population growth or technological innovation, but from the *internal* laws of capitalist production itself. Specifically, capitalist production is governed by the rate of profit, the ratio of surplus value to the value of invested capital. Both over the course of the cycle and in the historical long run, the rate of profit is forced down by capitalist accumulation itself.

One section of bourgeois opinion holds that unemployment can be overcome through increased government spending. Traditionally this has been the program of the liberal wing of the Democratic Party. To a certain extent Jimmy Carter has used this traditional line, denouncing Ford for his veto of several government appropriation bills.

But this is just cynical electioneering. Neither Carter nor the mainstream of the Democratic Party is proposing a budget significantly higher than that favored by Ford and the Republicans. Carter did not even support the Humphrey-Hawkins bill (whose supposed goal is to drive unemployment down to 3 percent) until it was significantly watered down. Most Democratic politicians, as well as the Republicans, today reject a significant increase in government expenditure.

Newsweek



Business Week

As we have pointed out (see "Capitalist Politicians Can't Solve Unemployment," *WV* No. 98, 27 February 1976), the expansion of state expenditure, while increasing employment in the short run, drives down the rate of profit on private capital. A decisive section of the ruling class, not only in the U.S. but throughout the capitalist world, is agreed upon the need to *contract* the state sector in order to transfer resources to private profit. A program of increased fiscal austerity, designed to achieve this end, would initially increase unemployment and have a sharply *depressive* effect on the economy.

### Break with the Capitalist Parties!

Both the Democrats and Republicans are solidly opposed to reducing unemployment through a massive public works program. This year these capitalist parties are hardly even talking about the usual patchwork of insignificant economic reforms. Very few workers are enthusiastic about Jimmy Carter, not to mention Gerald Ford. What binds the working class to the capitalist parties is not the illusion that these parties stand for the workers' interests, but the policy of the reactionary labor bureaucracy.

In 1971 in response to its declining position in the world economy, the American ruling class moved against its capitalist rivals abroad and the labor movement at home. Nixon devalued the dollar and announced that foreign creditors could no longer cash in their dollar holdings for gold on demand. These steps spurred an orgy of competitive currency devaluations internationally with the rival capitalist powers seeking trade advantages at each others' expense. One result of this wave of competitive devaluations was the rampant inflation during the 1972-73 boom.

In August 1971 Nixon also introduced wage controls designed to drive down the relative cost of production in the U.S. The American labor bureaucracy abjectly accepted these controls, with George Meany's AFL-CIO and independent unions like the United Auto Workers (UAW) serving on Nixon's wage control board. This class-collaborationist stance continued throughout the past period. When mass unemployment set in with the depression of 1974-75, there were neither strikes nor factory occupations to prevent layoffs.

Moreover, during the recovery of the past year, the bureaucracy collaborated with the companies to keep the jobless rate high through speed-up and overtime. While productivity (output per worker) increased a sharp 4.5 percent this past year, real wages per hour have not risen since 1973! This year, which was supposed to be the catch-up year for labor, wage increases negotiated in major contracts were actually *smaller* than in 1975.

The bad economic situation, which is going to get worse, condemns the rottenness of the capitalist system. The working masses and poor can expect nothing but more suffering from the buffeting of the economic cycle, with massive unemployment and deteriorating living conditions in store. Despite the wretched state of the world economy, which is even recognized by many bourgeois commentators, capitalism will not collapse from its own diseased condition. To achieve this, the working masses need a revolutionary, Trotskyist party capable of breaking the stranglehold of the bureaucracy over the organized labor movement. ■

Susan T McElhinney/Newsweek

Jimmy Carter speaking at campaign rally in Minnesota.

**New York demonstration Saturday in defense of jailed AIM militant Leonard Peltier.**

# NYC Demo Demands Freedom for Leonard Peltier

**About 200 people demonstrated outside the Canadian consulate in New York City October 30 to protest the attempt of the U.S. government to extradite American Indian Movement (AIM) militant Leonard Peltier from Vancouver, B.C. to South Dakota. The U.S. wants to prosecute Peltier in a frame-up trial for the murders of two FBI agents killed in June 1975 on the Pine Ridge Indian reservation.**

**After a rally at the consulate, the demonstrators marched 20 blocks to FBI headquarters. Among the groups participating was the Partisan Defense Committee, which demanded "Free Leonard Peltier—Stop the Extradition." The Spartacist League (SL) carried placards demanding "End FBI Witchhunt of AIM," "Abolish the Bureau of Indian Affairs," and "Full Democratic Rights for North American Indians."**

**To AIM's utopian call for "self-determination" for the "Indian nation," the SL counterposed the demand "For Voluntary Integration of American Indians Under a Workers Government." The SL also raised the call, "Down with Exclusionism! For a United-Front Defense!", protesting incidents in Vancouver last spring and summer when AIM leaders barred the Trotskyist League of Canada (TLC) from selling its press outside a Peltier defense meeting and carrying TLC signs at a Free Peltier demonstration.**

# Muñoz . . .

*(continued from page 2)*

successful campaign waged on his behalf:

> "I personally have little respect for Mario Muñoz, a man who tore up his membership card in the Communist Party of Chile because the Party didn't support his trade union policies.... The money collected from the working people and their organizations to defend Mario Muñoz who was in no obvious danger would have greatly benefitted the campaign to save countless other men and women who today are still imprisoned in the torture camps of the fascist juntas of Chile, Argentina and the other fascist states."

What "campaign" is that? It is certainly not the "campaign" of the SPA, which lent back-handed support to the Videla coup and maintained a discrete silence about Argentina's persecution of left-wing and labor militants! The fiction that Muñoz "was in no obvious danger" is a threadbare rationalization for the real policy which Mesnage articulates: Muñoz should have been left defenseless before the reactionary onslaught because he opposed class collaborationism and "tore up his membership card" in the CP. Mesnage would have the workers defend only supporters of popular-front politics.

The Spartacist League of Australia and New Zealand has demanded that the SPA publicly retract its irresponsible charges or stand exposed for its complicity in the defamation campaign of the reactionary Argentine and Chilean juntas. Like the Stalinist body upon which they grow, these vile and baseless slanders are the syphilis of the workers movement. ■

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**LOS ANGELES**

# Anti-Facist Laws...

*(continued from page 6)*

> *L'Humanité* reproaches us with the most hatred, pretending that we want to 'give our hand to the murderers.'
> "On the contrary, *La Vérité* repeats unceasingly that 'we must execute the agents of the Gestapo, the SS, the reactionary officers. It is against them that we must give our hand to the German workers in uniform...
> "This is why the Gestapo reacted violently against our fraternization efforts. Thus, in one single case, in October 1943, against our comrades who edited *Der Arbeiter* in Brittany, 65 of our comrades, of whom 30 were German soldiers, were arrested, deported and murdered. On that occasion four members of our leadership were caught and tortured.
> "But this repression did not prevent our work from continuing. Up to August 1944, we edited several organs in German, namely *Unser Wort* and *Arbeiter und Soldat*, the latter distributed in the barracks, from 5,000 to 10,000 copies."

After explaining how the Trotskyists fought against the gangster-manipulated black market and the decline in the workers' standard of living; for strikes and mass sabotage; against deportations; together with the partisans; and for workers militias and a general strike, the article concluded:

> "Such is, in its general lines, the policy which our comrades defended during four years despite the violent blows of the Hitler and Pétain police. We are asked whether we belonged among the 'resisters.' But let that question be asked of the hundreds of our militants who paid with their lives or their liberty for their attachment to our ideas and their devotion to the working class.
> "To speak only of a few of those shot, there is [Jean] Meichler, ex-manager of *Unser Wort*, who was among the first shot in Paris. There are Marc Bourhis and [Pierre] Gueguen, the former secretary of our Concarneau district, the latter former Communist mayor of Concarneau who rallied to our ideas, both shot in October 1941 at Chateaubriant at the same time as Timbaud. There are young workers like Lebucher of Drancy, teachers like Thiolon of the XIth [arrondissement, Paris], regional leaders like [Robert] Cruau of Nantes, old militants like Wintley, leader of our German group in Paris, caught and murdered by the Gestapo in particularly atrocious circumstances, or young workers like Van Hulst of Suresnes, killed by a bullet in his head in a fight against the [fascist] Darnaud militia...
> "Such are those whom *L'Humanité* dares call 'Gestapo agents'! Such are those about whom we are asked whether they 'resisted against Hitler'!"

# Parisien Libéré...

*(continued from page 8)*

their ranks, the CGT Livre bureaucrats frequently adopt a tough-sounding rhetoric. Thus, in response to the journalists' protest against Hersant's projected takeover of *France-Soir*, a printers union statement argued, "To refuse Hersant as an individual at any price while at the same time undertaking efforts to favor the acquisition of the paper by others does not seem to us to be a policy to preserve and defend the interests of the workers." But the purpose of this statement was not to argue for militant struggle against *all* the press bosses—rather, the bureaucrats wanted to leave the way open for a deal with Hersant!

An even more disgusting sellout was the incredible May 1976 agreement between the CGT Livre and the publishers association. Under its provisions, all printers in the Paris newspaper industry who are over 57 years old will be forced into early retirement; all those under 50 will be laid off with lump-sum severance pay. As for the rest, they will be placed in new jobs and forced to take a wage cut (*Le Monde*, 9 July)! To sweeten this bitter pill, the publishers agreed to try to arrange negotiations under their auspices with Amaury in order to put an end to the festering *Parisien Libéré* strike. With a miserable leadership that can negotiate such "agreements," the printers' militancy will simply be dissipated.

The fact that it is not only the capitalists but the labor leaders themselves who are enemies of working-class militancy was suggested by a curious remark made by Amaury after being "captured" at the employers meeting by the striking printers. He wrote of his fellow publishers that "Certain among them noted...that no such invasion took place during the [Nazi] occupation...when *Signal* and the *Pariser Zeitung* were appearing" (quoted in *Le Monde*, 18 September).

This is an old slander, raised at the time of the 1946 printers strike, which was one of the first major strikes that threatened the shaky tripartite post-liberation government. Forgetting about the mass sabotage carried on by the French workers against the occupiers, the proponents of "industrial peace" implied that the printers were practically collaborators for not refusing to set the Nazi papers.

What is revealing is who originated this scurrilous attack: none other than Communist Party leader Maurice Thorez. At a time when he was telling French workers that "The strike is the weapon of the trusts," he said of the striking printers: "These are anarchists who dishonored themselves during the war! I have never heard of a printing worker who refused to print the Pariser Zeitung!" (quoted in Georgette Elgey, *Histoire de la IVe République*). So once again the printers are subjected to this Stalinist slander, which the reactionary Amaury can repeat with hardly a comma changed.

Instead of the treacherous "deals" worked out by the CGT Livre misleaders, a genuine class-struggle leadership would resolutely support the *France-Soir* journalists' protests against actual and threatened censorship while extending the printers' and newsmen's struggle to mobilize the support of the entire labor movement. To answer the capitalist-manipulated crisis in the French newspaper industry, printers must fight for a drastically shorter workweek with no loss in pay and an industry-wide hiring hall. Victory to the *Parisien Libéré* strike! ■

# Irish Anarchists Threatened with Execution

# Stop the Hangings! Free the Murrays!

As we go to press the Irish Supreme Court is deciding on an appeal of two Dublin anarchists convicted of killing a policeman and sentenced to death by hanging. Marie and Noel Murray were picked up in a police dragnet of local anarchists after the *gardai* was killed in a bank robbery. They had been sought on earlier charges of bombing Spanish government buildings in Ireland.

The Murrays were convicted in the new "Special Criminal Courts" where they had no right to a trial by jury. A panel of judges convicted them on the basis of police "evidence" and testimony gained by torture. Moreover, the government has attempted to gag all criticism of the trial in the press, citing the *Irish Times* and the fortnightly *Hibernia* for contempt of court.

The victimization of the Murrays and the wide-ranging press censorship are part of a general intensification of government repression following the killing of the British ambassador to Ireland, Christopher Ewart-Biggs, by an IRA bomb on July 21. This particularly stupid piece of terrorism came on the eve of a parliamentary debate on a bill for emergency powers and served to stampede public opinion and the legislators into supporting this police-state measure.

Under the emergency measures IRA members can be sentenced to as many as seven years for "membership in an illegal organization"; "suspected terrorists" can be held for up to a week without charges; and the army can now, for the first time, detain civilian suspects. It was in this atmosphere of "anti-terrorist" hysteria that the Murrays were tried without jury, summarily convicted and given the death penalty. Clearly the reactionary government of Liam Cosgrave intends to "make an example" of the two framed-up anarchists.

Although the contempt charges against newspapers which reported allegations that the Murrays had been tortured have intimidated potential opposition to the threatened hanging, their case has given new urgency to moves to abolish the death penalty in Ireland. The Irish Labour Party and civil-libertarian groups are currently pushing for the abolition of capital punishment. The Murrays' lives may very well depend on a broad mobilization against legal lynching and all the government's repressive legislation.

In defending the Murrays as part of the left, the Spartacist League condemns the futile and self-defeating politics of petty-bourgeois despair that motivate the sensational actions of the anarchist movement. But at least the anarchists have a history of picking targets that are symbols or representatives of the capitalist exploiters, unlike the IRA and Protestant paramilitaries who regularly engage in indiscriminate terror against working people.

The Partisan Defense Committee has sent telegrams to the Irish government protesting the threatened execution of the Murrays and demanding their unconditional freedom. Readers of *WV* are encouraged to do likewise, and can address protests to: The Minister for Justice, Republic of Ireland, 72-76 St. Stephen's Green, Dublin, 2, Ireland; and to the Embassy of the Republic of Ireland, 2234 Massachusetts Avenue N.W., Washington, D.C. 20008. Stop the Hanging! Abolish the Death Penalty—Down with the Emergency Laws! Free the Murrays Now!

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# Sadlowski...

*(continued from page 3)*

meeting attacking Sadlowski's lack of program and his record as District 31 director. The leaflet noted his failure to fight layoffs and pointed out that:

> "Sadlowski doesn't challenge Abel on any of his basic policies: in fact, his vague program of 'return the union to the membership,' 'support of the right to strike,' and denunciations of 'tuxedo unionism' are all borrowed chapter and verse from I.W. Abel's 1965 campaign against then-president McDonald!"

As opposed to Sadlowski's reliance on the bourgeois government in union elections, and to reformist oppositions that limit their program to simple trade unionism, these militants called for a class-struggle union leadership which would fight for a workers government.

The essential similarity between the Sadlowski and Abel-loyalist campaigns is becoming clearer day by day. While McBride adds militants to his slate and calls the employers "bastards," Sadlowski is having difficulty in avoiding exposure for what he is, a "militant" office-seeking bureaucrat. Punching holes in Sadlowski's "progressive" facade is a necessary beginning to the building of a class-struggle opposition in the USWA, counterposed to both the Abel and Sadlowski labor fakers. ■

# Gary Tyler...

*(continued from page 4)*

struggle chants, such as "Smash the Nazis, Smash the Klan—Only Workers Defense Guards Can," and demanded Gary Tyler's immediate release.

To free Gary Tyler the broadest mobilization of labor, socialist and civil-rights organizations is necessary. This unity is not aided by the internecine organizational jockeying among groups supporting Gary Tyler. Thus, at present there are at least three competing national Gary Tyler defense committees/coalitions. Even at this supposedly united demonstration in Detroit there were several instances of such maneuvering.

At the *Free Press*, marchers demanded to see an editor, and a delegation went upstairs to confront spokesmen for the paper while a picket-line was re-organized outside. A short time later supporters of the Red Tide, youth group of the social-democratic I.S., decided to return inside the building. Members of NSCAR opposed this and at one point locked arms in front of the doorway to keep the Red Tiders from entering. The purpose of the Red Tide's unexpected tactics was not explained and tended to disorganize a united demonstration. However, NSCAR's obstructive tactics in the presence of a growing number of Detroit cops must be condemned.

Today Gary Tyler is still fighting for his life. Although the U.S. Supreme Court struck down Louisiana's death penalty law as being too broad and arbitrary, the state's attorneys are still arguing for Tyler's execution.

A genuinely united, non-sectarian class-struggle defense must be conducted to demand freedom for Gary Tyler. All legal channels must be pursued, but the defense must not be restricted to reliance on bourgeois "justice." The Spartacist statement to the rally concluded: "It is the task of the working class to smash racial oppression and free all Gary Tylers through proletarian revolution."

*Free Gary Tyler—Drop all charges now! Abolish the death penalty! Smash the Klan!*

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pour toute correspondance: Pascal Alessandri, B.P. 336, 75011 Paris, France

# Rhodesia Flim-Flam...

*(continued from page 12)*

who have consistently demanded unification of the feuding nationalist factions, and who control access to the guerrilla camps.

The blustering of the four nationalist spokesmen—besides Nkomo and Mugabe there are delegations led by Bishop Abel Muzorewa of the African National Council (ANC) and Ndabaningi Sithole, who contests Mugabe's claim to lead ZANU—is primarily aimed at isolating Smith before world public opinion, therefore making it more difficult for the U.S. to give even tacit support to the white-supremacist regime in the future. But while justly denouncing the outrageous crimes committed by Rhodesian troops and the brutal subjugation of the black majority, the nationalists' ultimate purpose is to put pressure on Britain to tame Smith's upstart settler state.

"Radical" Mugabe joins "moderate" Nkomo in appealing to the magnanimity of Britain, whose control over the territory dates from the late 19th century freebooting expeditions of empire builder Cecil Rhodes. According to Mugabe, "It is the responsibility of Britain as a colonial power and of no one else to grant us our right to self-determination." Nkomo chimes in, "The simple and straightforward issue before the conference is that of the transfer of power from the colonizer, the United Kingdom government, to the people of Zimbabwe through a process of decolonization" (*New York Times*, 30 October).

**ANC supporters wearing T-shirts with picture of ANC leader Muzorewa.** SS

Servile appeals to British imperialism have long been characteristic of the nationalist leaders' strategy in Rhodesia, despite the fact that the UK never once exercised its legal right to veto legislation discriminatory against Africans, which it had reserved when granting dominion status to its colony in 1923. At a 1961 constitutional conference, Nkomo, Sithole and other nationalist leaders accepted a proposal by Commonwealth secretary Duncan Sandys to establish a separate African voting roll to elect only 15 out of 65 members of the Rhodesian parliament. (Subsequently the chagrined leaders denounced the deal.)

Since UDI, the nationalists and African heads of state have repeatedly demanded British military intervention. Only the intransigence of the Rhodesian Front government and the complete worthlessness of successive negotiations initiated by Labour and Conservative governments in London forced the nationalists to hesitatingly launch guerrilla warfare.

### Geneva Prospects

That the nationalists would even today be willing to make far-reaching and criminal concessions to white supremacy is evident from a frank interview in *Newsweek* (11 November) given by Nkomo's second-in-command, Josiah Chinamano. In order to get its hands on a few ministerial posts, Chinamano indicated that ZAPU would accept "a qualified franchise ... provided of course that it gives blacks a majority." He cautioned that Smith's insistence on white ministers of defense and "law and order" "conveyed to the African the concept of white domination." He hastened to add, however, that "there are whites the Africans would be happy to see running defense and police."

Today, Nkomo, Mugabe and their supporters among the "front-line presidents" hope to use the continuing guerrilla attacks as political leverage to force Britain's hand. The fly in the ointment is that the toothless British lion won't roar. The Labour government has so far refused to assign a cabinet member in place of Ivor Richard, Britain's UN ambassador who is currently chairing the Geneva meetings. Richard's insistence that he is a neutral arbiter is likewise indicative of London's reluctance to take on a major role in policing Rhodesia. So the nationalists have turned to the U.S.

According to the 1 November *New York Times*, Kissinger is now saying that:

> "...Britain faces the choice of enacting a significant role in the transition or the far worse prospect of the collapse of the talks, the escalation of the guerrilla war and direct threats toward the white minority, outnumbered 22 to 1, many of whom carry dual British citizenship."

But even though the State Department's top African specialist, William Schaufele, has been dispatched to Geneva, allegedly to pressure Britain and Smith; and even though Washington has more than enough leverage to put the squeeze on the Labour government (via the IMF guarantee for the sinking pound), the UK manifestly lacks the wherewithal to mount a major operation in Rhodesia at this point. Hence the rumors now being floated of a Commonwealth "peace-keeping force" drawn from Australia, Canada, New Zealand, Ghana and Nigeria, and a British head for the interim "Council of State" as a path out of the predictable conference stalemate.

The problem with this latest brainstorm, as with the entire attempt at Rhodesian "shuttle diplomacy," is that the chances of any kind of negotiated "solution" are extremely slim. The ability of the endlessly compromising (and compromised) nationalist leaders to administer a slightly disguised white-supremacist Rhodesia is highly doubtful. And certainly the white minority will not peacefully relinquish its privileged position at a bargaining table in Geneva. A bloody demise is in store for Cecil Rhodes' legacy.

But if the Geneva farce is ultimately futile, it, like the rest of the history of the Rhodesian nationalist groups, demonstrates once again the Trotskyist thesis that in the age of imperialism the colonial bourgeoisie (or aspiring bourgeois nationalists) cannot achieve even the democratic tasks of national liberation from colonial oppression. In the Rhodesian case, not only would a black bourgeois-led Zimbabwe be subordinated to imperialist domination (as are more "radical" African states such as Angola, Mozambique or Somalia), but its prospective leaders repeatedly offer to abandon the elementary bourgeois-democratic principle of "one man, one vote."

While standing on the side of the various black nationalist guerrilla groups in any military conflict with the white-supremacist Rhodesian regime, Marxists underline the absolute necessity of a revolutionary Leninist vanguard party of the working class to liberate the impoverished masses of southern Africa. Rooted in the powerful black proletariat of South Africa, such a Trotskyist party will lead the struggle for national emancipation that the Nkomos, Sitholes and Mugabes can only betray in order to impose their own class domination. ■

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## Empty Talkathon in Geneva

# Kissinger's Rhodesia Flim-Flam

NOVEMBER 1—Henry Kissinger's two-faced negotiations aimed at erecting a docile, anti-communist black bourgeois regime in Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) while protecting the property and privileges of the white minority ought to earn him a reputation as the Jimmy Carter of international diplomacy.

Never publicly revealing the content of proposals raised during his whirlwind African tours—nor apparently even consigning them to paper—the U.S. secretary of state laid a deliberately ambiguous foundation for the current Geneva conference on Rhodesia. To Salisbury's racist prime minister, Ian Smith, Kissinger's proposals represent a non-negotiable "package deal," whose key elements are an end to guerrilla warfare, lifting of international economic sanctions, a white-majority "Council of State" and white control of the army and police during the two-year "transition period."

To the several black nationalist delegations at the conference, specifics of the interim government are open to negotiation. They maintain that the acceptable aspects of Kissinger's chameleon-like plan are Smith's public commitment to majority rule and the convening of the international conference. To a man, these so-called "anti-imperialists" are demanding that Britain reimpose its colonial authority over Rhodesia as a prelude to independence under black rule.

Confirming the duplicitous character of his African "shuttle diplomacy," Kissinger last week said of the diverse interpretations of his proposals: "I think everyone is telling the truth" (*New York Times*, 29 October)!

### Smith's Hard Line

Salisbury's delegation is headed by a poker-faced Smith who clings tenaciously to the plan as he outlined it on September 24. Since the Rhodesian Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) in 1965, Smith has gone through six rounds of negotiations, both with British representatives and black nationalist leaders. Each time he has confirmed the white settlers' perception that, no matter how great an embarrassment, the British imperialists (and their big brother in Washington) will take no steps to endanger the safety or entrenched privileges of their "kith and kin" in Rhodesia. With the U.S. and Britain already pledging a multi-billion dollar trust fund to protect white Rhodesians' property, this latter-day Colonel Blimp seems hopeful that continued intransigence may yet buy more time.

Two weeks ago, Smith told an interviewer:

> "It is essential that we stand and fight for something worthwhile; that can only be obtained while we negotiate from strength.... We must first complete the exercise that Dr. Kissinger has started and then we will know what's involved. The terrorists will try to wreck everything."

When asked what will happen if the conference breaks down, Smith replied:

> "We will then have to move ahead on our own, won't we? There is no turning back now. There are plenty of black moderates who will come forward to join our new government. Together, we can make a new multiracial era work effectively."
>
> —*Newsweek*, 18 October

UPI

Henry Kissinger

Smith clearly hopes that he can hide behind Kissinger's insidious plan and deadlock the conference, while pinning the blame on the nationalists. In that event, he can further extend the "multiracial" window-dressing of his regime, bringing in large numbers of tribal chiefs and quisling black politicians. In contrast to South Africa where whites constitute 20 percent of the population, Rhodesia's tiny white minority (less than 5 percent) has already been compelled to rely more heavily on black collaborators at all levels of government. This includes a limited black representation in parliament and, since April, seven black members of the cabinet.

This hard-line strategy is based on Smith's belief that his armed forces can indefinitely contain the Mozambique-based guerrillas while he maneuvers for international aid. But although Salisbury still retains the upper hand militarily, increased defense expenditures and troop deployments and the guerrilla threat to Rhodesia's remaining road and rail links with South Africa threaten to bring its economy to a crashing halt. Moreover, since the toppling of Portuguese colonial rule in Angola and Mozambique, overt imperialist support to Smith has become far too costly.

As Smith will eventually find out, the "Kissinger exercise" in pacifying Rhodesia does not coincide with the pipedreams of his Rhodesian Front Party diehards. The grand strategist of U.S. imperialism hopes to avert the spectre of Soviet-supplied nationalist guerrilla war and shore up South Africa as a bulwark of anti-communism by welding an alliance between the most moderate nationalists and white liberal politicians and businessmen in Rhodesia.

### Black Nationalists Appeal to British Colonialism

Central to this strategy of a negotiated transition to "majority rule" is Joshua Nkomo, lifetime president of the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU). Prominent in nationalist politics since the early 1950's, Nkomo portrays himself as the model of forgive-and-forget sweet reasonableness, a potential Jomo Kenyatta of a black bourgeois-led Zimbabwe. He reportedly enjoys the sympathy of much of the Rhodesian business community, particularly British investors. Significantly, his delegation in Geneva includes several whites, including former Rhodesian prime minister Garfield Todd.

Additionally, through his recently negotiated "patriotic front" with militant-talking Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) leader Robert Mugabe, Nkomo can now indirectly claim the backing of the guerrilla forces. The linchpin of the Nkomo-Mugabe alliance is support from the presidents of the "front-line states" (Zambia, Tanzania, Mozambique and Angola)

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**Videla Regime Slanders Muñoz Campaign ....2**

WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

No. 133 12 November 1976

## Carter Saved by Labor/Black Establishments

# Businessman's Democrat Is Next Imperialist Chief

James Earl Carter, Jr., the Democratic president-elect of the United States, barely made it to the winner's circle November 2. His narrow victory margin was provided by the labor and black establishments and the Democratic Party machine, which mobilized their constituencies in a last-minute all-out effort as Carter's popularity plummeted from an early high of 33 percent over Ford to nearly neck-and-neck by election day.

The 1976 elections demonstrate that despite massive distrust of politicians in general, the Democratic Party still commands the allegiance of the masses of poor and working people. The traditional Democratic coalition of northern labor, a "solid South" and big-city liberal votes carried the day, despite considerable unease toward the candidate himself. Ironically for Carter (whose plastic smile and "trust me" talk were no more successful in winning the voters' trust than "Tricky Dick" Nixon's five o'clock shadow), it was the party, not the man, that won.

Even after eight years of Republican rule, during which the deeply corrupt and criminal conduct of the imperialist commander-in-chief and his entire administration was laid bare by Watergate and other scandals; even after the worst depression this country has suffered since the 1930's, Carter had to strain to win. Democrats did rather better in local elections around the country, with a total of 55 percent of the vote nationwide compared to Carter's 51 percent (*New York Times*, 7 November).

The AFL-CIO bureaucracy, the black Democrats and ex-civil rights leaders feel Carter owes them something—and they aim to collect. A last-minute blitz by black leaders ("Operation Big Vote") organized with Democratic Party money is credited with getting out a heavy black vote, while the labor bureaucracy mounted a $4 million computerized effort to get unionists to the polls for Carter. The labor fakers and black sellouts are now cynically trumpeting their successful Carter drive as a reborn "New Deal" and a triumph for "civil rights."

It is indeed a testament to the influence still wielded by these small-change power-brokers; it certainly took a lot of effort to bury Carter's real record of pandering to segregationists during the heyday of the civil rights movement and the notorious open-shop, anti-union practices of his home state. The payoff is expected to be jobs. But patronage positions for a few bureaucrats and black Democrats who faithfully turned out the vote are the only jobs that will be forthcoming from the Carter administration. The masses of unemployed will get plenty of "benign neglect."

Of the twin parties of U.S. capitalism, the Democratic Party is the more dangerous enemy of the working masses. The Republicans, who are openly contemptuous of the poor, the aged, the foreign-born, are generally recognized as a "party of big business." The Democrats occasionally feel forced to make some empty promises to the working people at campaign time while shafting them for the next two-to-six years just like the Republicans. It is a reflection of the low level of elementary class consciousness in America that the Democratic Party, a thoroughly bourgeois political vehicle external to the working class, can consistently attract the votes of workers and blacks.

Tony Spina/Detroit Free Press

**Carter claims "the people will rule again." But, pictured above are "the people" who will rule: Pete Estes, General Motors president; Leonard Woodcock, United Auto Workers president; the president-elect; Detroit Mayor Coleman Young; John Riccardo, Chrysler board chairman, and Henry Ford II, Ford chairman.**

Of course, the much-vaunted "electoral process" is itself a fraud. As long as openly reactionary parties like the Republicans in this country and Mrs. Thatcher's Tories in Britain can occasionally win elections, the bourgeoisie is content to "let the people decide." But if revolutionary communists began to score significant electoral votes, the rules of the game would change with lightning speed. Even in today's America—where the working class has no political party representing its interests, where apathy and despair cripple the poor and unemployed, where the bourgeoisie is confident of its ability to maintain total control—challenges to the two-party system meet with flagrant disregard for the polite pretenses of bourgeois democracy.

Eugene McCarthy got a slap from the iron hand controlling how America votes. His manifestly correct remark that there's nothing to spoil in a contest between the virtually interchangeable programs of Ford and Carter did not go down well among Democrats. McCarthy represented a very real threat to Carter and thus got slapped down hard, even though his campaign fell well within the range of normally acceptable bourgeois liberal politics.

The errant professor roamed the country sticking pins in Carter's "love for our people" image by pointing out, for example, that after the Kent State massacre in 1970, Carter (then governor of Georgia) advocated giving the National Guard live ammunition and shoot-to-kill orders in the event of student turmoil (*New York Times*, 25 October). For his efforts to be the "conscience" of liberalism, McCarthy was ruled off the ballot by Democrats in New York. The *New York Times* extended hypocritical sympathies while suggesting that the issue should be settled *after* the elections, since meanwhile Carter had to win. As it turned out, Ford lost New York state by only 2 percent—and indeed New York's 41 electoral votes would have put Ford well over the requisite 270 votes.

### Who Is Jimmy Carter?

The new Democratic chief and president-elect is an ambitious and ruthless man. Behind his ominous grin and carefully cultivated image of a down-home, god-loving peanut farmer lies a coldly calculating bourgeois politician.

In his first bid for office, Carter ran a right-wing campaign for governor of Georgia against an Atlanta liberal, pandering to conservative segregationist powers like Lester Maddox, his lieutenant-governor, whom he termed "the essence of the Democratic Party." After he was elected governor, his eye already on higher office, he put a few black faces into his administration as window-dressing.

Carter is deeply committed to American capitalism's military elite. His earliest ambition was to become a

*continued on page 5*

## Feuding Neo-Colonial Nationalists Betray Rhodesian Masses.....8

## More Deals, More Treachery

# Lebanon: Islamic Unity Once Again?

Cameron/Sygma

**Palestinian commandos in Beirut**

Paris Match

**Phalangist commandos**

UPI

**From left: Sadat, Assad, King Khalid and Arafat in Saudi Arabia for talks on Lebanon.**

On September 23 former Beirut banker Elias Sarkis became Lebanon's sixth president. As is mandated by the feudal codes which govern Lebanon's political process, Sarkis is a member of the privileged Maronite Christian sect. Since the safety of the inauguration ceremonies could not be assured in the war-ravaged capital, constitutional experts of Lebanon's former colonial master, France, were consulted as to the propriety of holding the ceremony elsewhere. Receiving their consent, the Syrian-backed president-elect was flown in a Soviet-made helicopter from Junieh, the "capital" of the Maronite enclave north of Beirut, to Chataura in the heart of the Syrian-occupied Bekaa Valley. There, in the seedy "Park Hotel," surrounded by Syrian troops and tanks, Sarkis swore "to uphold the unity and sovereignity" of Lebanon.

Sarkis' inauguration takes place in the midst of Lebanon's bloody civil war, now in its nineteenth month, which has already taken 40,000 lives. The "unity" and "sovereignty" Sarkis swears to uphold does not exist, if it ever did. Lebanon is effectively partitioned into a Maronite enclave which runs from the northern sectors of Beirut to the south edge of Tripoli and a Muslim enclave running from southern Beirut to Saida, once the capital of ancient Phoenicia. The rest of the country, especially the Bekaa Valley to the east, is occupied by Syrian troops.

There is also no single "sovereignty." There are militias belonging to various traditional Maronite and Muslim clans, the former counting some 25,000 men, the latter roughly 3,000 under arms. The Palestinian commandos number 25,000, and there are 23,000 Syrian troops and 500 tanks. In addition Syria has tried to create an indigenous Lebanese army from the remnants of the "Lebanese Arab Army"—units from the disintegrated Lebanese army which mutinied and went over to the Muslim side during the sectarian war—and from the Shi'ites of the Bekaa Valley. (The Shi'ite Muslims are Lebanon's largest and most oppressed religious community which, until recently, has been alienated from all sides in the bloody communal war.) This pro-Syrian force, now called the "Vanguard of the Lebanese Arab Army," numbers 6,000 and includes Lebanon's "air force" of two dozen Mirages and Hawker Hunter fighters.

Until now most of the fighting has been between Maronite militia groups like Pierre Gemeyal's Phalangists and forces associated with the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) led by Yasir Arafat of Fatah. The so-called "Muslim left" has been almost entirely supplanted by the wholesale intervention of the PLO on their side. For example, when Alieh (home base of the self-proclaimed leader of the "Muslim left," Druse patriarch and "progressive socialist" Kamal Jumblat) came under direct attack by Syrian troops and Maronite militias in mid-October, its defense was left in the main to the Palestinians.

Until late September, Syrian troops tied up PLO/Muslim forces and provided artillery cover for Maronite attacks. But five days after Sarkis was inaugurated the Syrian forces went on the offensive. In a combined operation with Maronite militias they cleared PLO forces from the ridge of the Metn Mountains east of Beirut where the PLO had controlled the road from Junieh into the Bekaa Valley. Arafat sent an emotional appeal to the various kings, sheiks, generals and other despots that rule the Arab countries, pleading for intervention to prevent Syria from "liquidating the Palestinian resistance movement and striking at the Lebanese and Palestinian peoples."

But according to the London *Guardian* of 1 October:

> "Reports in some Beirut Leftist papers say that the Fatah leadership under Yasser Arafat had in fact already agreed with representatives of the new Lebanese President on a Palestinian-Leftist withdrawal from the mountains...."

The details of withdrawal were initially agreed to but then rejected by the PLO's "leftist" allies. Even though the PLO and Fatah controlled most of the troops in the Metn Mountains, they found themselves politically hamstrung in making the withdrawal. Consequently they staged a "fighting withdrawal" cutting their losses and preserving men and equipment.

Part of the deal worked out between Fatah and Damascus was that Syrian troops would occupy non-Maronite communities in order to forestall the usual savage butchery committed by both Maronite and Muslim militias whenever either side conquers a town. However, a Maronite militia was the first to arrive at Silima, a village in the southwest corner of the Metn Mountains area, which has a large Druse population living alongside the predominantly Greek Orthodox Christian community. Those Druses unable to flee were massacred.

Since the Syrian army has a large Druse component, this engendered the beginnings of a cleavage in the Syrian-Maronite alliance. Further, the next campaign took the Syrian army into the Chouf, a region south of the Metn Mountains where Jumblat has his stronghold among the 350,000 Druses. But as the Syrians and Maronites began a campaign that was to stop only at the gates of Jumblat's home base in Alieh, the "progressive socialist" patriarch was off in Paris begging for the re-intervention of Lebanon's old colonial masters and architects of the "confessional system" which led to the present hideous civil war.

### The Myth of the "Muslim Left"

The bourgeois press has created the myth of the "Muslim left," a myth also perpetrated by fake-left organizations. Unquestionably the Maronite military organizations are right-wing: the Phalangists of Pierre Gemeyal which are modeled after the Hitler youth movement are considered "moderate" compared to the private militias of former Lebanese presidents Chamoun and Franjieh. One particularly ultra-rightist Maronite organization, the Guards of the Cedars led by Abu Arz, explicitly calls for driving the Palestinians out of Lebanon. At a recent press conference Abu Arz said it was the duty of every Lebanese to kill at least one Palestinian.

But the so-called "Muslim left" is composed of several organizations which are no more left-wing than the Phalangists. The Lebanese-based Syrian Social Nationalist Party, which is claimed as part of this "left," is as much inspired by European fascism as are the Phalangists. Jumblat's Progressive Socialist Party is ethnically based on the Druse communities of the Chouf. Actual left-wing Lebanese organizations recruit heavily from those minorities which are the most alienated from the confessional system, e.g., the leadership of the Communist Party of Lebanon is predominately Greek Orthodox.

The diverse organizations in this

"left" are not even united by their opposition to Maronite privilege or defense of the Palestinians, as is often claimed. Against Sarkis they supported the traditional right-wing Maronite politician, Raymond Edde, who during the sixties was a close political ally of both Gemeyal and Chamoun in the so-called Triple Alliance.

A disgusting example of apologetics for the PLO leadership and the Muslim "left" is provided by the Socialist Workers Party (SWP). After the PLO's fake battle and negotiated retreat from the Metn the SWP, echoing Arafat's emotional demagogy, wrote:

> "The whole Palestinian community in Lebanon is in deadly danger. Whatever Assad's intentions—and there is good reason to assume the worst—his policy in Lebanon will lead inexorably to a bloody massacre if it succeeds."
> —*Intercontinental Press*, 11 October 1976

And we also read that "the pro-imperialist forces now threaten the last short section of the Beirut-to-Damascus highway still in the hands of the Palestinians and Muslim leftists." Presumably the SWP now includes Syria among the "pro-imperialist forces," although in the 1967 and 1973 Arab-Israel wars it was, for the SWP, an "anti-imperialist" force. Among the "Muslim leftists" it includes the perennial friend of French imperialism, Jumblat.

Ledru/Sygma

**Maronite youth atop armored personnel carrier.**

But all of the contending forces in the Lebanese civil war are rapacious nationalists. A victory for any of the constantly shifting alliances would result in mass murder and oppression for the defeated communal groups. None of the forces—including the Palestinians and so-called "Muslim left"—are waging a just war of national liberation. As Leninists, we call for revolutionary defeatism on *all* sides in this squalid inter-communal war, while advocating self-defense for *all* communities threatened by sectarian terror and while opposing foreign intervention in Lebanon.

### Arabian Kings Intervene

The collapse of an effective state power in Lebanon due to the civil war set the stage for the Syrian invasion last spring and summer. Damascus' war aim, fully supported by the leaders of the "Arab world" (most importantly by the hereditary rulers of the oil-rich Arabian peninsula) was essentially negative: to prevent the Palestinians from achieving military dominance, which might provoke an Israeli invasion spilling over into the surrounding Arab states.

The Syrians decisively defeated the PLO forces by mid-October. Further advances by the Syrians at this point could only engender confrontations with the concentrated masses of the Lebanese Muslim and Palestinian populations. Thereupon Syria's wealthy Islamic backers called a halt. Saudi Arabian king Khalid demanded the presence in Riyadh of the Arab rulers directly involved in the Lebanese war for a six-member summit.

Since Saudi Arabia bankrolls Syria's arms purchases from the Soviet Union, and closely allied Kuwait provides the

Gamma

**Kamal Jumblat**

petroleum to keep the Syrian tanks rolling across the Levant, it is evident that Syrian president Assad was under more than moral pressure to attend. The Damascus generals are currently shelling out $1 million a day for their military adventure, and they would rapidly go bankrupt were it not for the drippings they receive from the sheikdom oil royalties.

Egypt's Anwar Sadat, the villain of the "Sinai sellout" who has since become the verbal "protector" of Palestinian refugees in Lebanon, was also invited. This was the first meeting between Assad and Sadat since the U.S.-engineered and supervised Sinai Agreement was signed one year ago. Also invited was newly elected Lebanese president Sarkis and PLO leader Arafat. (As consolation in its hour of bloody defeat, the PLO was recently made a full member of the Arab League.)

After two days of haggling the six conferees signed a peace plan which expanded the Arab League-sponsored "peacekeeping force" in Lebanon from 2,500 to 30,000 in order to enforce compliance with the Cairo Agreement of 1969. The Cairo Agreement was concluded after a series of large-scale confrontations between the then-intact Lebanese Army, supported by Maronite militias, and the Palestinian commandos. It called for limiting the commandos' weaponry to small arms and their restriction to the refugee camps or operations in the Arkub, an area in the foothills of Mount Hermon adjacent to the Golan Heights in southeast Lebanon (popularly known as "Fatahland"). But even the poorly armed and organized Palestinian refugees could stand off the ineffectual Lebanese Army and the then much smaller Maronite gangs, so the Cairo Agreement was never enforced.

In order to give the Riyadh peace plan additional sanctity, it was ratified at a full meeting of the 22-member Arab League in Cairo the following week with only Iraq and Libya in opposition. However, Syria was reassured that the largest component of the 30,000-member "peacekeeping" force would come from its 23,000 troops already in Lebanon who would need only to paint their helmets and tanks white to be transformed.

### Israel's "Open Borders"

Ironically, in the context of Israel's "open borders" campaign, enforcement of the Cairo Agreement to "tame" the Palestinian guerrilla movement pushes the PLO and Syria into conflict with the Zionist regime. For many years Israel has been covertly aiding the right-wing Maronite armed gangs. But during the Lebanese civil war it has directly intervened by patrolling the southern Lebanese coast (hence access to Saida), seizing or sinking ships it suspected of bringing supplies to the Muslim/PLO forces, and by providing direct logistical, communications and artillery sup-

*continued on page 10*

## Union Bureaucrats Pave the Way

# Anti-Labor Laws Pass in S.F.

### *Chavez' Prop 14 Meets Stinging Defeat*

SAN FRANCISCO, November 4—Nearly all the union-busting, wage-cutting amendments to the city charter placed on the ballot by the labor-hating S.F. Board of Supervisors won approval by wide margins in Tuesday's voting.

Proposition B, which requires the immediate dismissal of all city workers who engage in strikes, or who "cause, instigate or afford leadership to a strike" passed by a vote of 136,040 to 91,134. Other anti-union measures to slash wages and retirement benefits (Propositions D and L); to sub-contract work out to private companies, i.e., scab outfits (Proposition J); and to refer deadlocked pay disputes to a voter referendum (Proposition O) passed by similar margins.

The passage of such vicious and reactionary laws is a defeat not only for the San Francisco city workers unions but for the entire labor movement. These measures are just part of the price for the abject surrender by the leaders of the city workers strike last May.

### Prepare for Strike Action!

The capitalist city government now imagines it has "the big club" to completely tame the city workers unions. This is not true! As the Spartacist League (SL) pointed out in a leaflet directed to the striking city workers last May: "New York City had...a no-strike law called the Condon-Wadlin Act which said that any city employee who went on strike would be fired. This law was *ignored* and *broken* by two big strikes of city workers: the welfare workers in 1965 and TWU transit workers strike in January 1966. Not one worker was ever fired! No law has ever stopped working people from striking when they hold their ground" (SL leaflet, 5 May 1976).

Steps must be undertaken immediately to prepare S.F. city workers and the rest of the Bay Area labor movement for a solid general strike against this outrage! Smash the anti-labor laws through strike action!

Yet there is a real obstacle to a determined struggle against these laws. Now as last May, it is the treacherous, servile, corrupt, cowardly, incompetent and pro-capitalist misleaders of the trade unions who block the road to victory.

During the whole period leading up to the elections the leadership of the San Francisco labor movement did next to nothing to mobilize a fight against the city government's anti-labor offenses. Instead of organizing the unions for strike action, or even calling a mass labor demonstration against the capitalist union-busting drive, the labor bureaucrats were content to limit themselves to distributing some placid literature urging a "no" vote on the anti-labor propositions.

In fact, their main activity during the election was not directed against the Board of Supervisors' anti-union onslaught at all, but consisted of hustling votes for the racist, right-to-work Democratic Party candidate for president, Jimmy Carter.

Now Jimmy Carter has won the election. But in office he will prove no more a "friend of labor" than the overwhelmingly Democratic S.F. Board of Supervisors, most of whom the Central Labor Council tops supported as "lesser evils" in the last election. The labor fakers were thanked for their support by a kick in the teeth.

Union militants must make no mistake about it—if there is a mass confrontation between the San Francisco labor movement and the city government, Carter will come to the aid of his capitalist class brothers in trying to crush the strike.

The experience of last April and May, and all that has happened since, shows that to smash the city government's anti-labor onslaught means to wage a struggle to dump the pro-capitalist leaders of the city workers unions.

It is only necessary to note that both the California AFL-CIO and the San Francisco Central Labor Council last month gave a vote of thanks to supervisor John Barbagelata, architect of the current union-busting drive, because Barbagelata voted against the city's impeachment of Joe Mazzola of the Plumbers Union from the S.F. Airport Commission.

The misleadership of the San Francisco Central Labor Council is typical of the entire American trade-union bureaucracy. It is certainly no less gross, for example, than Cesar Chavez' reliance on the bosses' government, especially the capitalist Democratic Party, to advance the interests of the farm workers. Yet Chavez' pet project, Proposition 14—which the UFW tried to sell by pointing out that not only did it grant union organizers access rights to the fields, but it also provided for stiffer penalties for "unfair labor practices" for *both* the unions and the employers!—met a stinging defeat by a vote of 4,733,577 to 2,880,215.

We repeat: determined strike action is required to smash the San Francisco anti-labor laws. Militants in the city workers unions must take up the difficult task of preparing the union ranks for such a strike while conducting the necessary struggle to remove the class-collaborationist leaderships of these unions who stand as treacherous obstacles to such action. *Smash the S.F. Anti-Labor Laws Through a Solid City-Wide Strike! Oust the "Friend-Of-Capitalism" Labor Bureaucracy!*

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## Free Bukovsky/Gluzman/Müller, Yes! Anti-Communism, No!

# French CP Backs Liberal Anti-Soviet Meeting

PARIS—Several thousand people filled the Mutualité meeting hall here on October 21 to hear speakers representing a wide range of organizations denounce political repression in Latin America, the USSR and Czechoslovakia. The meeting was organized on behalf of six victimized militants, equally divided between political dissidents in the Soviet bloc and victims of Latin American military dictatorships.

The most prominent of the Soviet dissidents was Vladimir Bukovsky, sentenced to 12 years in a prison camp for having protested the detention of dissidents in "psychiatric hospitals." Semyon Gluzman is a Soviet psychiatrist sentenced to ten years for having contested the testimony of government "psychiatric experts" against jailed Red Army general Pyotr Grigorenko, while J. Müller was a leader of the Prague student movement who is now serving his fourth year of a six-year sentence in Czechoslovakia.

The Latin American militants are: José-Luis Massera, a mathematician and member of the Uruguayan Communist Party; V. López Arias, a Bolivian miners' leader interned in Chile; and Edgardo Enríquez, a leader of the Chilean MIR who was arrested in Buenos Aires and handed over to the junta in Chile (where his fate is unknown).

The rally was organized by the Committee of Mathematicians, whose previous campaign on behalf of Leonid Plyushch was instrumental in obtaining the release of this Ukrainian dissident from a "psychiatric hospital" in the USSR last year. Among the 13 speakers were Plyushch himself, exiled Czech dissident Jiri Pelikan, a Socialist Party (PS) leader as well as representatives of PS-influenced labor federations, a speaker from Amnesty International and Gaullist Pierre Emmanuel. But the star of the show was Pierre Juquin representing the French Communist Party (PCF).

The PCF's participation—in keeping with its carefully increased distance from Moscow under the rubric of "socialism in French colors"—was not secured without a certain amount of squirming. On September 14 the Committee of Mathematicians had solicited participation of both the Communist Party and the PCF-dominated trade-union federation (CGT). The CGT, for its part, promptly responded with a refusal dated September 16 which took exception to "the scandalous attempts to put on the same plane the governments of the socialist countries and those of the fascist countries of Latin America," and decrying "any confusion between those whose only objective is to defend freedoms anywhere in the world where they are jeopardized and those whose exclusive concern is to undertake a systematic anti-Soviet campaign" (*Le Monde*, 31 October-1 November). Two weeks later the party itself declined the invitation.

But on 14 October *L'Humanité* published a letter by the PCF's Gaston Plissonnier which—while complaining that the PCF had never been consulted in the planning of the meeting and found itself faced with a "fait accompli"—requested that a PCF speaker be given "speaking time which will allow him to clearly present the viewpoint of our party."

Juquin began his speech with a reference to the 22nd PCF Congress which committed itself to "socialism à la française." In the usual Stalinist social-patriotic style, he praised the USSR: "What Frenchman does not remember the twenty million deaths endured by the Soviet peoples in the war against fascism and for the freedom of the peoples of Europe?"

The PCF has been moving toward openly competing for the social democrats' mantle of "democratic socialism" since 1968, when it took polite exception to the Russian invasion of Czechoslovakia. Last year, after a good deal of foot-dragging, it came out for Plyushch—no doubt a major factor in his release. Juquin indignantly proclaimed:

> "We cannot accept that there are, in the USSR or in Czechoslovakia, citizens who are prosecuted, jailed, interned for having expressed their opinions We will never accept, in any country whatsoever, that the name of socialism is invoked for methods which violate human rights.... For us, socialism and freedom are synonymous."
>
> —*L'Humanité*, 22 October 1976

In a clear slap at the social democrats, Juquin explicitly denounced the West German SPD's purge of Communists from government jobs. He boasted:

> "Our history is marked by our initiatives, campaigns, struggles, sacrifices for the cause of freedom. How many times have we had to struggle—alone—against anti-working-class repression?"

He recalled the massacre of a half million Communists in Indonesia and the execution of the Rosenbergs during the McCarthyite witchhunt.

Juquin's democratic hypocrisy provoked an occasional outburst from the politically wildly heterogeneous audience, which responded with chants of "Budapest, Budapest!" to his reference to the CPSU's 1956 self-criticism of the crimes of the Stalin era.

Attempting to navigate the thin ice of PCF criticism of the USSR, Juquin threw in a saving clause:

> "One cannot put on the same plane countries like the USSR and Uruguay! Democrats cannot confuse the violence used by the exploiters, the colonialists, the fascists to oppose the march of freedom in the world and the problems, however severe and lamentable they may be, which crop up in the course of this march itself...."

He praised the USSR for liberating its people from "hunger, illness, ignorance" and for its assistance "to the national liberation movement throughout the world, from China to Angola."

These sops were not enough to defuse the Kremlin's outrage at its French namesake. The official news service Tass blasted the PCF for "participating in a dirty venture of this type. Whatever its motives and considerations, the speech delivered at the Mutualité gives support only to forces utterly hostile to the ideas of liberty, democracy and socialism...." Tass denounced the lumping together of victims of rightist repression in Latin America and victims of Stalinist repression in the Soviet bloc as "a provocative attempt to confuse the real combatants for liberty and social progress, held in fascist prisons, with the hate-filled anti-Sovietists who are fighting against the socialist system." It characterized the meeting's organizers as "known for their anti-Soviet and anti-Communist opinions" and the meeting as "an attempt to stir up a new wave of propaganda hostile to the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, to strike a blow at international détente" (*Le Monde*, 24-25 October).

Rouge

**Leonid Plyushch, right, greeting PCF representative Pierre Juquin at October meeting in Paris.**

The Moscow *Literaturnaya Gazeta* followed up the Tass attack with a diatribe claiming that Bukovsky had been prosecuted not for his ideas but for having "distributed documents aimed at weakening Soviet power." It added that if the jailed "Chilean democrats" had been at the Mutualité meeting, "they would have believed that this rally had been specially organized to revamp bloody fascism and compromise the movement of international solidarity, in the forefront of which stands the Soviet Union" (*Le Monde*, 28 October).

*L'Humanité* of 23 October responded:

> "It is true that all of the meeting's organizers are not animated by pure intentions, as Pierre Juquin emphasized as well. But the PC's attitude does not lend itself to the slightest confusion.... To criticize some aspect of the Soviet reality which is open to criticism is not anti-Sovietism."
>
> —*Le Monde*, 24-25 October

*L'Humanité* also announced that the PCF was preparing 6 million copies of Juquin's speech for distribution.

PCF head Georges Marchais defended his party's participation in the meeting as in keeping with the line of the 22nd PCF Congress "on the problems concerning socialist democracy" and added, "Nothing will make us budge a step from this line" (*L'Humanité*, 25 October). Both the PCF and CGT head Georges Séguy shrugged off as insignificant their divergent policies on the October 21 rally (*Le Monde*, 31 October-1 November).

The spectacular participation of the Communist Party was not the only noteworthy component of the meeting's political coloration. Conspicuous by its absence was the ostensibly Trotskyist Organisation Communiste Internationaliste (OCI), which had previously maintained the warmest of relations with the Committee of Mathematicians and its animating spirit, Nobel laureate Laurent Schwartz. The OCI, which had participated actively in the campaign around Leonid Plyushch, initially publicized the October 21 meeting but then began to downplay it.

At the meeting the OCI distributed a leaflet publicizing its own Mutualité meeting on Eastern Europe, which will feature Plyushch along with OCI leaders and others. Carefully phrased to give the appearance of support to the October 21 rally, the leaflet actually skirted the question, stating only:

> "The OCI gave its unconditional support to the Committee of Mathematicians in the battle of united mobilization which compelled the Kremlin's governments to free L. Plyushch. The OCI thinks that this meeting can and should vote a motion...."

The OCI's report on the meeting (*Informations Ouvrières*, 27 October-4 November) with singularly bad grace takes the press to task for the publicity afforded Juquin and correctly denounces the Stalinist PCF's democratic posture as a fraud. However, it makes no mention of the OCI's own apparent eclipse in the organization of the meeting. In fact, its article is rather less informative than the account in the LCR's *Rouge* (21 October), which contains an analogous catalogue of the crimes of Stalinism but takes a positive tone, saluting the participation of the PCF and merely demanding that the PCF support the Polish strikers.

It would appear that the squeezing out of the OCI was formalized at an October 11 planning meeting, only a few days before the PCF reversed its decision to boycott the rally. The reasons for the cooling off between Schwartz and the OCI are obscure but it may be that, as the PS milieu was

*continued on page 10*

# Imperialist Chief...

*(continued from page 1)*

professional Navy man. Carter is a product of Annapolis, America's most elite military academy. He spent 11 years in a promising naval career, working directly under Admiral Hyman Rickover on a top-secret job developing prototypes for the first search-and-destroy nuclear submarines.

Carter is no dirt farmer, but a senior partner in a highly successful agribusiness enterprise which clears $2.5 million annually. He has a personal fortune of nearly a million dollars, and his economic policies reflect the gut-level conservatism of a small businessman who "made it."

The liberals' cynical prating about a revamped "New Deal" is grafted onto Carter's opposition to public works programs, the liberals' traditional panacea for unemployment. He has instead made flashy promises of federal subsidies to private business for the purpose of instituting job-training programs. But it is not lack of training which keeps working people unemployed; the machines they could be working are gathering dust as more that one-quarter of America's productive capacity lies idle, the result of structural contradictions in the capitalist economy, which neither Carter nor Ford can do a thing to alter. The most the U.S. public can expect from Carter is a tax rebate such as that delivered by the Republicans in 1975.

Despite ritual obeisance to détente, Carter's foreign policy promises to be more openly anti-Communist than that of his predecessor. His most prominent foreign policy advisor, Zbigniew Brzezinski of Columbia University (an upper-class Roman Catholic from Poland, already promised a top job in the Carter administration), propounds a Dulles-era "roll back the Reds" policy towards Eastern Europe. The USSR was noticeably cooler toward Democrat Carter than toward Nixon or Ford, sensing that the president-elect—drawing together such Democratic cold-warriors as Brzezinski and former "defense" secretary James Schlesinger—is in direct line with the appetites of large sections of the American bourgeoisie to step up economic and military pressure against the deformed workers states.

The debate over what to do with Yugoslavia after Tito dies revealed the extent to which the rivals for commander-in-chief of U.S. imperialism—despite their talk of détente—are in fundamental agreement over the "right" of the U.S. bourgeoisie to intervene wherever, whenever, however it sees fit, and their open espousal of reconquering the Soviet bloc states as a fruitful market for moribund capitalism. While much hypocritical moralizing and arrogant racist contempt greeted madman Idi Amin's threat to invade Israel by marching his Ugandan army across Africa, the assumption by America's rulers that they can plunder the world at will is different only because of the U.S. bourgeoisie's ominous power to carry out its revanchist dreams of conquest.

As the Democratic faithful trek toward Washington to demand a share of the spoils of victory, presenting their credentials as certified betrayers of various plebeian constituencies, the working people, unemployed and blacks who voted Democratic this year can expect nothing but large doses of "god and love" bombast, continued unemployment and quite possibly wage controls. We are in for four years of a solid Democratic Congress and a Democratic president, and unless an organized and conscious working class intervenes to challenge capitalist rule, things to come will be as bad as they ever were. ■

## London Meeting:

# Forward to the Rebirth of the Fourth International!

LONDON—The London Spartacist Group held its first public forum here Friday, October 29, with James Robertson speaking on the topic "Toward Rebirth of the Fourth International." Over 50 people attended the meeting, and after the presentation a lively discussion ensued in which many in the audience participated.

Comrade Robertson began his talk by contrasting the reality of the class struggle in Britain with the feeble response of the left: red sand-box "politics" consisting of each pursuing its own pet project and ignoring the central issues facing the British proletariat today. In a country saddled with a wage-freezing Social Contract, bounding inflation and corresponding devaluing currency, the response of the groups of the British left has been to set up sideshows on the fringes.

"Just look at them: the Healyites with their interminable 'right to work' marches across the country; the imitative International Socialists who want to prove that they're just a more left-wing version of the Communist Party; the International Marxist Group (IMG) with its campaigns against cuts in public spending; and the Workers Socialist League (WSL), which has conveniently forgotten its rhetoric about the Transitional Programme in a reformist Campaign for Democracy in the unions."

Meanwhile, the speaker noted, a people who are at the bottom of the heap in all of West and Central Europe are suddenly going to take an additional 25 percent cut in their living standards. This is the great social fact of life which is blowing Britain sky-high. "And that's why the union leaders are screaming that it's a foreign conspiracy of Swiss, Jewish and American bankers—because they're about to get a giant explosion in their own ranks. That's why we have a central orientation, not on withdrawal from Ireland, not on the Common Market, and so on, but on this massive cut in the standard of living of the British working class."

In the United States social discontent has been accumulating for a number of years, but it is not possible to predict when these tensions will erupt. In Britain, however, one can see a massive explosion coming and practically name the month when it will occur. The financiers and Labour government leaders already got a bad scare in September when, despite massive pressure from the Trades Union Congress, the Seamen's Union nearly struck to break the Social Contract.

"Now the workers are going to go through Christmas. They're going to have a cold New Year's and by February there ought to be ripping hell in Britain," the speaker noted. "Break the Social Contract—that's the key question now. And with a Labour government in power to take responsibility for what they've done, because they did it."

What alternative is there for Britain, he asked. A "National Government" as the Tories are proposing? But a coalition government will not get Labour off the hook—there is the hideous example of Chile, where a left-leaning social democracy in a popular front failed to do its job for world capitalism. If the National Front were not anti-union, the speaker added, the British working class might have to content with a burgeoning fascist movement now.

The opportunities for Trotskyists in Britain recently have been in a couple of militant miners' strikes, and the attempt of a wing of the seamen to break the wage freeze. "But if you break that, given the archaic and incompetent character of the British bourgeoisie and industry, the dictatorship of the proletariat is the immediate answer. There's nothing in between, and Britain can't exist the way it is. Only a fascist government is a significant alternative to the dictatorship of the proletariat, because everything is so compressed. So it's posed point-blank."

Concerning Ireland, the speaker said, we demand the immediate, unconditional withdrawal of British troops, no matter what the consequences. "And they will be awful. People think there's something terrible now—they don't know what sectarian civil war is. But it is not our responsibility to maintain the 'democratic, liberationary' presence of British troops." The question is whose blood is going to flow and along what axis the struggles will be fought, but the beginning is British troops out.

The Spartacist tendency, he noted, links withdrawal of British troops with our call for anti-sectarian workers militias based on the trade unions, as a working-class defence against mass terror, orange or green. "We object to the bombing of the masses in the name of national liberation." The speaker emphasised that the majority of the British left tends to prettify the Provisional wing of the IRA, glossing over atrocities like the bombing of workingmen's pubs in order to tail petty-bourgeois nationalist guerrillaism.

The Irish Labourite politician Conor Cruise O'Brien made an important statement revealing that elements in the southern Irish government saw Marxist currents growing in the IRA and so they encouraged Catholic clericals to take control and create a split. "What they got is a real nationalist movement, which doesn't just sit in the pubs and talk about how Protestant and Catholic workers will unite. The Provos' nationalism is not different from Chiang Kai-shek's Chinese nationalism and Pilsudski's Polish nationalism!"

Passing to international questions, Comrade Robertson noted that it seems to have become the fashion lately to publish histories of the 1951-53 split in the Fourth International. The first recent attempt was written by the Chartist group, and the best of the crop is a document by Frank Richards in *Revolutionary Communist* (May 1975), although many of the quotes seem to have been cribbed from our "Genesis of Pabloism" (*Spartacist* No. 21, Fall 1972). This interest is a good thing, the speaker remarked, because it means that militants are making an attempt to come to terms with their history on an international level.

"Even the backward, fake-Trotskyist movement in Britain can no longer hide from the history of international Trotskyism, and above all the split between the SWP and Pablo, and what happened to the RCP [Revolutionary Communist Party]." A recent account in the IMG's *Red Weekly* (7 October) of the rise of Gerry Healy attempts to hybridise the history, praising Healy wherever he was most rotten and most successful, notably his deep entrism in the Labour Party.

Concommitantly there has been a flurry of international maneuvering by groups on the left fringe of the United Secretariat (USec), and an attempt to set up a new "London Bureau" of diverse centrist currents. This is the "Necessary Initiative" spawned by Roberto Massari's FMR in Italy, the Spartacusbund in Germany and the International Communist League in Britain. By their call to rebuild or reconstruct the Fourth International (consciously opposed to the international Spartacist tendency's call for the *rebirth* of the FI), they indicate their desire to remain within the USec orbit. And with their numerous differences, both internationally and within the national groups, this rotten bloc will dissolve at the first test.

The speaker noted that the pre-revolutionary situation in Portugal illuminated all the crevices and fissures in the United Secretariat. Counterposed documents by Hansen (for the minority) and Mandel (for the majority) published in *Intercontinental Press* (15 December 1975) show the minority faction as truly Kautskyan. The Mandel document makes a strong pretense of orthodox Leninism, except on the question of the party where it is infused with the USec's "broad vanguard" tailism. Of course,

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# Argentine Junta Unable to Stifle Workers' Unrest

NOVEMBER 8—Early last month Argentine president General Jorge Videla and about 50 other dignitaries had no sooner ended a ceremony at the Campo de Mayo army base and stepped down from the reviewing stand than a powerful bomb explosion demolished it. Ironically retired army General Eduardo Catan, chairman of the army communications committee, had just delivered a speech describing the government's decisive victory over the guerrillas that had allegedly reduced their capabilities to mere scattered acts of "indiscriminate" terrorism.

To emphasize that they were far from

Economist

**Dictator Videla**

liquidated (though certainly weakened by the junta's blows), left-wing guerrillas set off more than 100 explosive devices in and around Buenos Aires on Sunday night, October 17 (a traditional Peronist holiday). But the military rulers have a more fundamental threat to preoccupy them: Argentine workers are unwilling and unable to remain passive in the face of the government's assault. In September auto workers struck for wage increases, spitting on the 12 percent pittance the government offered in the face of a more than 67 percent decline in real wages over the last year. Though troops suppressed the strike, the explosive potential of such confrontations was evident.

A few days after Videla's close call at Campo de Mayo, Buenos Aires electricity plant workers began a strike that threatened the power supply of the nation's capital. Carrying out the junta's policy of rationalizing public enterprises by firing "dispensable" workers, the state-owned SEGBA power company sparked the conflict October 4 with the dismissal of more than 200 workers, including the entire union executive committee and a large number of stewards. For almost a month the workers of the formerly powerful but now outlawed Luz y Fuerza union fought back in self-defense.

The 7,000 workers responded with work slowdowns and sitdowns throughout Buenos Aires. Though electric service continued, strike action combined with incidents and threats of sabotage stopped practically all administrative work, emergency service and attention to the public. The strike immediately spread to the privately owned Italo-Argentina power company and by the middle of the month was quite generalized, despite the *gorilas'* (militarists) repeated ultimatims alternating with announcement of "normalization."

Troops occupied power stations ejecting some strikers and forcing others to work at gunpoint. About 180 were arrested and later released. On October 8 the strike gained renewed momentum when three electricity workers were kidnapped by an armed gang and beaten and tortured before being released. Videla threatened the strikers with prison terms of up to 10 years under provisions of the September edict against striking auto workers (see "Argentine Auto Workers Defy Military Dictatorship," *WV* No. 125, 17 September). Following the presidential communiqué October 14 warning that the government would use all means at its disposal to end the strike, explosions at two of the power stations occupied by troops caused power cuts in industrial districts.

By the end of the month the army had reportedly smashed the strike—at least 40 workers had been fired for their role in the strike and around 500 had been punitively suspended. But it was clearly not the end of labor resistance to the junta. Military officials were quite disturbed by the evident support for the strikers' tactics both from the ousted Luz y Fuerza union leadership and the clandestine General Labor Federation in the Resistance (CGTR). To demonstrate its effective its effectiveness the CGTR held a week of protests from October 17 to 24: "lightning strikes," slowdowns, work-to-rules and absenteeism.

The status quo in Argentina continues to be escalating repression, and the internal military power struggle between "moderates" and "hard-liners" goes on. *Le Monde* estimates a minimum of 30 kidnappings by rightist death squads a day, though they may no longer ostentatiously sign their work with the insignia of the Argentine Anti-Communist Alliance (AAA) or the "Comandos Libertadores de América." Notorious hard-line right-winger General Ramon Diaz Bessone is now the ranking cabinet member and was deputized last week to replace Videla during temporary absences.

Nevertheless the guerrilla groups continue to be a thorn in the side of the military and the ruling class. *Latin America* (8 October) articulates the concern:

> "The political importance of the continuing high level of guerrilla activity in Argentina is that it would be impossible without massive popular resistance to the military junta. There is an evident contradiction between the government's claim that the Montoneros and Ejército Revolucionario del Pueblo (ERP) are small bands of ultra-leftists, controlled from abroad and without popular support, on the one hand, and the need for massive repression to eliminate them, on the other. A recent study published with the evident cooperation of the army, in the new magazine *Somos*, suggested that when the army began its operations in Tucumán in February 1975..., almost 50 per cent of the population collaborated with the guerrillas."

The article goes on to say regarding Tucumán that while the ERP's operational capacity may have been sharply curtailed, the fact that the army is resorting to a Vietnam-style "counterinsurgency" program calls into question the army's claim to victory, not to mention their casualty statistics achieved by executing political prisoners.

However, even though the guerrillas may have broad sympathy among the workers and economically hard-hit petty bourgeoisie—and the very fact

Stern

**Striking auto workers demonstrating outside Mercedes-Benz headquarters in Buenos Aires last year.**

that they continue to operate is a notable contrast to conditions in neighboring Chile—at best they will be unable to smash the ruthless military rulers. Far higher levels of urban terrorism by Peronist unionists in the late 1950's were unable to bring down even less determined military regimes.

The left-Peronist and Castroite enthusiasts of guerrillaist protracted war, on the other hand, practically hailed the Videla junta, since it largely eliminated their competition from left-wing parties and militant unionists and allowed the guerrillas to "get down to business" with a nakedly repressive regime. For instance, in the 3 March issue of *El Combatiente*, PRT/ERP leader Mario Roberto Santucho wrote of the imminent coup:

> "The PRT [Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores] also maintains that the fundamental issue is not to fear the military coup because, as we have pointed out before, the step which the military intends to take is an irrational adventure condemned beforehand to a resounding failure....
>
> "... Each crime and abuse will generate greater resistance.... In short, the military dictatorship will be completely isolated, confronting a determined people who will rise up massively in favor of the revolutionary struggle...."

At the time we compared this criminal, ostrich-like "after Videla, us" optimism to Stalin's treacherous immobility in the face of Hitler's rise to power in the early 1930's (see "The Bloody Repression Behind 'Gentlemen's Coup' in Argentina," *WV* No. 110, 21 May).

Though class-collaborationist Stalinist illusions continue to form the foundation of the PRT/ERP's politics, Santucho did endeavor a revealing "self-criticism" a few months after the coup:

> "When we analyzed the perspective of a military coup, shortly before and after March 24, we made an error to the extent that we did not see that the repressive fury would at first weaken the people's struggle, therefore making more difficult mass mobilization and guerrilla activity. To the extent that we did not foresee a temporary retreat of the workers and mass mobilization and instead gave the impression that the masses would immediately react powerfully against the dictatorship, and the dictatorship would be immediately isolated internationally, and that moreover there would be a rapid approach of the democratic forces toward the revolutionary camp, we proved to be ideologically and organizationally insufficient for the new national situation."
>
> —*El Combatiente*, 9 June 1976

The PRT/ERP paid a high price for these illusions: six weeks later Santucho was slaughtered by government forces and much of the group's central leadership was destroyed.

On the other hand, the PST (Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores) of Nahuel Moreno has done an about-face of its own. Previously it had condemned left-wing guerrillas as the "mirror image" of the AAA in a grovelling attempt to demonstrate its respectability to the Peronist government, whose continuity it pledged to defend. The PST had been formed through a fusion with a wing of the moribund Argentine social democracy, and was internationally linked with the American SWP in the reformist minority faction of the fake-Trotskyist "United Secretariat." But now chances for electoral activity are nil and the PST is in the process of switching over to the centrist international majority of the USec, so its theoretician Nahuel Moreno has softened his line on guerrillaism.

In an interview in the Portuguese PRT's *Combate Socialista* (15 October) Moreno writes that:

> "We disagree with Montonero [left-Peronist] terrorism, but it cannot be excluded that if the petty bourgeoisie continues to radicalize and there is no historic defeat of the proletariat and the people, the Montonero guerrilla struggle may become the expression of a wing of this process of radicalization."

It's not yet a Mandelite-Castroite line, but this is quite a distance from the PST's previous virulently anti-guerrilla tirades, which were infused with social-democratic legalism; in the elliptical language of USec polemics this is clearly intended to open the door for a qualified approval of guerrillaism under certain circumstances. Has the PST itself undergone a "process of radicalization" under the impact of the March 24 coup? Moreno should like to have us think that it's just a question of changed circumstances.

It was one thing, he says, when the ERP and Montoneros attacked a government "elected by 75 percent of the population and supported by 95 percent of the population..."; "it's something completely different [when]... there exists today a dictatorial regime, without a bourgeois-democratic margin...." Today the Montoneros' activity is "inserted in the general

struggle against a reactionary government." For all his talk of how a military dictatorship supposedly changes everything, it should be recalled that Moreno has opposed guerrillaism since 1968 (before that he was an enthusiastic armchair guerrillaist), and there were reactionary military dictatorships in Argentina from 1968 to 1973. It is not only the political climate that has changed—Moreno's factional maneuvers are equally important in explaining this shift.

In the same interview, Moreno goes to some length to assert that the Videla junta is not another Pinochet regime, that "although quite reactionary, it is obliged to concede certain legal margins from time to time." The Videla coup is "not a historic defeat for the Argentine proletariat," he adds. The "proof" is that there is still large-scale working-class resistance (the auto and electricity workers' strikes) and so far no mass unemployment.

In past articles we nave pointed to examples of working-class protest in

Avanzada Socialista

**Nahuel Moreno**

Argentina as a sign that possibilities for mass resistance to the junta butchers still exist. Moreover, we indicated that there might be a drawn-out shift to the right. But we urgently pointed to the stepped up tempo of assassinations by the anti-communist death squads and the threat posed to left-wing political refugees in particular; we warned that behind Videla there stood numerous bloodthirsty Pinochetistas straining at the bit.

Why does Moreno make this distinction? He mentions the fact—as a proof of "margins of legality" under Videla—that the legally recognized parties have not been outlawed (only declared "in recess"), *except for the PST*. Is Moreno angling to obtain the "tolerated" status of the Communist Party and the bourgeois parties? In any case it is dangerously disorienting to make a sharp distinction between Pinochet and Videla.

While warning against the illusions spread by Moreno & Co. in the "margins of legality" tolerated by the military dictatorship (similar to the PST's earlier illusions in the "democracy" of the bonapartist Perón regime), and exposing their shifting attitude toward guerrillaism (in contrast to the Spartacist tendency's opposition to guerrillaism from the standpoint of proletarian mass mobilization, not social-democratic bourgeois legalism), we also call for the defense of PST and other left-wing victims of junta repression. It has been reported recently (*Intercontinental Press*, 25 October) that at least four PST militants have been assassinated under the junta, and scores more have disappeared. Among those arrested, two of the most prominent are PST auto workers' leader José Páez and metal workers' leader Arturo Apaza. Socialists and union militants throughout the world must take up their cause. Free Páez and Apaza and all class-war prisoners in Argentina!■

# Reformist Opposition Takes UAW to Bosses' Court

DETROIT, November 8—As the 6 p.m. bargaining deadline approached Friday more than 25,000 United Auto Workers (UAW) members at Chrysler plants in the U.S. and Canada walked off the job early, demonstrating their eagerness for militant strike action against the third-largest auto manufacturer. But with only minutes to spare, UAW president Leonard Woodcock and the union's Chrysler division vice president Doug Fraser announced a tentative agreement with the company, which to no one's surprise is virtually the same as the miserable Ford pact negotiated a month earlier.

Just to make sure the membership didn't get any funny ideas about voting down the contract, local agreements at 69 Chrysler installations were extended. Solidarity House also announced that if local strikes do occur, they will be staggered in order to guarantee continuous production.

As thousands of Chrysler workers were streaming from the plants, supporters of a reformist UAW opposition group, the Independent Skilled Trades Council (ISTC), were in Detroit federal district court with a lawsuit against the union. The plaintiffs, headed up by ISTC leader Al Gardner (former chairman of the Local 600 skilled trades unit), sought to enjoin the UAW from putting into effect the Ford contract and to order the International to recount the membership ratification vote according to the unit rule.

Under this procedure, the total membership of each union bargaining unit is tallied on the side that wins a majority in the balloting. The ISTC claims that Woodcock rigged the vote by dropping the previously used unit rule, under which there might well have been a majority "no" vote by skilled tradesmen. In 1973 when there was a heavy skilled-trades majority against the Ford contract, the International peremptorily ignored their previously recognized right to veto the pact; this time Woodcock announced he would respect the veto right, then changed the voting rules!

However, calling on the bosses' courts to impose voting procedures on the UAW opens the door to government intervention to overturn *any* contract and dictate internal union affairs. The plaintiffs' brief makes the incredible statement that "The courts have historically been the only protectors of workers against an illegal ratification," but this is not so. Capitalist courts are no friends of the unions, and the suit initiated by ISTC supporters must be sharply condemned as an appeal to the class enemy to attack the independence of the labor movement.

Of course, the sellout Ford contract is quite acceptable to the companies, and so Judge Charles Joiner refused the plea for a temporary restraining order (stating that the plaintiffs had not exhausted internal union procedures for challenging the vote). The backers of the suit have not yet decided whether to appeal.

In addition to justifying government intervention, the lawsuit allows the highhanded Woodcock bureaucracy to appear as a champion of union democracy and sovereignty. Each plaintiff called to the stand admitted that no official challenge had been submitted to the UAW, and at the November 5 press conference announcing the Chrysler pact, Woodcock was able to point out that the unit system is in fact less democratic than the "one man, one vote" procedure actually used. Instead of running to the courts, principled class-struggle unionists would wage a

WV Photo

**Woodcock, left, and Fraser announcing Chrysler settlement.**

fight against the contract *within* the union.

The suit also revealed the unseriousness of the ISTC initiators and their lawyer Ron Glotta (whose politics reflect the views of the Communist Labor Party) since they tried to argue that the unit rule was required by the UAW constitution—which is untrue—and they were unaware that the "one man, one vote" procedure had been used at Ford in 1967 and General Motors in 1970 and 1973.

Naturally, the UAW leadership is not adverse to appealing to the state to intervene in union affairs, as shown by the deployment of cops outside Solidarity House during the last ISTC demonstration. This underscores the essential political identity of the in-bureaucrats of the Woodcock machine and the straggling out-bureaucrats who head up the ISTC. The same is true of the economist program presented by the skilled trades opposition group: a shorter workweek, union control of subcontracting, wage parity with the building trades ($10 per hour) and a cost-of-living allowance for retirees.

In the first place, such a parochial program has nothing to offer the large majority of UAW members, the production workers. As to the "shorter workweek" scheme favored by the ISTC, it only demands 17 extra paid holidays per year and then "32 for 40"—in the *1979* bargaining. Yet the mass layoffs of 1974-75 show that the jobs of all auto workers can be defended only through a militant fight to end unemployment through a drastically shorter workweek with no loss in pay. To fight "runaway shops" auto workers must demand the extension of union wages and benefits through massive organizing drives in the South and at non-union shops throughout the country. Without such a struggle, the demand to control subcontracting becomes a narrow attempt to protect tradesmen's jobs at the expense of other workers.

To win such demands requires mobilizing the ranks for militant struggle against the companies, but the ISTC refuses to call for an industry-wide strike of all North American auto and agricultural implement workers. Week after week hundreds of skilled tradesmen have turned out at ISTC meetings looking for a winning strategy, and week after week they return home disappointed. Typically Gardner will describe the contract sellout and Woodcock's latest bureaucratic measures to ram it through, and then ISTC secretary Charles Dewey will follow with a vague motion to "start thinking about" an industry-wide strike.

At an October 28 meeting attended by several hundred Chrysler and GM workers, ISTC treasurer Pete Kelley added a new wrinkle by pointing to "blue flu days" held by Detroit cops to win higher pay and announced, "we are going to do the same." After equating the bosses' armed thugs with the working class (!), Kelley went on to hail

*continued on page 11*

WV Photo

**Auto workers at Dodge Main walking out one hour before strike deadline Friday evening.**

WV Photo

**Auto workers protest outside UAW Solidarity House.**

# Feuding Neo-Colonial Nationalists Betray Rhodesian Masses

As the Geneva talks on "transition to majority rule" in Rhodesia began two weeks ago, the white-supremacist Salisbury regime ordered its army to cross the border into Mozambique where it reportedly devastated several guerrilla training camps, leaving hundreds dead. The hoped-for effect of this provocation was soon achieved, as guerrilla leaders sent word to the black delegations in Geneva urging their representatives to leave the meetings.

In Dar es Salaam, Tanzanian leader Julius Nyerere convened a meeting of presidents of African so-called "front-line states" which issued a sharp condemnation of the Rhodesian murder raids, and added: "At the same time as imperialism is speaking about a peaceful settlement, the present escalations in attacks and provocations unmask the true imperialist intentions of gaining time to consolidate the white racist regime and divert our attention from the main issue, which is majority rule and independence now" (*New York Times*, 7 November).

Gamma/Liaison

**Joshua Nkomo**

AP

**Bishop Abel Muzorewa**

AP

**Robert Mugabe**

Africa

**Rev. Ndabaningi Sithole**

Meanwhile, at the conference itself Rhodesian premier Ian Smith managed to produce a deadlock by simply refusing to agree to "independence" under majority rule in 12 months—which had supposedly been the least controversial item on the agenda. In response, the head of one of the four black delegations, Robert Mugabe of the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU), left the meetings, and Smith returned to Salisbury proclaiming that he was wasting time.

The deadlock in Geneva could not have been more predictable, as the white settlers stubbornly defend their privileges and power and the black nationalist leaders, no matter how "moderate," are constrained to reject continued minority rule. But should the talks fail to produce any tangible result—as is likely—it will not be for lack of willingness to compromise on the part of the feuding petty-bourgeois black politicians who have made their careers out of trying to pressure British imperialism to install them in power. Of all the post-1960 black independence leaders in Africa, the several cliques of Zimbabwe (Rhodesian) nationalists are among the most moderate and least successful on the continent.

In addition to Mugabe's ZANU delegation—which includes leaders of the Mozambique-based Zimbabwe People's Army (ZIPA)—there is the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) delegation headed by ever-so-reasonable Joshua Nkomo, the wiliest and most durable of the nationalist politicians and the one with the strongest support from the West. The two other delegations are present as a testimony to more than a decade of sordid political betrayals and personalist factional struggles in the independence movement.

One is led by Nbandaningi Sithole, who was an Nkomo lieutenant until the 1963 split in ZAPU which produced ZANU. Despite an international reputation built over the years by assorted "Third World" cheerleaders, Sithole became an isolated figure after he was unceremoniously expelled from ZANU last year by forces loyal to Mugabe. The fourth delegation is headed by Methodist bishop Abel Muzorewa, whose African National Council (ANC) commands considerable support in the urban areas but is completely isolated from the ZIPA, which he characterizes as a tribalist formation.

The church influence among the top black leaders is quite marked. In addition to Muzorewa, who is head of the American Methodist Episcopal church in Rhodesia, Sithole is a Congregational minister, Nkomo is a former Protestant lay preacher, and Mugabe, frequently touted in the imperialist press as a revolutionary, is a practising Catholic.

### Rise of African Nationalism in Rhodesia

Nkomo has long been regarded as the likeliest candidate to head a neo-colonial black regime installed by the imperialists. His entry into nationalist politics predates that of his competitors by nearly a decade. Beginning in "welfare committees" protesting discrimination against the educated African elite (relatively numerous in Rhodesia compared to apartheid South Africa), by 1952 he had become general secretary of the Rhodesian Railways African Employees' Association.

Sygma

**Prime minister Ian Smith**

As in South Africa there is a relatively significant black proletariat in Rhodesia, formed in the post-World War II economic boom. Over a third of the black population is urbanized and more than 10 percent is employed in mining, manufacturing, processing and government services. The young proletariat quickly grew conscious of its strength, and waged a series of large-scale strikes in the 1945-50 period. Black railway workers launched a crippling railway strike in 1945, and in 1948 Bulawayo municipal workers sparked a general strike throughout Southern Rhodesia (Martin Loney, *Rhodesia: White Racism and Imperial Response*, 1975).

The immediate origins of Nkomo's ZAPU lie in the Southern Rhodesian African National Congress (ANC), a moribund association of the black elite which under the impact of the post-war working-class upsurge had revived in the railway junction of Bulawayo, Rhodesia's second largest city. The new ANC fought for reforms on a broad front—education, voting rights, bus fares, land policies. It especially sought to enlist the aid of Prime Minister Garfield Todd, who earned a reputation among whites as a flaming liberal more for his rhetorical "partnership of the races" than for any concrete reforms.

The white settlers responded to the ANC agitation by a sharp right turn. Todd was dumped in 1958 by a congress of his party. In February 1959 a state of emergency was declared: the ANC was banned and 500 of its members were arrested. The government also took a major step to sever ties between the black labor movement and the nationalists. The 1959 Industrial Conciliation Act extended collective bargaining rights to most African workers (the railway workers had won this by a strike in 1949), but unions which contributed funds or provided facilities to political parties lost their official recognition.

Facing a hardening white-supremacist regime at home, Nkomo began a period of extensive international lobbying in imperialist capitals, newly independent African states and the United Nations, seeking external support for majority rule in Rhodesia. In early 1960 Nkomo's supporters established the National Democratic Party (NDP) as successor to the outlawed ANC and adopted "one man, one vote" as its single focus for agitation, essentially dropping the social and economic demands of the ANC.

However, with Britain pressing for black representation at a constitutional conference the next year, the NDP mobilized mass demonstrations for majority rule and suffered arrests of its leaders as a result. In July 1960 this led to a two-week general strike centered on Bulawayo in which NDP intellectuals played a major role (Eshmael Mlambo, *Rhodesia: The Struggle for a Birthright*, 1972). Even this did not overcome the ingrained conservatism of the educated petty-bourgeois black leaders. An NDP delegation to the 1961 constitutional conference accepted the sop of a separate black voting role, which was subsequently rejected by the party ranks, much to the leaders' embarrassment.

The NDP was banned in December 1961, leading to the formation of ZAPU, which in turn was banned in September 1962. The right-wing Rhodesian Front won that year's elections and the nationalists feared that the racist regime would imminently declare itself independent and move to smash ZAPU's base of support. Nkomo engineered a disastrous attempt to transfer the ZAPU executive to Tanzania but was rebuffed by Nyerere and the Organization of African Unity (OAU), which insisted that the leadership direct the struggle from inside Rhodesia.

### ZANU/ZAPU Split

This imbroglio exacerbated criticisms of Nkomo's leadership by members of the ZAPU executive, and the group split. In August 1963, Sithole, Mugabe and others formed ZANU. A myth persists, particularly in New Left and Maoist circles, that this was a "left" split. Although tactical differences existed (where the leadership was to be located, whether to attempt the formation of a new legal party, etc.), the split was essentially the result of frustration and personality clashes.

Each organization characterized the other as "reformist" and accused its rival of relying on the British rather than on its own force of arms to achieve independence under majority rule. In both cases the charges were essentially accurate. Nkomo's conciliation of Britain was long-standing, while Sithole and Mugabe had joined the NDP in direct response to Britain's inclusion of nationalists in the constitutional talks. (Both Nkomo and Sithole were leaders of the delegation which accepted the franchise sellout.)

Both ZANU and ZAPU relied on small-scale guerrilla actions to step up pressure on Britain. In a militant speech

to the inaugural congress of ZANU in May 1964, Sithole declared:

> "Those who believe that the United Nations...[or] the Afro-Asian Bloc will bring us independence are greatly mistaken.... Independence is not ours unless we liberate ourselves."

But virtually in the same breath he reaffirmed the traditional appeal to the "democratic" colonial power:

> "The United Kingdom is the only power that can grant Southern Rhodesia legal independence.... At present Britain which holds the constitutional key to the problem facing us is unwilling to use that key."
>
> —Ndabaningi Sithole, *In Defense of a Birthright*, 1975

Not only did Rhodesia's colonial overlords refuse to use the "constitutional key," but when the die-hard white supremacists of the Rhodesian Front (already headed by Ian Smith) proclaimed a Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) in November 1965, London "ruled out the use of force" and opted for ineffectual sanctions. Repeated appeals to Britain produced nothing but frustration.

S.S

**Frelimo soldiers demonstrate against white supremacist Rhodesian regime. Mozambique has suffered numerous attacks by Smith's army.**

Labour prime minister Harold Wilson held negotiations with Smith within a year, proposing a complex plan for gradual extension of the African franchise which would not have produced a black majority before 1999! (The Rhodesian leader turned thumbs down even on these token concessions.) While bending over backwards to conciliate the racist regime, Britain delivered a note to Zambia in September 1967 demanding assurance that the latter was "not affording support to armed incursions into Rhodesia" (quoted in Kees Maxey, "From Rhodesia to Zimbabwe," 1972).

Following UDI, detentions of nationalist leaders were made permanent, a state of emergency was in effect and the ZAPU/ZANU leaders became less hopeful of British intervention. There was a limited radicalization, with timid talk of "African socialism" which wouldn't even startle such neo-colonial "statesmen" as Kenyatta in Kenya. All the leaders—Nkomo, Sithole, and Mugabe, each of whom spent more than a decade in detention—have advocated "armed struggle" of some sort; but they have likewise all faced revolts in the guerrilla camps over lack of supplies, charges of corruption, tribal favoritism and inattention of the politicians to day-to-day problems of the soldiers.

While ZANU initiated guerrilla actions earlier than ZAPU, the latter carried the brunt of the fighting in the late 1960's. In August 1967 a joint force of about 80 ZAPU guerrillas and members of the South African ANC crossed into Rhodesia from camps in Zambia. ZAPU and the South African nationalists leaders announced that the guerrilla force was engaged in a long-term operation to fight its way through into South Africa itself. But after a pitched battle with Smith's army, which was aided by South African jet fighters, the heroic guerrilla fighters were decimated.

A low level of guerrilla attacks and sabotage was maintained by both groups over the next few years, but stopped almost entirely from 1970 to 1972. The fighters had sustained heavy losses and were increasingly demoralized. ZAPU was weakened by a second split, which produced a third, and far smaller, organization, the Front for the Liberation of Zimbabwe (FROLIZI). Six years of severe repression had largely severed the links between the nationalists and the urban masses. Isolation and failures on the battlefield encouraged intrigues among the leaders and fanned the flames of tribal enmity among the ranks, even though such hostilities had largely broken down among urban black workers.

## Treachery and Capitulation

In 1971 a new contender entered the scene in the form of Bishop Muzorewa's African National Council. Filling a breach left by the outlawed and exiled nationalist parties, Muzorewa's group gained mass support in the towns through a campaign for "constitutional government" based on "non-racialism" (and to be achieved "in a Christian and non-violent manner"). He has periodically been the favorite of the Smith regime among the competing nationalists, including at present when the Rhodesian prime minister patronizingly labeled Muzorewa's delegation "the best behaved" at the Geneva talks (*New York Times*, 6 November).

The Rhodesia Herald

**Rhodesian cavalry.**

Under pressure from the neighboring bourgeois African regimes who provide them with bases and funnel their financial aid, ZANU and ZAPU formed a joint military command in Lusaka, Zambia, in March 1972, and in December of that year the guerrilla war heated up again. However, it was effectively contained by Rhodesian troops and the joint command fell apart. In early 1974, Muzorewa, with the support of the tiny white opposition parties, attempted to upstage his rivals by entering into talks with Smith. However, the April coup in war-weary Portugal opened the way to fundamental change in southern Africa, as colonial rule ended within a year and a half in both Mozambique and Angola.

At this point, South Africa's Afrikaaner Nationalist rulers decided that the Rhodesian salient of white rule was untenable in the long run. This led to a Pretoria initiative for "détente" in southern Africa, offering to trade economic aid for a negotiated settlement in Rhodesia. A key role in the ill-fated détente negotiations was played by Zambia's president Kenneth Kaunda, who saw an opportunity to bail out his crisis-wracked economy by striking a deal with South African premier Balthazar Vorster.

In December 1974 Kaunda engineered another paper unity agreement between ZANU and ZAPU, this time embracing FROLIZI, all under the aegis of Muzorewa's ANC. Under pressure from Washington, Pretoria and London, Smith released a number of political prisoners (among them Nkomo, Sithole and Mugabe) and reluctantly entered a new round of talks. Because the released prisoners feared rearrest inside Rhodesia, the negotiations with Smith were held in a railroad car on a bridge spanning the Zambezi River between Rhodesia and Zambia.

The united nationalist delegation was headed by Muzorewa, a source of great irritation to Nkomo. After the talks fell apart (as usual due to Smith's unwillingness to bend), Nkomo formed his own ANC (little more than ZAPU with a new name) and offered to negotiate alone with Smith inside Rhodesia. Following the U.S./South African defeat in Angola, the "front-line states" forced Nkomo to break off negotiations this March. (As a measure of the kaleidoscopic wheeling and dealing of the several nationalist leaders, at Geneva Nkomo formed a "patriotic front" with Mugabe, leading Smith to dismiss last year's bargaining partner as "faded.")

ZANU guerrillas based in Zambia attempted to continue the military struggle while the negotiations went on. However, a tribally inspired blood purge in the guerrilla army gave Kaunda the opportunity to arrest virtually the entire ZANU leadership, invade the camps and detain 1,400 militants in March 1975. After the bombing assassination of Herbert Chitepo, who led ZANU while Sithole and Mugabe were in prison, an international commission representing 11 African states was established to investigate the murder and its background.

The commission reported that the killings began after a November 1974 revolt in the guerrilla camps, charging "wholesale corruption in the Military High Command which manifested itself in the form of preferential treatment based on ethnic affiliation." The rebellion was suppressed and a blood purge launched in which military leaders from the Shona-speaking Karanga tribe systematically eliminated rivals from the Shona-speaking Manyika tribe. The purge, according to the commission report, was led by Josiah Tongogara and other commanders who are now in the leadership of ZIPA. The investigators found that Tongogara and other guerrilla chiefs had assassinated Chitepo, a Manyika, in order to prevent him from revealing the executions (for details see *Africa*, May 1976 and the *Guardian* [London], 10 April 1976).

While these tribalist killings were thoroughly reprehensible, Zambia's massive repression of ZANU was clearly aimed at breaking the ability of "hot-headed" guerrillas to spoil its deal with Vorster. Thus the Spartacist League called for an end to the Zambian detentions and condemned the repression unleashed by erstwhile "anti-imperialist" Kaunda. (During the Angolan civil war, Kaunda launched another dragnet, this time rounding up pro-MPLA university students and labeling them pawns of "Soviet imperialism.")

Following the breakdown of the 1975 ANC unity move, the "front-line presidents" decided to bypass the squabbling Rhodesian nationalist leaders and set up the ZIPA as a joint military command to direct a major escalation of guerrilla warfare. Although the ZIPA leaders are reportedly critical of the politicians, including Mugabe, they are totally dependent on Tanzania and Mozambique, which hope for a negotiated settlement in order to step up trade with South Africa. Thus those impressionistic petty-bourgeois radicals who today hail the "revolutionary" ZIPA (just as yesterday they supported the Sithole-led ZANU), are bound to be sorely disappointed as once again it turns out that "picking up the gun" is no guarantee of anti-imperialist politics.

A characteristic example of the disunity inside ZIPA came at the beginning of the Geneva negotiations. On September 30 a guerrilla spokesman identified with Mugabe's ZANU held a press conference in Maputo, Mozambique. He read a statement calling for continuation of the armed struggle until "final victory" and declared: "Under no circumstances are we prepared to share power with racists and fascists" (*Guardian* [London], 1 October). The following day, Alfred Nkita, political commissar of ZIPA and a Nkomo loyalist, publicly upbraided the other guerrilla leader for presuming to speak in the name of ZIPA.

A few days earlier, Nyerere had explained the facts of life to the guerrillas. In a British television interview, he explained: "Their work, the work of the armed forces, is pressure. They will not necessarily take part in the negotiations" (*Guardian* [London], 28 September).

The presence of all the Rhodesian nationalist factions at the Geneva talks—set up to discuss the Kissinger plan for a "negotiated transition to majority rule"—and their repeated calls on Britain to perform its colonial duties and bring Smith to heel, reveal their lack of a revolutionary perspective. It could not be otherwise, for these petty-bourgeois nationalists who rely on the imperialists to hand them independence simply aspire to become new exploiters, setting their sights on assuming the place of their former colonial masters.

In the military conflict presently engulfing Rhodesia, Marxists give military support to the nationalist guerrillas in their struggle to topple white supremacy. At the same time, Trotskyists draw the lessons of the impotence of peasant-based guerrilla struggle and the nationalists' inability to break with imperialism, pointing instead to the vital necessity of forging a proletarian revolutionary party.

With the 5-million-strong non-white working class of South Africa visibly shaking the subcontinent with its heroic revolt against apartheid opression, the need for Trotskyist proletarian parties in Rhodesia and South Africa to lead these struggles could not be more clear. Seeking to prepare the urban working masses of Rhodesia and South Africa for mass uprisings against the white supremacist regimes, such parties would struggle to win the best militants away from their nationalist misleaders and lead the fight for a black workers and peasants government of Zimbabwe in a united socialist states of Africa. ■

# French CP ...

*(continued from page 4)*

coming to play an increasingly prominent role, a significant factor may have been the side issue of the OCI's physical confrontations with a small splinter group around its former supporter, the ill-reputed Michel Varga. Schwartz enlisted the LCR's *service d'ordre* (goon squad) to prevent a repetition of the OCI's violent attacks on the Varga grouping which marred the Plyushch meeting last year.

Now finding itself on the outside looking in, the OCI has little more to say than to correctly expose the hollowness of the PCF's claim to stand for democracy. The OCI has proven itself chronically unable to address the main deficiency of the Committee of Mathematicians' campaign. The October 21 rally took six supportable cases and—in a fully social-democratic spirit which pulled the PCF behind in tow—built them into an anti-Stalinist campaign which sought to position itself in a never-never-land between principled left opposition to the Russian bureaucracy and the reactionary protestations about "democracy" beneath which lurk appetites toward capitalist restoration in the deformed workers states.

A principled defense of Soviet dissidents must distinguish itself from the anti-communist crusading which animated Plyushch's statement at the rally that the Soviet regime "obeys the logic of a police-state system." The demand for freedom of political expression and an end to the persecution of dissidents (even for the Solzhenitsyn ilk, whose poisonous reactionary obscurantism poses less danger to the deformed workers states than the treacherous anti-proletarian policies of the parasitic Stalinist bureaucracies) must be coupled with the explicit refusal to defend active counterrevolutionaries who seek to reverse the gains of the October Revolution and turn the deformed workers states over to the rapacious imperialists. Those who "unite" with bourgeois politicians like Pierre Emmanuel to demand "democracy" in the USSR serve as the witting or unwitting cover for an eventual revanchist "holy war" for imperialism.

Earlier this year, *Workers Vanguard* saluted the successful effort undertaken on behalf of Plyushch, noting it had been "spearheaded by the French OCI through a 'Committee for the Immediate Liberation of Political Prisoners in the Countries of Eastern Europe' which it initiated and led." At that time we warned:

> "The OCI can be justifiably proud of playing a major role in Plyushch's liberation.... The OCI's Committee, however, has been far from clear on the fundamental distinction between efforts such as those it carried out in the Plyushch campaign and pro-imperialist 'anti-totalitarianism' which serves the ends of the deadly enemies of the Russian proletariat.
>
> "The Committee declares that it 'defends Marxists, non-Marxists, anti-Marxists, all those who are struck by repression, because they are struggling for freedom of expression, and because freedom of expression in the countries where capital has been expropriated cannot but have an eminently positive value' (the Committee's *Bulletin*, June 1974).... Revolutionary defense work must be unambiguously placed in an explicit context of solidarity with the gains of the October Revolution and the unconditional military defense of the deformed workers states against imperialism. Classless rhetoric like the OCI's constitutes an open invitation to subvert the struggles against the anti-socialist repression perpetrated by the Russian bureaucracy into a weapon against the deformed workers state itself.
>
> "In the capitalist countries there is no lack of supposed 'civil libertarians' all too happy to expose the crimes of Stalinism...."
>
> —*WV* No. 96, 13 February 1976

The OCI appears to have learned nothing from its isolation from the influential left-defense milieu. It can do little except gripe about how the democrats-come-lately of the PCF are hogging the publicity. The defense of Bukovsky, Gluzman and Müller—in the context of the explicit defense of the gains of the October Revolution—is an important cause for the international workers movement. Every victory in the fight to liberate the pro-Marxist victims of Stalinist terror in the USSR hastens the day when the new generation of communist militants will rediscover the suppressed history of the Trotskyist Left Opposition and find the road forward to political revolution to oust the Stalinist betrayers and re-establish the rule of the workers soviets over the collectivized economy of the Soviet Union.

—Free Massera, López Arias and Enríquez! Smash Junta Terror! For Socialist Revolution!

—Free Bukovsky, Gluzman and Müller! For Workers Political Revolution Against the Stalinist Usurpers!

# Lebanon ...

*(continued from page 3)*

port to Maronite militias operating near the Israeli border.

Hypocritically claiming humanitarian intentions, Israel has recently "opened" its northern border to Lebanese who wish to travel, receive medical care or look for work in Israel, whereas previously Arabs crossing this border were simply shot. But the border "opens" two ways and the Israeli army has sent scouting units as far north as the Litani River.

More rapacious Zionist chauvinists perhaps dream of annexing Lebanon south of the Litani River, but the present policy of the Rabin regime is to create a Maronite-controlled "security belt" running from the Mediterranean to the Golan Heights. Equipped with Israeli arms the Maronites would police this "security belt" and keep the area free of Palestinian commandos.

As the Syrian army has moved its campaign southward it has found itself in an embarrassing alliance with Maronite militias whose weapons bear Hebrew markings. Further, the "open borders" policy not only infringes upon Lebanese "sovereignty" but is perceived by Syria as a direct threat to its own security, especially if it attempts to regain the Golan Heights by military force.

The open collaboration between Israel and the Maronites is cracking the alliance between Syria and the Maronite militias. Already, there have been battles between Syrian troops and the Phalangists on the road to Saida. Palestinian commandos are moving back into the Arkub and Syria has reportedly reopened a supply line, the "Arafat Trail," which runs from the Arkub through the Bekaa Valley into Syria.

The Zionist strategists have clearly outsmarted themselves by their "open border" policy. Syria and the Arab League sheiks and generals who thought they might tame the Palestinian commandos by using Syrian troops to enforce the Cairo Agreement and drive the commandos back into the Arkub, may in fact be laying the basis for the next Arab-Israeli confrontation. The PLO's alliance with the Lebanese Muslim "left" has reaped only a harvest of blood. Returning to their old allies and recent enemies in Damascus will not lay the basis for the genuine national emancipation of the Palestinian people. The only real ally of Palestinian self-determination is the Arab and Hebrew proletariat of the Near East.■

# London Meeting ...

*(continued from page 5)*

this is only one of Mandel's many turns: not so long ago he was preaching unadulterated Castroite guerrillaism.

"People accuse us of being sectarian," the speaker pointed out. "It is because we are committed to what we believe are the necessary, decisive principles of Trotskyism, and these principles are not generally shared—rather they are opposed—by other organisations." But if we should find that in a developing revolutionary situation militants who had taken Mandel's passing orthodox verbiage seriously began to polarise along our programmatic principles, we would surrender our not-sought-for independence in an instant in order to have a fusion. "We stand ready to unite with any developing and incipient revolutionary wing of the USec," he added, "on the basis of the Trotskyist programme."

The discussion from the floor opened with a speaker from the International Communist Current (ICC). Reflecting a spirit of anarchist individualism (dressed up with a little working-class rhetoric for British conditions), the speaker reiterated the gist of a leaflet his group passed out at the meeting, that if the hopelessly reactionary trade unions didn't exist there would be nothing left for the masses but pure communism. The Spartacist tendency, he indicated, is reformist because it advocates struggling for leadership in the unions, and is "on the road to the National Front" because it advocates British troops out of Ireland. Robertson suggested that the militants of the ICC could profit from reading Lenin's *Left Wing Communism: An Infantile Disorder*.

Other speakers included a supporter of the Revolutionary Communist Group (RCG), who valiantly defended his organisation's programme, or rather lack of one. On questions where the revisions are falling all over each other in their mutual opportunism, such as Ireland or the woman question, he said, taking a Marxist analysis to the class could at least put a stop to the worst reformist excesses. How such a non-programme could do anything but reform the reformists was left unsaid.

The arrival of several London cadres of the Workers Socialist League gave members of the London Spartacist Group an opportunity to question the WSL on its Campaign for Democracy in the unions. As mentioned in a Spartacist leaflet distributed at the WSL's recent Conference on Wages held in Birmingham, the Campaign's lack of programme means that it is simply another façade of "mass" activity designed to give an illusion of influence in the working class. The spokesman for the WSL replied that they had come to hear the Spartacist programme, not to listen to attacks. He added that the WSL saw the need to continue discussions with the international Spartacist tendency, which was agreed with by the speaker.

There was a short summary, emphasising once again that smashing the Social Contract is crucial to the British proletariat. Even a small revolutionary nucleus could have a tremendous impact in the unions, which are class-conscious and wide-open. The speaker concluded that the London Spartacist Group is here to stay! Forward to the Rebirth of the Fourth International!■

# SUB DRIVE RESULTS

The success of the fall 1976 *Workers Vanguard/Women & Revolution* subscription drive is a tribute to the hard work of the comrades of the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League (SL/SYL) and the Trotskyist League of Canada (TLC). The five-week sub drive brought in 1291 subscriptions to the weekly *WV* and 613 to *W&R*, journal of the SL Commission for Work Among Women, as well as 134 subscriptions to *Young Spartacus*, monthly press of the SYL, and 38 to *Spartacist Canada*, monthly organ of the TLC.

Every local organization of the SL surpassed its quota, with the Boston local committee topping the list at 149 percent. The individual star was Comrade Bernard of Los Angeles, who carried the honors with 82 points. Runners-up were Tracy (Berkeley/Oakland) with 35-1/2 points and Douglas (Detroit) with 35.

Although 475 introductory subscriptions to *WV* were sold, the emphasis was on full-year subs. Fully 90 percent of all the *WV* subs sold in Los Angeles and Philadelphia were full-year subs, followed by 81 percent in Chicago and 78 percent in Vancouver.

The Editorial Board of *Workers Vanguard* welcomes the new subscribers and pledges itself to work toward a consistently high standard of Marxist clarity and journalistic excellence.

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*Executive Committee of the International Spartacist tendency*

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**VANCOUVER**

# Ford Mahwah ...

*(continued from page 12)*

might not have a job a direct threat of firing.

For at least six months prior to this fall's UAW strike, Ford carried out daily harassment against another MSC member, Richie Bradley. Bradley, a black militant with seven years in the plant, has had his seniority rights systematically violated. Bradley had been a leader in the fight against the company's turning up of line speed in his section when Ford suddenly took him off his job last February.

Since then Ford has been on a non-stop campaign to get him fired—he has been put on a different job almost every day despite a long-standing policy that seniority employees are to be put on steady, permanent operations (prior to the fight over line speed, Bradley had held the same job for over six years). Bradley has also been loaned out of his department in violation of his contractual seniority rights. The company then had the gall to give him a "permanent" job that violates his medical restriction. Ford has repeatedly disciplined him when he protested this treatment.

Members of the MSC told *WV* that everyone in the plant has been pressured by the company's intense speed-up and overtime since the end of the Ford strike. But, they stressed, the attacks on the Caucus are a deliberate all-out drive to railroad the oppositionists out of the plant.

The MSC is recognized by Mahwah workers as the only visible union opposition to the Local 906 bureaucracy. In the past the MSC has campaigned for an industry-wide strike and sit-downs against layoffs, fought against speed-up and harassment in the shop and demanded an end to the Woodcock

Lisa Diamond WV photo

bureaucracy's support for the capitalist political parties. The caucus is also known for its defense of the rights of specially oppressed black workers and the large plant population of foreign workers.

In 1974, running for local union office on a class-struggle program, MSC candidates received up to 13 percent of the vote. Through its activities during its three-year history the MSC has won considerable respect in the plant, unlike many here today, gone tomorrow opposition groups.

In 1973, a number of oppositional groupings existed in the plant, including the Rank and File Caucus (supported by the Communist Party, the International Socialists and El Comité), the United Black Workers and Workers Action Movement (supported by Progressive Labor). A wildcat broke out that year in response to the firing of the Local's black vice president, Dave Gardner. The wildcat was sabotaged by the Local 906 leadership under Joe Reilly and a number of militants were fired. In the atmosphere of repression and demoralization which set in after the unsuccessful walkout, most of these reformist oppositions whose politics were geared to tailing the spontaneous militancy of the rank and file—disintegrated. The MSC is today the only opposition in the plant to the pro-company Woodcock/Reilly UAW bureaucracy.

Ford management is taking advantage of a generally quiescent period in the labor movement, particularly in a plant feeling the letdown after a sellout contract settlement, to rid itself of a serious potential threat. Although the company has been able to hold the lid on

Richie Bradley WV Photo

militancy in the plant since 1973, it knows the situation cannot last—outbreaks of class struggle lie ahead. The MSC, with its clear banner of opposition to Woodcock, could become a pole to organize and lead such an upsurge.

UAW workers at Mahwah have rallied to the MSC's defense. Last summer about 500 members of the Local signed a petition demanding that company harassment of Bradley stop, that the union leadership take action to get him back on his permanent job and that other victims of Ford's repression be reinstated. But the workers' petition fell on the deaf ears of the Local's right-wing leadership.

Since the attacks began last year, Reilly has done nothing against Ford Motor Co.'s attempt to drive these union militants out of the industry. Reilly's foot-dragging on their cases can only be explained by a desire to see the Caucus out of the way before Local 906 elections this spring, hoping to ensure that his own three-year record of sellouts will go unexposed during the campaign.

Such sectarian attempts by the union leadership to play politics with the jobs of union members must be stopped! An MSC leaflet protesting the victimizations concluded with a call to make the union fight: "The company wants to make an example out of Richie Bradley and Lisa Diamond to show that anyone who stands up to the Ford Motor Co. gets smashed. If an aggressive campaign is waged at Mahwah to defend these militants, they could become another kind of example: an example of the strength of solidarity among workers, proof that if we unite and stand up for each other we can win. *Defend the Militants! Reinstate Lisa Diamond! Put Richie Bradley Back on His Original Job! Remove the Disciplines! Stop the Firings!*"


*SPARTACIST LEAGUE FORUM*

Mao's Heirs at Each Other's Throats

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**CHICAGO**


# Ford Canada ...

*(continued from page 12)*

tors in the U.S. and Canada, although a substantially bigger settlement at Ford and Chrysler could still have led to a drawn-out strike at GM.

The fate of Canadian GM workers was augured by the outcome of a wildcat by militant Quebec auto workers just prior to the expiration of the Big Three contracts in September. Three thousand auto workers in Ste.-Therèse near Montreal had occupied the plant for ten days in protest against company firings and suspensions aimed at wiping out hard-won working conditions. Undoubtedly worried that this show of militancy by a group of auto workers not "scheduled" to strike might lead to industry-wide solidarity, UAW bureaucrats forced the Ste.-Therèse workers back to work without winning a thing—and immediately announced the extension of the GM contract beyond its expiration date.

While Solidarity House proclaims that the three-year pact is "historic," the reality is very different. The net wage increase is a pitiful *3 percent* per year, while the "reduced work time" scheme is a patent fraud. The new contract does nothing about the companies' massive scheduling of forced overtime. *WV* salesmen at the Ford Oakville ratification vote meeting yesterday morning found widespread dissatisfaction with the rumoured agreement to bring back Saturday overtime, which had been erased at that plant over the past few years.

The top UAW bureaucrats were covered on their left by well-entrenched and influential supporters of the Communist Party, which printed a deceitful article in its *Canadian Tribune* claiming that negotiations were taking place for a shorter workweek, and chiming in with the bourgeois media's acclaim of the U.S. Ford sellout. Actually, the new contract will allow grueling 56-hour workweeks for production-line workers to continue according to management's whims.

The wage settlement agreed to by the UAW tops is so bad that it is even likely to fall within the wage-control guidelines of the Canadian Anti-Inflation Board (AIB). At the press conference which announced the Ford Canada pact, union and company spokesmen proudly stated that they expected no trouble with the wage-slashing AIB because the pay increase was so low! Thus the Ford settlement is a defeat not just for auto workers, but for the entire Canadian labor movement which is forced to shoulder the burden of inflation by the government's anti-labor controls program.

Only last month Dennis McDermott was avowing his "unconditional opposition" to this wage control program, as he called upon the UAW Canadian membership to support the Canadian Labour Congress (CLC) one-day general strike. The auto worker ranks showed their determination to do away with Trudeau's wage straitjacket by solidly shutting down the auto plants on October 14. However, rather than lead a militant, international industry-wide auto strike—which could also have been a spark for a cross-Canada general strike to smash the wage controls—Woodcock, McDermott & Co. were happy to settle amicably on miserable terms agreeable to both the profit-bloated auto barons and the AIB.

The militancy of the auto worker rank and file is beyond question. It is only the lack of a powerful class-struggle opposition to the pro-capitalist business-unionist Woodcock machine that has allowed the bosses and their government to emerge victorious once again. UAW militants on both sides of the border must struggle to forge a militant leadership which can oust the incumbent cap-in-hand UAW bureaucracy and prevent further demoralizing defeats like the 1976 auto contract.

Such a leadership would dump the treacherous Reutherite "one-at-a-time" strategy, instead mobilizing the union's tremendous strength for a North American industry-wide strike. It would organize around a full transitional program, including demands for a sharply reduced workweek at no loss in pay ("30 for 40" or better) and a sliding scale of wages, as well as struggling to lead the workers to put an end to the irrational boom-bust capitalist business cycle, through a planned economy under a workers government. ■

# ISTC Suit ...

*(continued from page 7)*

like-minded opposition groups in other unions such as Ed Sadlowski's Steelworkers Fightback and Teamsters for a Democratic Union (TDU). He also remarked, "you know what happened to [Joseph] Yablonski," the slain UMW presidential candidate of the Miners for Democracy.

The reformist oppositionists mentioned do have a lot in common—vague or minimalist programs, appetites to become a new bureaucracy, willingness to appeal for government intervention—and auto workers should also know what happened when Yablonski's successor, Arnold Miller, took control of the UMW. Three massive wildcats were broken, the demand for the right to strike over local grievances has been abandoned and a witchhunt atmosphere has been unleashed in the union.

Except for the Spartacist League (SL), almost every tendency on the U.S. left has capitulated to such reformist fakers. Unlike the social-democratic International Socialists—which backed Miller in 1972 and builds the TDU and the ISTC today—the SL warns union militants that reformist out-bureaucrats like Gardner & Co. do not represent a step forward over Woodcock. Only by breaking sharply with Woodcock's whole program of class collaboration can the UAW ranks put a stop to the dreary succession of contract defeats. ■


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**No. 13**

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WORKERS VANGUARD

## UAW Militants Suspended

# Defeat the Witchhunt at Ford Mahwah!

In recent weeks the Ford Motor Company has stepped up a vicious harassment campaign aimed at driving supporters of a militant union caucus out of its Mahwah, New Jersey, plant. On November 3, the company indefinitely suspended Lisa Diamond, longtime member of the Militant Solidarity Caucus (MSC) of United Auto Workers (UAW) Local 906. Diamond's suspension, the result of a provocative company set-up, was only the latest in a long series of actions against Caucus members.

Diamond was suspended when she was unable to perform a job the company had specially assigned to her, knowing it was impossible for her to do. Despite her 5 ft. 2 in. height and a permanent medical restriction on one wrist stemming from a plant injury, Diamond was assigned to the underbody sealer's job—work which required her to stand in an enclosed pit and use both hands to hold a heavy sealer gun overhead for long periods of time. Diamond told *WV* that this company provocation was so blatant that even her foreman was embarrassed by it, apologizing profusely all the time he was carrying out his orders from the higher-ups.

At Diamond's hearing on November 8, she was given two days off for "disrespect to a member of management," for having told the plant doctor, who had selected this outrageous job assignment, that "They had doctors like you in the concentration camps." In addition, she was given another three days off for refusal to perform work assigned. Up returning to work she was put on the same job she was previously unable to perform, and then *again* suspended indefinitely and told if she didn't do the work, the next time she

*continued on page 11*

WV Photo

**UAW Local 906 demonstration in New York City during recent Ford strike.**

## Carbon Copy Settlement

# Canadian Ford Strikers' Militancy Wasted

TORONTO, November 7—Composed and smiling, United Auto Workers (UAW) Canada director Dennis McDermott announced last Thursday night that the union had reached a tentative contract settlement to end a short-lived strike by 14,500 Canadian Ford workers. The agreement with Ford Motor Co. of Canada—which is subject to membership ratification this weekend—is virtually a carbon copy of the sellout contract signed by the UAW and Ford in the U.S. last month.

Two nights earlier, McDermott wasn't smiling. The day before the November 3 strike deadline, thousands of Ford workers in southern Ontario walked off the job, shutting down production at the Oakville and St. Thomas assembly plants. Furious at this militant defiance of the bureaucracy's instructions, McDermott railed to the media that those responsible for the wildcat were guilty of an "act of sabotage against the union." "We thought we had made it clear at leadership meetings that the deadline was sacred," McDermott fulminated, vowing to seek out the instigators of the early walkout, in order to "stop it once and for all."

Only about a week before McDermott's sacred deadline, virtually all Ford Canada employees had returned to work after prolonged layoffs during the U.S. Ford strike. The International bureaucracy's defeatist "one-at-a-time" strike strategy had forced Canadian Ford workers to continue working during the American strike until lack of parts shipments led to layoffs and plant closures. Although the earlier refusal to strike was justified in terms of "smart" tactics—so the members would be eligible for unemployment benefits—it meant that Canadian Ford workers would face the multinational corporate giant alone.

After the American strike had ended and Ford plants resumed production, the Canadian UAW hierarchy announced its strike deadline. Heavy-handed union leaflets were issued warning the membership in bold headlines to "STAY AT WORK!" While containing little information about the state of negotiations, the leaflets promised that the union officialdom would win the best contract terms possible, hopefully before November 3. As it turned out, McDermott required an extra 36 hours beyond the deadline, and was forced to call out those remaining Ford workers who had not jumped the gun, to nail down the sellout pact.

Meanwhile, some 109,000 employees at Chrysler plants in the U.S. and Canada faced their own strike deadline on November 5. As in the case of Ford, a majority of the 16,000 Canadian Chrysler workers left the job early, shutting down Windsor plants in anticipation of a strike. But this time the strike never saw the light of day, as word came down from the International only minutes before the deadline that the pattern settlement with Ford had been agreed to by the number three auto maker. One small local in suburban Toronto reportedly remained out, despite orders from the bureaucracy to return to work.

WV Photo

**Canadian auto workers at "Day of Protest" demonstration in Windsor last month. Sign refers to government "Anti-Inflation" Board which imposes wage controls on Canadian workers.**

With the settlements at Ford and Chrysler, the UAW tops have now forced through one of the worst contracts in years on the majority of North American auto workers. The Solidarity House bureaucracy clearly expects little trouble in "winning" the same deal in the coming negotiations with General Mo-

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WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

No. 134 19 November 1976

## Labour Gov't. Starvation Policies Enrage Workers

# Britain Heads for Winter Blow-Up

LONDON, November 10—Britain's ruling Labour Party (BLP) suffered a sharp electoral setback in three by-elections on November 4, losing two of the contested seats to the Conservatives. The returns from all three elections—Walsall North, Workington and Newcastle Central (the only seat Labour managed to retain)—all showed a pronounced swing against the Labour government. The BLP remains without a clear majority in Parliament, leaving Prime Minister Callaghan's government dependent upon the votes of two breakaway Scottish Labour Party MPs, as well as two Catholic Social Democratic Labour Party MPs from Northern Ireland.

The context is the disastrous and worsening economic position of British capitalism. The pound has now dropped to $1.57 (the lowest point in history) on the international money markets, down from $2.02 in January. Unemployment is over 1.37 million (an increase of 200,000 in one year), inflation is continuing to skyrocket at an annual rate of 15 percent (and is likely to increase), while Britain's trade deficit is currently running at over £4,000 million.

The Labour government's response to the worsening economic crisis has been to impose the "Social Contract"—an agreement between the government and the Trades Union Congress (TUC) bureaucrats which is a futile attempt to revive moribund British capitalism by mercilessly driving down the wages and living standards of the working class. Concretely, the "Social Contract" has imposed a 4.5 percent ceiling on annual wage increases (in effect a 10 percent cut in real wages given the rate of inflation) while simultaneously massively cutting social services and laying off government employees.

With the pound plummeting, Callaghan has gone to the "gnomes of Zürich" of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) to request a $3.9 million loan to prop up the pound and cover the growing trade deficit. The IMF has yet to specify the precise conditions under which it would grant the loan, but the deal will certainly involve further cuts in government expenditure and in the British workers' wage packet, perhaps disguised through indirect taxation.

Callaghan obliquely warned the international imperialist money-changers that failure to bail out the sagging pound could usher in grim "political consequences" (*Times* [London], 26 October). What the Labour government and its counterparts on the continent fear is an eruption of sharp class battles which could escape the leaden control of the trade-union bureaucracy.

The BLP is in deep trouble. The three contested seats have traditionally been safely in Labour's pocket. But on November 4 the BLP squeaked by in only one constituency while losing one seat which went Tory for the first time since 1918!

The by-election results are no ordinary fluctuation in relative party

*continued on page 4*

UPI

Demonstrators in Peking denounce the "Gang of Four" following palace coup by Hua Kuo-feng.

## Clique Warfare Without End in Stalinist China

# MAOISTS WITHOUT MAO

The arrest of Chiang Ching and three other leading members of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) Politburo—all reputed "radicals" of the Cultural Revolution period—in Peking October 7 has sent shock waves through the Maoist movement internationally. When Mao Tse-tung was alive, his great personal authority could be used to justify any conceivable purge, wild accusation or reshuffling of the regime. Even the liquidation of Lin Piao, Mao's "closest comrade-in-arms" and officially designated heir, was generally accepted by foreign Maoists. If Mao says Lin was a "capitalist roader" who plotted a military coup, it must be true.

But without the stable pole of the "Great Helmsman's" personal authority, the Maoist movement cannot cope with the perpetual, violent conflicts within the Chinese Stalinist bureaucracy. Yesterday it was hailing Chiang Ching and her clique of "radicals" for the "anti-rightist" campaign against Teng Hsiao-ping, Chou En-lai's picked successor as premier. But today the new rulers denounce the "Gang of Four" as "ultra-right capitalist roaders" who have committed unforgivable crimes against the people, including hastening the death of Mao—the Maoist equivalent of killing Christ. (For a Marxist analysis of the succession crisis following Mao's death, see "Violent Power Struggle Erupts in China," *WV* No. 130, 22 October.)

The immediate reaction of the two principal U.S. Maoist organizations, the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP) and the October League (OL), to news of a power struggle among Mao's heirs was to close their eyes and wish it would go away. To date—more than a month after the purge—the RCP has yet to take a position on the events in China. Bob Avakian truly deserves this year's political ostrich-with-his-head-in-the-sand award: so far his RCP has only one article on the dramatic events in Peking, appearing in the November issue of its New York/New Jersey-area *Worker*. In this article, entitled "Revolution Will Continue in China," we are informed:

> "They [the "big struggles among top Party leaders in China"] are profoundly political struggles over opposite lines and policies and ways of doing things, over which direction things will take in China—a struggle over which way China will go and which class of people will have power."

That, believe it or not, is the beginning and the end of the RCP's line to date on the events in Peking. The *Worker* refuses to divulge the names of the "struggling top Party leaders," nor does it tell us just what the "profoundly political struggles" are about. With Mao no longer on the scene, the RCP is having difficulty figuring out whether China is on the "capitalist road" or the "socialist road."

If the RCP is procrastinating so long that it looks ridiculous, its rival, the OL, stalled until the defeat of the "Gang of Four" became official and the winning line could be copied word for word from *Peking Review*. The first

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## The Poverty of Maoist Economics...6

### The Reactionary Utopian Doctrines of Bettelheim/Sweezy

## Deportation Threatened

# Houston Cops Arrest 91 Iranian Students

On Monday, November 8 members of the Iranian Students Association (ISA) set up a picket line outside the French consulate in Houston. They had planned a four-day vigil in protest of the arrest in France of six Iranian students charged with a November 3 assassination attempt on an Iranian diplomat, reputed to be a member of SAVAK, Iran's dreaded secret police.

The action was cut short, however, by a brutal, premeditated assault by Houston police on the 150 demonstrators. *Ninety-one* (91) Iranians were arrested on misdemeanor charges and another was charged with "aggravated assault on a police officer" for allegedly stabbing one of the cops in the hand with a screwdriver. Since the mass arrests, the victimized students have been hit with punitive bail and threats of deportation to Iran, where they face jail and torture.

The cops reportedly confronted the Iranians and told demonstrators to disperse within two minutes or be arrested. However, Iranians who escaped arrest stated they had never heard any warning, and at least one media account said that the cops moved in even *before* two minutes had passed. Houston police chief B.G. (Pappy) Bond later stated that he is "personally fed up" with people "who don't live in this country who try to solve the problems of their government by disturbing the people of Houston."

Bond added hypocritically: "We leaned over backwards to keep from having to put these people in jail.... We used methodical and humane methods of removing the people from the streets" (quoted in *Houston Chronicle*, 10 November). However, a *Houston Post* account on the same day reported that: "At least one demonstrator had his arms pinned behind him by a police officer while another officer hit the man in the face with his club." Moreover, 40 demonstrators were sent to the hospital by Bond's "humane methods," though most of the Iranians refused to be treated.

This attack takes place in the context of an increasingly conservative mood and upsurge of right-wing activity in the Houston area. Assistant district attorney Tom Henderson boasted that "People were applauding" as the Iranians were assaulted. In addition to the recent KKK attack on October League (OL) supporters (see *WV* No. 128, 8 October), the Klan has recently stepped up harassment of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), assembling mobs outside Houston SWP headquarters, and recently opened up a public book store in suburban Pasadena to spread its racist filth. Also in the last month, two OLers were arrested while selling literature outside the Shell Oil refinery in Deer Park, an activity leftists in Houston have carried out without incident for several years.

Darrell Davidson/Houston Chronicle

**One of the 91 Iranian students being arrested November 9 in Houston.**

On the same day the racist cop attack on the student protesters took place in Houston, officials in Washington were announcing that they had been unable to find any evidence of "illegal and improper activity" by the Iranian government in the U.S. Yet on a recent U.S. tour, Iran's Shah Reza Pahlevi openly announced that he had SAVAK agents all over the world "checking on" Iranian students abroad. In September, Alfred L. Atherton, Jr., U.S. assistant secretary for Near Eastern and South Asian affairs confirmed the presence of SAVAK agents in the U.S. "to check on potential terrorists."

Despite pious blusterings from Capitol Hill, collaboration between the U.S. (via the CIA) and police agents of despotic regimes like the Shah's obviously exists. Recent investigations have established that the South Korean Central Intelligence Agency (KCIA) aggressively threatens and carries out assaults on anti-Park dissidents in the U.S. In 1973 KCIA agents kidnapped a former presidential candidate and took him back to Seoul where he remains in prison.

Within two days of the Houston police attack immigration officials were already interviewing those arrested. By Thursday, orders to "show-cause" why they shouldn't be deported had been prepared against three persons, and Troy Adams, temporary director of the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service's Houston office stated his office was "prepared to work through the night" to process more (*Houston Post*, 12 November). Later reports indicate as many as 90 may be deported.

While most of those arrested were charged with "disorderly conduct," a misdemeanor that carries a $27.50 fine, Harris County sheriff Jack Heard has refused to accept appearance bonds because Adams wants the Iranians detained while he carries out his "investigation." This blatant denial of elementary civil rights is an outrage! Adams has indicated that the minimum bond on the "show-cause" orders he is frantically preparing would be at least $2,000! Moreover, actual deportation would mean sending the student protesters straight to the dungeons of the SAVAK torturers, who earlier this year executed nine leftist prisoners.

The entire working-class movement must come to the defense of these victims of racist capitalist "justice" and demand that they be granted political asylum in the U.S. Stop the deportations! Drop all the charges now! ■

## In Jail Since 1950/54

# NYC Demo Demands Freedom for Puerto Rican Five

NOVEMBER 13—In one of the largest demonstrations held in New York City this year, almost a thousand people came out to Union Square today to participate in the annual march to free five jailed Puerto Rican Nationalists—the longest-held political prisoners in U.S. history.

Of the five, Oscar Collazo was imprisoned in 1950 for participating in an unsuccessful Nationalist Party assassination attempt against American president Harry Truman, a protest against brutal U.S. suppression of the pro-independence uprising that year in Jayuya, Puerto Rico. The other four—Lolita Lebrón, Rafael Cancel Miranda, Andrés Figueroa Cordero and Irving Flores—were jailed following a 1954 machinegun raid on the U.S. House of Representatives. While these acts of individual terrorism are incapable of advancing the struggle for Puerto Rican independence, the workers movement wholeheartedly defends these militants whose actions were directed against the imperialist oppressor.

The NYC demonstration was attended by most of the city's left groups, with large numbers of supporters of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, Puerto Rican Nationalist Party and the New York-based El Comité. Among the participants were representatives of the Partisan Defense Committee, with signs calling for freedom of the Nationalist prisoners as well as demanding "For United Defense Against Colonialist Attacks on Independence Movement." The Spartacist League (SL) raised a "Free the Five" banner which also called "For the Independence of Puerto Rico! For a Socialist Federation of the Caribbean!" SL signs demanded "U.S. Out of Puerto Rico" and "No Illusions in Petty-Bourgeois Nationalism."

The defense activity was marred by a blatant act of censorship of revolutionary politics when the National Coordinating Committee for the Puerto Rican Five excluded the SL for refusing to lower its sign protesting petty-bourgeois nationalism. This bureaucratic suppression was doubly sectarian because, although the Committee attempted to portray the demonstration as an apolitical defense activity, the thrust of the speeches and slogans of the day was overwhelmingly nationalist.

When the SL supporters refused to give up their right to raise communist politics within the context of united-front defense of the prisoners, goons of the Workers World Party, always johnny-on-the-spot hatchet men for "Third World" petty-bourgeois nationalists, soon appeared to enforce the exclusion. Rather than submit to this censorship of its Trotskyist politics, the SL, supported by the Partisan Defense Committee, withdrew from the rally. ■

WV Photo

**Demonstrators in New York City on November 13 demand freedom for five Puerto Rican nationalists held in U.S. jails.**

**Just Out!**

**WOMEN AND REVOLUTION**

**No. 13**

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- On "Gay Liberation": A Marxist Analysis
- Seattle Radical Women
- Women Scapegoated for Rising Unemployment
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## Poor Showing for Independistas in Colonial Elections

# Puerto Rico Must Be Independent!

Pro-independence parties made a surprisingly poor showing in the Puerto Rican elections November 2, pulling only 6 percent of the vote, or about half what analysts had predicted. At the same time, the pro-statehood New Progressive Party (PNP), allied to the Republicans, won an upset victory over the incumbent Popular Democrats (PPD). The "*populares*"—connected with mainland Democrats—have been running the colony for the U.S. during most of the last 35 years under the guise of "Commonwealth" status. The swing to the conservative statehood party was interpreted as a protest vote against the island's dire economic situation.

The U.S. government could scarcely contain its delight with the meager returns for the *independentistas*, both the bourgeois Puerto Rican Independence Party (PIP) and the social-democratic Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP). Seeing another opportunity to stymie the PSP's perennial hat-in-hand pilgrimages to the United Nations begging for Puerto Rican independence, the imperialist bourgeoisie is flaunting the election returns against the nationalists. A 5 November *New York Times* editorial smugly remarked that:

> "...those United Nations delegates, who at Cuba's behest, annually demand 'self-determination and independence' for Puerto Rico should note that in a free exercise of self-determination only about 6 percent of the island's voters supported independentista parties."

The vote count is in fact suspiciously low. In the 14 November issue of its paper, *Claridad*, the PSP pointed to several examples of ballot-box tampering and announced it is demanding a recount of all electoral college votes taken where PSP observers were not present. Moreover, since the campaign began, the ruling Popular Democrats had been accused of a bagful of "dirty tricks." The PSP's release last July of tapes given to it by members of the telephone workers union, proving that the government has been illegally wiretapping the phones of PSP candidates and other political opponents, touched off a scandal now being called the "Puerto Rican Watergate."

For months, both the president of the government-owned telephone company, Salvador Rodríguez Aponte, and Governor Hernández Colón (both PDP bigwigs) denied knowledge of the tapes. Then they accused the telephone workers union of fabricating them. Now, to divert attention from the issue, the government is concentrating on the refusal of PSP general secretary Juan Mari Bras to reveal who gave him the tapes.

As the PSP maintains, the phone company is undoubtedly funneling information to the FBI and CIA for use in their long campaign of harassment which has led to a number of physical attacks on *independentistas* since 1971. Last March, Mari Bras' brother, Santiago Mari Pesquera, was savagely assassinated while the PSP leader was touring the U.S. and speaking before the UN Committee on Decolonization. During the campaign even the bourgeois gubernatorial candidate, the PNP's Romero Barcelo, complained that the phone company president's wife, who was running on the Popular Democrat ticket, used information about PNP finances which could only have been gained through illegal wiretapping!

Clearly the U.S. imperialists and their PDP and PNP lackeys will stop at nothing to prevent the independence of Puerto Rico, a key political and military outpost crucial to U.S. control of the Caribbean. But the low vote for the *independentista* parties also reflects the undeniable fact that at present the majority of the Puerto Rican population is not in favor of independence.

The PNP victory at the polls does not mean there is mass sentiment in favor of statehood. Rather the Puerto Rican working masses have reached the end of their rope with "Operation Bootstrap," the *populares* miracle solution to attract industry by cancelling taxes for U.S. capitalists. As new investment has tailed off, conditions on the island have been growing increasingly desperate, with unemployment now estimated at 40 percent and over two-thirds of the population on food stamps! The program of the PPD—to woo back industry through carrying out massive wage cuts—undoubtedly contributed greatly to the November 2 vote of no confidence in their policies.

Some Puerto Ricans may believe that statehood would bring a higher standard of living, ignoring the fact that the island has become industrialized above all because of its low-wage, tax-free "business climate." (The 2 million Puerto Ricans crammed in run-down New York City slums like Harlem and the South Bronx could tell them differently in any case.) But rather than active support for statehood (or the PPD's "free associated state" mask for colonial rule), there is widespread sentiment that independence would bring a drop, possibly drastic, in the Puerto Rican standard of living, presently the highest in the Caribbean.

This could well be the case should the island follow the path of other ex-colonial countries under bourgeois rule, which are *unable* to break from imperialist control (as well as being splintered into a myriad of tiny statelets). Certainly the bourgeois nationalist parties and the reformist PSP—with its explicit "two-stage" program of bourgeois independence first, socialism "later"—offer no answer to the masses' concerns. The only road to eliminating neo-colonial poverty and imperialist domination is through proletarian revolution in the Caribbean and above all in North America.

The Spartacist League fights for the Trotskyist program of permanent revolution, for the working class to take the lead of all the oppressed in the colonial and semi-colonial countries in resolving the national and agrarian questions in the only way possible: by overthrowing capitalism and establishing proletarian rule. At the same time, we *unconditionally* demand independence for Puerto Rico, even if the resultant is a Puerto Rican capitalist ruling class. Any imperialist machinations such as a bogus colonial "referendum" must be rejected. For Marxists the right of self-determination for colonial peoples can be realized *only* through independence: the demand for "unconditional and immediate liberation of the colonies without compensation...signifies nothing more nor less than the recognition of the right to self-determination," wrote Lenin ("The Socialist Revolution and the Right of Nations to Self-Determination," January-February 1916).

Latin NY

**Juan Mari Bras with tapes proving illegal wiretapping of PSP candidates.**

Claridad

**Former Puerto Rican governor Rafael Hernández Colón.**

In the face of the unexpectedly meager election returns, a number of phony excuses are now being raised. The PSP covered itself beforehand, disingenuously proclaiming that since it had not run before, any vote above zero would be an advance. Only a group as grotesquely electoralist as the U.S. Socialist Workers Party (SWP) could run a headline like the one which appeared on the front page of the 19 November *Militant* announcing "Puerto Rican Independence Vote Grows," even though the total was less than one-third of the Nationalist Party vote in the 1950's. (The SWP was mainly looking for arguments to justify the electoral support given by its Puerto Rican affiliate, the Liga Internacionalista de los Trabajadores [LIT—Workers Internationalist League] to the PSP.)

With nothing to choose but the colonialists, the bourgeois PIP and the reformist/nationalist PSP, revolutionaries could not call on Puerto Rican workers to cast their vote for any of the parties in the November 2 election. However, this does not mean adopting a policy of abstention on principle, as was done by the Puerto Rican Anti-Electoral Front (FRAE), composed of the Movimiento Socialista Puertorriqueño (MSP—a Castroite group), the Liga Socialista (LS—affiliated with Progressive Labor in the U.S.) and the Puerto Rican Communist Party. According to a speech by *independentista* labor leader Federico Cintrón ("Tasks of the Puerto Rican Liberation Movement") in New York on October 30, the FRAE holds that the elections have "sharpen[ed] the divisions within the working class" and "dilute[d] the ideological positions of parties." The FRAE's answer is "armed struggle."

The long history of electoral abstentionism in the Puerto Rican independence movement goes back to the Nationalist Party's heyday in the 1930's. Marxists, of course, point out that the imperialist yoke will not be thrown off by the ballot box. Moreover, in the case of a colonial referendum on independence boycotting is frequently a correct tactic. But to make electoral abstentionism into a principle is to stupidly throw away a useful platform for reaching the working masses.

As against the narrow nationalism of the PSP, Trotskyists insist that the struggle for Puerto Rican independence and a socialist federation of the Caribbean must be carried out in close collaboration with the U.S. working class. Not only are there half as many people of Puerto Rican origin living in New York City as on the island (along with hundreds of thousands from other West Indian islands), but the colony's industrial economy is closely tied to that of the U.S. due to its proximity. A revolutionary Leninist party can be built in Puerto Rico only as part of the international struggle to reforge the Fourth International. ■


**WORKERS VANGUARD**

**Marxist Working-Class Weekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.**

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# Britain...

*(continued from page 1)*

strength, but represent a deep social crisis manifesting itself on the parliamentary plane. Significant sections of the bourgeoisie are agitating, not as they usually do for a Tory government, but for a "National Government" of right-wing Labourites, Tories and Liberals. This is a deliberate appeal for the repetition of the Ramsay MacDonald government of the Depression years. The undisguised anti-working-class policies of the "traitor MacDonald" produced among the Labourite masses a profound rejection of popular-front coalitionism which has lasted more than 40 years.

### Strike Against the "Social Contract"!

The Callaghan government has staked its hold on power on tightening the screws of the "Social Contract," whose key is the conscious treachery of the TUC tops. Despite the frontal assault on the living standards of the British workers, there have been fewer strikes this year than in any year since 1953. Thus far the only organized opposition to the vicious austerity program has come from a few trade-union leaders, mainly in the government employee sector. It is this sector which is most imminently threatened; the *Economist* is calling for the immediate sacking of *100,000* government employees!

The TUC tops have refused to back even the weak-kneed plea for mercy (a one-day "lobby" of respectful begging in front of Parliament November 17) called by the government employee unions. Both Jack Jones of the powerful Transport and General Workers Union and Hugh Scanlon of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers—the "spearheads of the Social Contract" (*Guardian* [London], 28 October)—prefer to accept the layoffs without even a whimper of protest. The "left"-dominated BLP National Executive Committee passed a ritual motion in support of the impotent "lobby" as a sop to the workers under the axe, while doing nothing to build even this parliamentary "pressure" protest.

The BLP finds itself in an unenviable position. As a mass reformist workers party administering a capitalist state in a period in which its capitalist masters are insisting on drastic cuts in the workers' living standards, its policies necessarily provoke bitter disaffection among the working-class ranks, which will reflect itself in the possibility of deep splits in the BLP. Uneasiness is pervasive in the face of a downward economic spiral which cannot be halted. The TUC and the Labour "lefts" emit ineffectual squeaks of protest while collaborating in shoving the "Social Contract" policy of enforced social peace down the workers' throats. The right wing of the parliamentary Labour Party, known as the Manifesto Group, proposes to go the government one better by demanding even more spending cuts. The current spate of calls for a coalition "National Government" of the BLP (minus the "lefts") and the Tories reflects the apprehension that the catastrophic economic situation may shake the BLP to pieces.

The erosion of social gains won by the workers since World War II (welfare, old-age pensions, education, health care, etc.) in itself constitutes a significant inroad into the workers' living standards, but this is only one subordinate consequence of the trade-union bureaucrats' grovelling acceptance of the whole "Social Contract." By themselves, protests against public expenditure cuts are a way to let the TUC leadership off the hook by channeling militancy into traditional "pressure" protests directed at the parliamentary Labour Party. The central axis of any successful resistance to the Labour government's austerity program must involve mobilization for effective industrial action by the organised labour movement to smash the "Social Contract"!

Jack Jones (left) and Jim Callaghan — Economist

### Centrists Tail BLP "Lefts"

The potential for massive social struggles in Britain in the next period is immense. But the self-styled "revolutionary left" is deeply mired in one or another form of capitulation to the Labour Party "lefts"; their strategy can generally be summed up in the recurring slogan "Make the Lefts Fight!"

When they are not involved in some pantomime inside the BLP constituency organisations, a favourite activity of the various British pseudo-Trotskyist groups has been construction of their own fake-mass reformist front groups. None of these groups addresses the urgent task of building programmatically based class-struggle oppositions within strategic sections of the proletariat, and invariably they refuse to confront the critical political questions.

For example, the Workers Socialist League (WSL) substituted organisational small change for programme, bragging that the 250 WSL supporters who attended its recent "conference on wage control and union democracy" were the expression of the "powerful feeling building up in the workers movement against the TUC's 4-1/2 percent wage cutting policy" (*Socialist Press*, 3 November). A leaflet distributed at this conference by London supporters of the international Spartacist tendency focused on the WSL's programmatic inadequacy:

> "The conference resolution talks of a fight against the bureaucrats. But on what basis? Is it a fight to oust them, and by whom are they to be replaced? The only real alternative is the construction of groupings in the unions based on a genuine and comprehensive class-struggle program.... Any genuine alternative leadership must pose the need for a real workers government based on democratically elected workers councils, administering a planned economy in which the capitalists have been expropriated. The conference resolution refuses to go beyond the call for nationalisation of companies in economic difficulty.... The lack of a fighting strategy against the Labour Party, its absolute silence on the Labour "lefts" and the failure to oppose import controls are...a systematic adaptation to militants who share the outlook of the Labour 'lefts'."

The International Socialists (I.S.)—the only group to the left of the Labour Party to stand candidates in the recent by-elections—focused almost entirely on local reforms: a fight to keep open a maternity hospital in Bloxwich, a struggle to maintain bus service in Walsall, a call for "rank and file organisation to stop the dreadful decline in the center of Newcastle caused by property speculators" (*Socialist Worker*, 16 October), with some vague rhetoric about a "socialist alternative."

The nearest the I.S. came to a political programme was a series of militant incantations: "Fight Racism! Stop Price Rises! Fight for the Right to Work! Build the Rank and File Movement!" (*Socialist Worker*, 23 October). The "Social Contract" itself was rarely even mentioned.

Asked to define his programme, Dave Hayes, I.S. candidate for Newcastle Central replied: "We stand for total opposition to unemployment, to hospital closings. We want to see the strengthening of the Right to Work Campaign nationally..." (*Red Weekly*, 4 November). In no way does the I.S. offer a programmatic alternative to the wage-slashing Labour Party. There is no basis for extending critical support to I.S. candidates in the by-election.

With typical capitulationist "logic," the International Marxist Group (IMG) called for a vote for Hayes even though "it has proved impossible to support the *Socialist Worker* campaign itself" (*Red Weekly*, 21 October). Although spiced up with complaints that the I.S. campaign did not "raise any socialist demands," the IMG's main objection is that the I.S. candidates run as I.S. members—rather than as the joint candidates of the sort of local front groups in which the IMG wallows. For the IMG—which believes that the super-opportunist Militant Group, buried deep in the Labour Party, is "sectarian"—the main weakness of the "ultra-left" I.S. is that it poses its own organisation, rather than the IMG's long-awaited "new mass vanguard," as the alternative to the "crisis of leadership":

> "The IS does not represent the 'only' alternative. But it represents part of it. That is why it is correct to call for a vote to the IS against the Labour candidates in Walsall and Newcastle."
>
> —*Red Weekly*, 4 November

The International-Communist League (I-CL) and the WSL both argued against voting for the I.S. candidates. In a confused article, the I-CL argued that since the I.S. has no "mass base" a vote for the I.S. could be justified only "on the basis of its program," not as a "lesser evil" to the BLP. But the workerist I-CL—which appears to rule out the possibility of ever extending critical support to the candidates of a small centrist organisation—allows for the tactic of such support to individuals who may enjoy a degree of mass support, adducing as an example the reformist Eddie Blyth who, after he was expelled from the BLP, stood in the elections "clearly against corruption in the labour movement, with the support of several local trade union bodies" (*Workers Action*, 9-15 September). Thus the I-CL's ostensible programmatic criteria can be speedily shelved for a splinter candidate if only he is popular enough.

### Split the Labour Party!

In arguing against a vote for the I.S., the WSL raised the danger of a Tory victory. It is a valid tactic for revolutionists to extend critical support to mass reformist workers parties when they stand against bourgeois parties, as a means to expose their pro-capitalist leaderships and split away their mass base. We would prefer to see Labour in office because from that pinnacle of merciless class treason the leadership stands most exposed before the ranks. When the Tories are in power, the BLP tops who today enforce the most drastic assault on the workers' living standards can blame everything on the Tories. The exposure of the Labour traitors as the equally loyal adminstrators of British capitalism facilitates the main task of revolutionists toward the BLP: to split this reformist obstacle along class lines.

But such critical support is not an invariable tactic even when the revolutionary organisation cannot field its own candidates. Other considerations may supersede even when a reformist workers party is standing for election in its own name against the bourgeois parties—as for example when such a party's avowal of the intent to form a popular-frontist coalition is as yet unrequited.

In the present conjuncture, the necessity to provide a clear lead against the "Social Contract" is the central and overriding issue, the issue around which the possibility of splitting the mass base of the Labour Party from its misleadership is urgently posed. In these by-elections, which were widely seen as a referendum on the Labour government's performance, to vote for Labour Party candidates who stand as supporters of Callaghan's viciously anti-working-class policies undercuts this vital task and indeed implies a vote for the "Social Contract," the crucifixion of the British workers. Therefore in the November voting revolutionists could seek to exploit and intensify working-class anger over the Labour government's policies by adopting a policy of conditional non-support to BLP candidates. Only if a Labour candidate had stood as committed to *support struggles of the workers to break the "Social Contract"* would critical electoral support have been justified. But all that the working class was offered were the fake-left MPs who are fulsome in their sanctimonious *sympathy* for the workers in their hardships under the "Social Contract," and no less fulsome in their apologias: "now is not the time," "the parliamentary majority is in danger," etc.—i.e., the traditional posture of an aspirant for ministerial post in Labour-led capitalist Britain.

As the present social and economic crisis of British capitalism acquires excruciating intensity, it becomes the increasingly evident duty of revolutionists to pose sharply and clearly the necessity for the workers to break from the reformist traitors of the BLP and trade-union bureaucracy. This struggle must be expressed in terms of irreconcilable opposition to the Callaghan government and the "Social Contract" and requires the creation of an authentically revolutionary, Trotskyist vanguard party fighting for the transitional programme.

—Smash the "Social Contract"! Down with the chauvinist plans for import controls! For a sliding scale of hours and wages to combat unemployment and inflation!

—No to the social welfare cuts!

—For workers control! For the expropriation of basic industry without compensation!

—Oust the Labour bureaucrats, right and "left," Callaghan and Benn, Jack Jones and Clive Jenkins!

—Not Callaghan's capitalist government, but a workers government to expropriate the capitalist class!

# Ominous Resurgence of German Militarism

# West German Army Fetes Nazi Crusader

Der Spiegel

**"Democratic" West German army yearns for glory of Third Reich.**

West Germany's resurgence as the most powerful capitalist industrial nation in Europe and bulwark of NATO has inexorably led to the re-emergence of German nationalism and militarism. Despite the fact that its predecessors lost two world wars, the military elite continues to praise the "noble" traditions of the German imperial army, including the early days of World War II under Adolf Hitler. Cast in a more self-effacing posture under the post-occupation federal republic, the officer corps of the "democratic Bundeswehr" yearns for past glory. This sentiment is seeking more open expression, and has caused a major scandal currently shaking West German society.

On October 22-24, the Immelmann air reconnaissance unit held a reunion to which they invited members of the World War II Immelmann dive-bomber wing, including most prominently the wing commander, Hans-Ulrich Rudel. Rudel was the most decorated German officer of the war (having knocked out 519 tanks), and remains an arrogant unreconstructed Nazi.

After fleeing to Argentina in 1945, where he belonged to the "Circle of Friends of Adolf Hitler," Rudel returned to Germany and has been active in several ultra-right parties. He began in the Socialist Party of the Reich, outlawed in 1949, then became a spokesman for the German Party of the Reich (DRP), and is presently a member of the neo-Nazi German National Party (NPD). Just last year Rudel proposed that Rudolf Hess be given a Nobel Prize, and he defends the Nazis' "crusade against Bolshevism" at every opportunity.

In response to the recent controversy, Rudel stated to *Bild*—the leading West German tabloid, part of the reactionary Springer newspaper empire—that the Americans should be grateful to the Nazis and should have supported them, since then the "grave problem of Bolshevism" would not exist. In a 1950's pamphlet he argued for a future war provided "we Germans can again be something," by obtaining "Lebensraum" in the East (quoted in *Spiegel*, 8 November).

Evidently, permission to hold the Immelmann reunion was requested last

Der Spiegel

**Most-decorated Nazi officer Hans-Ulrich Rudel was saluted by West German army.**

spring and denied by the defense ministry in Bonn. When it was held anyway with the presence of Rudel a public outcry ensued. In response, two high-ranking Luftwaffe officers, chief of operations Lieutenant General Walter Krupinski and his deputy Major General Karl-Heinz Franke, held an off-the-record press conference at which they defended the invitation. Krupinski, who served under Rudel on the Russian front, remarked that, "The cult of tradition is necessary and the Bundeswehr is in the tradition of the armies which preceded it."

Franke went much further, in a clear provocation to the ruling Social Democratic Party (SPD), stating, "The presence of the ex-colonel cannot be condemned so long as left extremists and communists like [Herbert] Wehner, who at that time lived in the Soviet Union, continue to sit in parliament" (quoted in *Le Monde*, 2 November). Wehner, a former Communist, is head of the SPD parliamentary fraction. At this point, Social Democratic deputies demanded action and SPD defense minister Georg Leber was forced to

*continued on page 9*

# Stop Healyite Thug Attacks!

*The following statement is being circulated by the Australian Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and the Spartacist League of Australia and New Zealand (SL/ANZ) as part of a campaign to halt vicious physical attacks by members of the Healyite Socialist Labour League (SLL) against left opponents. Two brutal and premeditated attacks were launched by SLLers against SL/ANZ and SWP members distributing literature in front of a "public" SLL meeting on October 17 at the Sydney Trades Hall, and several members of both groups were seriously injured, one SWPer requiring hospitalization (see* WV *No. 130, 22 October, for a complete report of the attack).*

*The Healyite political bandits have a long history of both Stalinist gangsterism and calling the cops to suppress their leftist opponents. Recently, along with their paranoid slander campaign against American SWP leaders Hansen and Novak, the thuggery has escalated. This violence discredits and injures the entire left.* WV *urges readers to protest this outrageous violation of workers democracy by sending statements of protest and endorsement of the statement below to: Bill Logan, Box 3473, GPO, Sydney 2001, Australia.*

Reports have come to our attention that Socialist Labour League (SLL) members have used physical violence against members of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and the Spartacist League (SL). It has been reported that several members of the SWP and the SL were set upon and severely beaten in a completely unprovoked attack outside the Sydney Trades Hall on October 17. Other reports of intimidation of sellers of *Tribune*, *Direct Action*, *Australasian Spartacist* and *The Socialist* in the past months and the disruption of SWP public meetings have also disturbed us.

These incidents lead us to make this statement in favor of the free exchange of differing views within the labor movement without fear of physical reprisal from anyone. Taking such a stand certainly does not mean repudiating the right of self-defence against violent attacks. It means making clear that differences among those fighting for social justice cannot be resolved by fists or other weapons. Any attempt to do so simply provides openings for police and other enemies of the workers movement to tear us apart.

Further, it certainly does not help us oppose the Government's use of violence against us if some of us use it against people who may not agree with our points of view. These attacks must stop and we must respect each other's democratic rights if we are to have an environment where there can be progress in the struggles of the oppressed.

We call on all individuals and organisations of the labor and radical movements to support this stand and add their signature to this statement.

Direct Action

**Healyite goons after assault on Spartacist League and Socialist Workers Party members in Sydney, Australia, October 17.**

# The Poverty of Maoist Economics

by Joseph Seymour

Maoists justify China's increasingly open and all-sided alliance with U.S. imperialism against the Soviet Union—manifested in Peking's continual warnings to strengthen NATO and in its support to the American-inspired, South African-led invasion of Angola last winter—by raising the assertion that capitalism has been restored in the USSR, which has allegedly become an "aggressive, expanding social-imperialist" state. More importantly, Western Maoist support for China's counterrevolutionary line derives from the belief that China is uniquely socialist, representing an even higher form of socialism than did Russia under Stalin. Thus the seemingly abstract question of what constitutes progress toward communism is an important factional bone of contention among Stalinists, with Maoist apologists dismissing any hesitations about Chinese foreign policy by invoking China's supposedly unparalleled rapid progress toward so-called communism.

The Soviet Stalinist concept of "socialism in one country" always involved a large element of technological dynamism: a faith that backward Russia, through its planned economy, could catch up with the advanced capitalist countries in a generation or less. Stalin's *Problems of Leninism* (1933) asserts: "We are fifty or a hundred years behind the advanced countries. We must make good this lag in ten years."

Maoist China is qualitatively even more economically backward than was Russia in the 1930's. The gulf between the productive capacity of the Chinese and American economies is so vast that bridging it in any politically meaningful time period is inconceivable. When the Maoist regime broke with the Soviet bloc in the late 1950's, it was therefore forced to radically alter traditional Stalinist concepts. "Socialism" was redefined so as to be imminently achievable in one of the most impoverished nations on earth.

Far more so than Moscow-line Stalinism, therefore, Maoist ideology is a sustained attack on the fundamental Marxist premise that socialism requires material superabundance through a level of labor productivity far higher than that of the most advanced capitalism. Maoist ideology rests on a *subjectivist* redefinition of class society. Thus socialist relations are achieved through a "cultural revolution," and the process which supposedly restored capitalism in the Soviet Union was located mainly inside the head of Nikita Khrushchev.

Maoism's primitivism and extreme voluntarism—particularly as presented during the "Cultural Revolution" period—have had great appeal for petty-bourgeois radicals in the West. It was the promise of an end to alienated labor here and now, without the whole historical period needed to raise the technological and cultural level of mankind, that enabled many of the followers of Marcuse to transfer their loyalty to Maoist China in the late 1960's. It is the belief that China has broken with Soviet-style "economism" to create a veritable "socialist man" that gives Maoism a mystique and appeal not shared by other "Third World" Stalinist regimes such as Castro's Cuba or Ho's Vietnam.

Of course, the realities of Chinese economic life are very distant from the idealizations of Western Maoist apologists like Charles Bettelheim, Paul Sweezy and William Hinton. China today is as stratified and as rife with bureaucratic corruption and black-marketeering as Brezhnev's Russia. The economic policies of the Chinese and Soviet bureaucratically deformed workers states have far more in common with one another than either would have with the economic program of a genuinely revolutionary, democratic workers government.

In particular, Chinese economic policy rather closely resembles the regional decentralization of the later Khrushchev period (1958-64). In both cases decentralization resulted from an intra-bureaucratic conflict followed by an attempt to transfer control of economic resources from the centralized administrative/technical apparatus to the local party chiefs. However, the purpose of this article is not to counterpose China's venal, bureaucratic reality to the "radical" Maoist ideal presented by its Western sycophants. Rather it is to expose and attack the reactionary utopian nature of the Maoist ideal itself.

**"Question 2: What is the aim of the Communists?**
**Answer: To organize society in such a way that every member of it can develop and use all his capabilities and powers in complete freedom and without thereby infringing the basic conditions of this society."**

**—Friedrich Engels, "Draft of a Communist Confession of Faith," 1847**

* * * * *

**"Only through the interaction of these three elements, state planning, the market, and Soviet democracy, can the correct direction of the economy of the transitional epoch be attained."**

**—Leon Trotsky, "The Soviet Economy in Danger," October 1932**

## Marx Against Primitive Egalitarianism

Running through Maoist apologetics is an identification of concern for technical progress with "capitalist roadism." Bettelheim, for example, exhorts backward countries to follow China's policy of "self-reliance" and not to base development on importing advanced technology, which he regards as intrinsically capitalistic (!):

> "Take, for example, the growth in the technical composition of capital, the apparently 'necessary' growth in the size of units of production in order to obtain a reduction in cost ... Far from being modalities of 'natural laws of technique,' are these not, quite simply, *social laws*—an effect of the domination of capitalist relations of production over the productive forces, quite concretely, an effect of the *laws of capitalist concentration and centralization*? There are many reasons for thinking that this is the case." [emphasis in original]
>
> —Charles Bettelheim, *Economic Calculation and Forms of Property*, 1975

The contrast between a supposedly egalitarian, voluntarist "Chinese road to socialism" and Soviet-style "economism" is clearly stated by Paul Sweezy, who is less concerned than Bettelheim to claim Maoism for orthodox Marxism:

> "...the experience of the Chinese Revolution...has shown that a low level of development of productive forces is not an insuperable obstacle to the socialist transformation of social relations and does not necessarily entail a process of 'primitive accumulation' and the aggravation of inequalities; that it is self-defeating to try to build the material bases of socialism first, while putting off until later the task of developing compatible social relations...."
>
> —"The Nature of Soviet Society, Part I," *Monthly Review*, November 1974

And Sweezy goes on to emphasize what he believes to be the unique contribution to Marxism of the "Chinese road":

> "It was only in China, where of all countries in the world conditions were most favorable for revolution, that Marxism could finally be purged of its (essentially bourgeois) economistic taint."
>
> —"The Nature of Soviet Society, Part II," *Monthly Review*, January 1975

It is the fate of revisionism to rediscover the very doctrines and ideas *against* which Marxism developed. In the case of Maoism we see a clear reversion to pre-Marxian petty-bourgeois conceptions of socialism. The programmatic models constructed by the first socialists—Babeuf, Owen, Weitling, Cabet—were moneyless, marketless, self-sufficient productive units where labor was allocated and goods distributed by a central political authority. In short, they were pure versions of the "people's communes" of the Chinese Great Leap Forward period, which Bettelheim claims as a higher form of socialism than the state property of the Soviet Union.

To do historic justice to Babeuf and the other early communists, their model of a just society was necessarily limited and conditioned by the pre-industrial technology prevalent in continental Europe. Marx was able to transcend primitive egalitarian notions of socialism only by assimilating the significance of the industrial revolution in Britain (in large part through his association with Engels).

Virtually from the day he became a communist in Paris in 1843, Marx vehemently attacked the doctrines of "barracks socialism" prevalent among contemporary communists like Weitling and Cabet:

> "This type of communism—since it negates the *personality* of man in every sphere—is but the logical expression of private property, which is this negation.... Crude communism is only the culmination of this envy and of this levelling-down proceeding from the *preconceived* minimum. It has a *definite, limited* standard. How little this annulment of private property is really an appropriation is in fact proved by the abstract negation of the entire world of culture and civilization, the regression to the *unnatural* simplicity of the *poor* and crude man who has not only failed to go beyond private property, but has not yet even reached it." [emphasis in original]
>
> —Karl Marx, *Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts of 1844*

And when the Communist League published the first and only issue of its journal, the *Kommunistische Zeitschrift*, in September 1847, it began with an editorial differentiating the League from other contemporary communist tendencies (as well as its own origins in the primitive egalitarian League of the Just):

> "We are not among those communists who are out to destroy personal liberty, who wish to turn the world into one huge barrack or into a gigantic workhouse. There certainly are some communists who...refuse to countenance personal liberty and would like to shuffle it out of the world because they consider that it is a hindrance to complete harmony. But we have no desire to exchange freedom for equality. We are convinced...that in no social order will personal freedom be so assured as in a society based upon communal ownership."
>
> —reproduced in David Ryazanov (ed.), *The Communist Manifesto of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels*, 1928

There is no better proof of the reactionary nature of the Maoist concept of socialism than that it was rejected by the vanguard of the European artisan-proletariat—the first Marxists—*130 years ago!*

The similarity between pre-Marxian models of socialism and the "radical" Maoist ideal arises because both are ideological expressions of social groups *doomed by historic progress*. Primitive egalitarianism—"barracks socialism"—was the response of artisans driven into destitution by the beginnings of the industrial revolution. It was the ideological expression of an impulse to *escape* from the hostile capitalist environment through the voluntary creation of self-sufficient producers' cooperatives.

The voluntarist Maoist version of "socialism in one country" expresses the false consciousness of a Stalinist bureaucracy in an economically backward deformed workers state isolated in a world dominated by the advanced capitalist powers. The overthrow of world capitalism through international proletarian revolution would sweep away the Chinese Stalinist regime. Therefore the Maoist bureaucracy

Pierre Bèrenger/Monthly Review Press

**Charles Bettelheim**

Ida Berman/Monthly Review Press

**Paul Sweezy**

Der Spiegel

**Stalin held that "socialism in one country" could be achieved through concentration on heavy industry (below) to the exclusion of consumer goods. Maoists go further, asserting that classes can be abolished in one of the most impoverished economies of the world (above). Marx, Lenin and Trotsky held that socialism could be achieved only on a world scale, based on the highest level of productive forces.**

Life

instinctively rejects international proletarian revolution as the key to a socialist future and projects communism as the *idealization of existing Chinese reality*.

Like Marx in the 1840's, his successors today, the Trotskyists, insist that socialism can only be based on the revolutionary appropriation of the productive forces of the advanced capitalist nations.

### Obscurantism in the Service of Maoist Subjectivism

The most ambitious effort to give the crude, even embarrassing, subjectivism of *Peking Review* editorials the appearance of Marxism is that of Charles Bettelheim, a long-time orthodox French Stalinist won to Maoism in the late 1960's. Bettelheim's works are a lengthy exercise in obscurantism. After tortuous terminological harangues and casuistic logic-chopping, Bettelheim arrives at the predictable conclusion that the class nature of society depends on the attitude of its ruling group. Bettelheim's assertion that capitalism has been restored in the USSR is as distant from scientific socialism as is his Chinese mentors' successive claims that Liu Shao-chi, then Lin Piao and now Chiang Ching were "capitalist roaders" (and long-time double-dealing "capitalist roaders" at that).

Of course, Bettelheim rejects the Marxist understanding of capitalism as a system of generalized commodity production associated with and requiring private ownership of the means of production. He chooses instead to define capitalism as "the separation of the direct producers from the means of production," a vague formulation smacking of New Left libertarianism and anarcho-syndicalism. Bettelheim sees wage labor as the essential element of capitalism:

> "The point to be particularly emphasized...is that it is *the wage-labor relation*, intervening in *commodity production*...that constitutes a capitalist social relation of production." [emphasis in original]
>
> —*Economic Calculation and Forms of Property*

Like everyone else who uses the term "state capitalism" to describe the USSR, Bettelheim gives to it his own, unique definition. Actually he has two fundamentally *different* definitions. State capitalism, for Bettelheim, is *either* the complex of commodity relations *within* the dictatorship of the proletariat, *or* a new *bourgeois* mode of production. This highly confusing terminological dualism is very important for Bettelheim's purpose as an apologist for Chinese Stalinism against the Kremlin.

This becomes clear, or at least clearer, if we contrast genuine anarcho-syndicalism to Bettelheim's Maoism. For an anarcho-syndicalist an economy characterized by wage labor is capitalism, and that's that. But Bettelheim is not a syndicalist—he is a Stalinist. He firmly believes in the uncontrolled rule of a bureaucratic elite, masquerading as a Leninist vanguard party, which maintains itself in power through violence and terror against opposition arising from the working masses.

In Bettelheim's theoretical schema, if a genuine proletarian vanguard is in power, then "state capitalism" is "subordinated" to the construction of socialism (the case of Maoist China). But if power is not in the hands of a genuine vanguard, then "state capitalism" becomes dominant (as in Brezhnev's Russia):

> "In brief, if the state apparatus which owns the means of production (as a result of state control) exists *apart* from the masses, and if, moreover, this *apparatus is not subject to control by a party which is linked to the masses and which helps the masses to struggle to gain control over the use made of the means of production*, we are then faced with relations constituting a structure which reproduces the *separation of the direct producers from their means of production*. If under these conditions the relationship between labor power and means of production is expressed through a *wage relationship*, this means that the relations of production are *capitalist relations*, and that those who occupy leading posts in the central state apparatus and associated apparatuses are, *collectively, a capitalist*—a state—*bourgeoisie*...."
>
> "For there can be no dictatorship of the proletariat if the ruling party is not the party of the working class." [emphasis in original]
>
> —Charles Bettelheim (with Paul Sweezy), *On the Transition to Socialism*, 1972

Since Bettelheim maintains that the vanguard party can be corrupted and lose its class character by a peaceful, organic process, capitalism can be restored without a violent counterrevolution. Thus inherent in Maoism is a fundamental rejection of the Leninist theory of the state in favor of subjectivist voluntarism.

Does Bettelheim provide us with an objective measure—like the nature and extent of economic planning—of whether commodity relations are dominant or subordinate in a given collectivized economy? No, he denies that such an objective measure exists. Isn't it true that the market plays a far larger role in China, and that enterprises have greater autonomy there than in Brezhnev's Russia? Illusions! cries Bettelheim. The power of economic planning is bestowed only upon the true disciples. And since the masters of the Kremlin are no longer among the faithful, they have lost the power to plan. Economic planning in the USSR does not exist!

> "If such a vanguard does not exist, and, in particular, if the ruling workers' party does not have, or no longer has, the characteristics which make it a vanguard of the working class, then the *political and ideological conditions* which enable planned relations to be dominant over market relations *do not exist*. When this is the case, it is, indeed, possible to *formally* have a document that bears the name 'plan,' but this only conceals the absence of real planning." [emphasis in original]
>
> —*Economic Calculation and Forms of Property*

At this point, Bettelheim reunites with the undisguised subjectivism of *Peking Review*. Classes no longer arise from objective economic relations but depend on the attitudes of those wielding political power at any given time. How are we to know if it is a "real" proletarian vanguard engaged in "real" economic planning? On this key question, Bettelheim and his Maoist cothinkers can only claim revelation by faith—and the latest purge. We wonder if Bettelheim's own faith that the Chinese Communist Party is a "real vanguard" has been shaken by the purge of Chiang Ching and the other Cultural Revolution "radicals." After all, Bettelheim's theorizing was originally inspired by the Cultural Revolution, all of whose leaders are now either dead or imprisoned as "capitalist roaders."

### Does Money-Capital Exist in the USSR?

Bettelheim's assertion that wage labor as it exists in the Soviet Union (and China) is a capitalist relation of production requires further investigation. Running through Bettelheim is a fixation with the money *form* as intrinsically capitalist. A central theme of *Economic Calculation and Forms of Property* is the counterposition of monetary (capitalist) to economic (socialist) calculation in heterogeneous physical units, including different types of labor inputs.

Under capitalism wage labor is the exchange of money-capital for labor time. Money is not any piece of paper which can sometimes be exchanged for commodities. A ration ticket is not money. Money is the *generalized* embodiment of exchange value; according to Marx, money exists as "the universal medium of payment, as the universal means of purchase, and as the universal embodiment of wealth" (*Capital*, Vol. I, Ch. 3). What distinguishes money from all other forms of finance is precisely its generalized exchange value. That is why Marx insisted that money could not be ultimately based on government fiat, but only on precious metals which had intrinsic value as the product of labor.

In a capitalist economy, the sale of a consumer good directly and immediately adds to the money-capital of the particular capitalists who produced and distributed it. In contrast, in the Soviet Union there is a rigid separation between the financial flow associated with wages and consumption and that associated with interenterprise transactions. This empirical fact is recognized by everyone from Joseph Stalin himself (in his *Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR*) to every bourgeois expert on the Soviet economy. Only Bettelheim and his Maoist cothinkers believe that money-capital circulates in the Soviet economy.

The sale of a consumer good in the USSR affects the bank balance of the enterprise which produced it very indirectly through the mediation of higher economic authorities. Furthermore the bank accounts of Soviet enterprises are not money-capital either. Enterprise managers cannot use "their" funds to purchase whatever they want, but only goods specified in the supply plan or subsequently approved by higher-ups. Using capitalist categories to describe the Soviet financial system, one can say that labor is paid in generalized ration tickets and enterprises buy and sell among themselves through the extension and contraction of trade credit, not the circulation of money-capital.

In this respect, the Soviet economy conforms to Marx's own explicit projection of the financial mechanisms of a socialized economy under scarcity:

> "In the case of socialized production the money-capital is eliminated. Society distributes labor-power and the means of production to the different branches of production. The producers may eventually receive paper vouchers, by means of which they withdraw from the social supply of the means of consumption a share corresponding to their labor time. These vouchers are *not* money. *They do not circulate*." [our emphasis]
>
> —Karl Marx, *Capital*, Vol. II, Ch. 18

### Rationing vs. Market Distribution

Predictably Bettelheim regards the elimination of commodity *forms* in

*continued on page 11*

## D.A. Prepares New Frame-Up in Retrial

# Jersey Courts, Cops Go After Rubin Carter Again

## Free Carter and Artis Now!

The retrial of Rubin "Hurricane" Carter and John Artis which opened November 11 has made clear that the state is not dropping its vendetta to pin a triple-murder frame-up charge on these victimized black defendants.

Accused of slaying three white patrons in a Paterson, New Jersey bar in 1966, Carter and Artis were found guilty and sentenced to life terms in 1967. They won a new trial last March—ten years after the shootings—on the basis of concealed evidence which had "substantially prejudiced" a fair trial.

This evidence involved promises of leniency and a payoff of $10,500 to two prosecution "eyewitnesses" facing a string of criminal charges unrelated to the Carter/Artis case. After claiming during the first trial that Carter and Artis were the gunmen who committed the murders, the two "eyewitnesses" recanted their testimony in September 1974 when the defendants had already been imprisoned for seven years. The prosecution's star witnesses evaded perjury charges by waiting until the statute of limitations had expired before coming forward with the truth.

In the new trial, the Passaic County prosecutor and judge seem as determined to "get" Carter and Artis as the first time around. For example:

• Alfred Bello, one of the "eyewitnesses," refused to testify and disappeared. Since his 1974 recantation, he has been singing a different tune: Carter and Artis, he claims, were at the scene of the slayings but were not the gunmen. The prosecutor's office has obtained a court order to hold Bello as a material witness and is considering additional charges against Carter and Artis as accomplices.

• Because of prejudicial pre-trial publicity deemed favorable to the defendants, the trial was moved from Paterson to Jersey City. But when the prosecutor opposed the change of venue on the grounds that newspaper and television coverage was actually more favorable to the defense in areas outside Paterson, the trial was moved back to Paterson!

• The prosecution's second "eyewitness," Arthur Bradley, was visited in Boston by someone from the prosecutor's office prior to the opening of the new trial. The D.A.'s representative asked how he would testify at the second trial, offered air fare to the trial and hinted at a deal on an indictment pending against him. After Bradley refused to testify and reported the conversation to the press, he was found guilty of the charges against him brought in the indictment. Presently out on bail, he maintains that his recantation was the truth.

WV Photo

**Rubin Carter speaking at June 5 rally for Gary Tyler at Borough Hall, Brooklyn.**

• The prosecution obtained $70,000 in additional budget allocations to reinvestigate the case.

• In court on November 12 prosecution witness Patricia Graham Valentine contradicted the testimony she gave at the 1966 trial concerning a shotgun cartridge and shell which the defense asserts were planted in Carter's car. The clerk's records show they were turned in as evidence *five days* after the murders, but Valentine now claims they were shown to her by a homicide detective within hours of the incident. Valentine, who lived above the Paterson bar, also identified tail lights she saw as those on the car driven by Carter when he was picked up for questioning rather than as another type which she described repeatedly at the first trial. Valentine has filed suit against song writer Bob Dylan for using her name in his solidarity song for Carter, "Hurricane."

• In an ominous move, the judge barred *New York Times* reporter Selwyn Raab from the courtroom Thursday and served him with a subpoena to testify for the prosecution. Not only is this a frontal attack on freedom of the press, but it was a clear attempt to gag news coverage of the case. It was Raab's reporting that produced the recantations by Bello and Bradley, without which there would not have been a new trial.

The second trial is barely a week old and already Carter and Artis' long-overdue freedom is threatened by an orchestrated attempt to put them in jail for the rest of their lives. Carter and Artis are innocent! Only a massive protest can stop the frame-up and win their freedom! Militants must demand, no more trials—drop the charges against Carter and Artis!

For more information on the Carter/Artis case, contact: Freedom for All Forever Corp., 505 Park Avenue, 12th Floor, New York, N.Y. 10022 (Att.: John Webster); phone: (212) 421-9207. ■


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## Maintenance Workers Fired as AFSCME Moves In

# Gotbaum Throws CUNY Workers on the Street

An attempt by City University of New York Graduate Center administrators to fire 37 maintenance workers and give their jobs to members of another trade union has sparked a bitter strike at the facility. Members of the Building Service Employees International Union (SEIU) Locals 32B and 32J employed at the center began their walkout October 28 when then were told they would be laid off and replaced by members of District Council 37 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME). The SEIU workers, some of whom have up to 29 years seniority, were given one week's notice by the administration and told to clear out.

According to the strikers, AFSCME leader Victor Gotbaum pressured the City University to fire the private contractor who had employed the SEIU workers in order to replace them with members of Gotbaum's own union. The DC37 employees had themselves been recently laid off from jobs at other university branches.

Despite the workers' determination, the mood on the picket lines this week has been grim. Not only are the SEIU members being knifed in the back by fellow unionists, but their picket lines are being sabotaged by a virtual army of scabs including DC37 workers in the building, college teachers organized under the Professional Staff Congress and, with few exceptions, the entire graduate student population.

Members of the CCNY chapter of the Spartacus Youth League have been walking the picket lines and are calling on the student body to respect the strike. But the lines are badly undermanned. SEIU leaders, having the same defeatist politics as the rest of the city's business-unionist labor bureaucracy, are doing nothing to try to mobilize massive support for the lines to keep the scabs out. One striker told *WV*, "We can't stop them [the scabs] because the union doesn't say to stop them." Another striker complained, "Nobody's doing anything at all. If the union leaders would only encourage us...."

Instead of bureaucratic infighting among the labor fakers for a share in an ever shrinking capitalist pie, the SEIU strike points to the need for labor solidarity in a fight for jobs for all. But from Victor Gotbaum, this despicable job raid is just par for the course. Since the bank-manipulated "fiscal crisis" began two years ago, the NYC labor bureaucracy's program to fight the massive slashing of government jobs has been a never ending series of criminal actions against the working people of the city.

Gotbaum's first move two years ago was to sacrifice workers holding "provisional" job titles, although some of them had years of seniority behind them, in the futile hope of keeping the workers with "permanent" status. Next he engineered a vicious campaign to force the early retirement of older workers in order to "save" the jobs of the younger, only to see thousands of the latter laid off a few months later. Then he made a deal with the city to liquidate the CETA hiring program, which provided jobs for thousands of minority workers, and to give their jobs to laid-off DC37 members.

In the interests of this desperate strategy of backstabbing and appeasement, in the past two years everything from vacation days and sick days to the crucial cost-of-living escalator in the AFSCME Local 420 municipal hospital workers' contract has gone out the window. And still the layoffs and the cutbacks keep coming, as Gotbaum knew they would. These fakers care only for protecting their own dues base, no matter whose jobs or what contractual gains are lost in the process.

### Shanker Gives Up Collective Bargaining

In another development this week, United Federation of Teachers (UFT) head Albert Shanker announced to the city's teachers, whom he forced back to work without a contract over a year ago, that not only is there still no settlement in sight, but he believes they would be better off to just forget about collective bargaining altogether until the "crisis" is over. "When there's nothing to be bargained for," he said, "it's a form of torture to send people in to bargain.... Maintaining bargaining-as-usual posture in a period of a combination of war and bankruptcy is ridiculous" (*New York Times*, 13 November).

Truly there is no limit to the chaos and hardship these "leaders" are willing to unleash upon the city's proletariat in order to save their own skins and avoid the course of class struggle which would quickly topple them from power. Class-struggle caucuses must be built to oust Gotbaum, Shanker and the rest of the bureaucrats from leadership before the unions' remaining gains are sacrificed and the unions themselves gutted. ■

# Bosses' Troops...

*(continued from page 12)*

consequences of reliance on the imperialist state.

So with consummate cynicism the SWP/NSCAR invite Devlin to this conference while duplicating the same criminal line that left Ulster's Catholics virtually defenseless before London's storm troopers. In fact, in every respect, the SWP compounds the treachery of Devlin's support for British intervention. Devlin and her cohorts in the PD of 1969 were an amorphous and largely inexperienced grouping of radical students. By contrast, the SWP of 1976 is a sophisticated, hardened and consciously reformist tendency.

The PD's capitulation to the pressures of mass illusions about the British role in Ulster followed (and contradicted) its brave participation in defense of the Bogside. No such contradiction exists for the SWP. It has consistently fought against the Spartacist League's advocacy of an independent labor and black defense force to stop racist attacks. And, finally, where Devlin eventually drew at least partially correct conclusions from the brutal British occupation, the SWP only defends and deepens its flagrantly opportunist line.

The call for "Troops to Boston" is nothing but a call for the government to enforce capitalist "law and order," i.e., the racist status quo. The lessons of history count for nothing before the reformists' appetite for respectability. If "Federal Troops to Boston" no longer plays a significant role in the SWP/NSCAR's propaganda, it is not because they are pulling back from the potentially catastrophic consequences of such a line. It merely signals a new phase in their groveling pursuit of popular-frontist alliances on terms acceptable to bourgeois liberals. ■

# B'nai B'rith, ACLU Defend Fascists' "Rights"

# Smash Nazis' Anti-Jewish Hate Campaign in Chicago!

CHICAGO—The tiny National Socialist White People's Party (Nazis), which has recently been waging a campaign of terror and intimidation against black people on Chicago's Southwest Side (particularly in the Marquette Park area), has turned its attention to a new target. In a leaflet entitled "We Are Coming," the Nazis announced that:

> "...the Chicago Park District and the courts...have both enforced what amounts to a complete ban of our right to free speech in public. And, since we have been so banned, we have decided to relocate in areas heavily populated by the real enemy—the Jews."

If the Nazis' "free speech" has been infringed upon, it is through no fault of blind civil libertarians among their intended victims. In response to the Nazis' threats to spew out their racialist and anti-semitic filth on the city's North Side, the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) of B'nai B'rith has stated that it *defends* the fascists' "Constitutional rights" to leaflet and assemble.

To outraged Jewish residents, some of them survivors of Hitler's death camps, the "responsible" ADL preaches they should *ignore* Nazi plans to hold race-hate marches in their neighborhoods:

> "In the eventuality that a rally ever should occur, it should be ignored. Nothing can be more demoralizing to the Nazis. A violent confrontation, in contrast, would put the Nazis on the front page, and whet their appetites for future activities."
>
> —letter of the Midwest regional office of the ADL, 30 September

Should these ostrich tactics fail to achieve the desired results, the ADL counsels recourse to the police, courts and civil liberties organizations, to find "constructive ways" to stop the Nazis.

The ADL's head-in-the-sand refusal to learn the lessons of history is shared by the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) and the reformist Socialist Workers Party (SWP), both of which "constructively" deal with the Nazis by defending the "rights" of these fascist terrorists. In fact, the Chicago ACLU's major project over the past year has been a campaign to stop police "harassment" (!) of the Nazis and to aid them in gaining permits for demonstrations from city officials. The SWP characterizes as "ultra-left" attempts by the left and labor movement to smash the fascist vermin before they multiply.

The handful of brownshirted stormtroopers who operate out of Lincoln Rockwell Hall distributing the "Protocols of the Elders of Zion" and posters showing "rabbis involved in the ritual murder of an innocent Gentile boy" are socially marginal worshippers of the Third Reich rather than harbingers of a mass fascist movement in the U.S. But in Marquette Park they have joined

Rachel Cowan/Village Voice

**Fascists have spearheaded mob violence against black people in Marquette Park, Chicago.**

forces with the native American fascists of the Ku Klux Klan and tapped a reservoir of violent white racism. The result has been three years of night-riding terror attacks on black families and thousands of screaming blood-thirsty racists attacking open-housing marchers.

Flabby civil libertarianism in the face of fascist and racist attacks is suicidal for the working class and oppressed minorities. While physical clashes with the Nazis ending in a stand-off or police intervention can embolden the fascists, the aim of the labor movement must be to ruthlessly *smash* these racist swine. Neither the courts nor cops of the capitalist state can be relied on to deny a platform to the poisonous anti-communist labor-haters: only resolute mass action by workers defense guards can decisively crush the fascist scum.

This is the strategy which the Spartacist League has consistently called for in Chicago and elsewhere that the Nazis and Klansmen have raised their repulsive heads. One inspiring example of successful defense against racist terror in Chicago was the action of United Auto Workers Local 6 in mounting a union defense guard at a black member's home that had been firebombed and stoned by night-riders. This is the answer to the Nazis' terrorist activities in Marquette Park and threatened anti-semitic campaign. No reliance on the bourgeois state—For workers defense guards against racist and fascist terror! ■


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# Nazi Crusader...

*(continued from page 5)*

retire the two air force generals, an act unprecedented in the 20-year history of the West German armed forces.

The Rudel affair has become a focal point for left-wing fears of a resurgence of Nazism in the officer corps as well as protest by the military elite and ultra-rightists against the SPD-dominated government. Hundreds of letters, some signed "Sieg Heil," have poured into German newspapers and the defense ministry. Ultra-rightist forces such as the "Union of the German People" (DVU) are becoming more vociferous in their veiled appeals to Nazism, and the DVU on November 7 staged a demonstration in Mannheim in honor of former Waffen SS officer Joachim Peiper, the fascists' current martyr.

Peiper was convicted in 1945 of the mass murder of 71 American soldiers, but was paroled after 12 years of a life sentence. He subsequently became chief of promotions for Porsche, until the metal workers union protested and he was fired. He moved to Volkswagen, where the union again drove him out, and finally settled in France. After some years he was uncovered by the French Communist Party, which launched a massive exposure campaign this year. Shortly thereafter a burned corpse, presumably that of Peiper, was discovered in the smouldering ruins of his home on Bastille Day (July 14) last summer.

It is well known that many top Nazis, like Peiper, hold down key jobs in German industry and finance; but since these loyal servants of capitalism have powerful protectors, the fact is kept quiet, "to avoid trouble." The few token show trials of old Nazis and their underlings which do occur in the federal republic meet with widespread cynicism, as the current 11-month trial of Mrs. Herminc Braunsteiner Ryan demonstrates.

Mrs. Ryan, who was extradited from the U.S., is one of five women and nine men charged with mass murder in connection with shootings, deadly injections, hangings and gassings of Jewish inmates at the Mjdanek concentration camp in Poland from 1941 to 1944. Although their guilt is unquestioned, one of the accused women complained that it was "unfair to punish the little people after most of the big shots escaped" (*New York Times*, 1 November).

It is no accident that the "big shots" have escaped, for it is the colleagues of the Peipers and Rudels who formed the core of the West Germany army when it was reconstituted in the mid-1950's. The nationalist tradition of this army—universally recognized as the most effective in capitalist Europe—represents a continuity with the Nazi period, and thus it is hardly surprising that defense minister Leber's cashiering of the two air force generals reportedly met with near-universal rejection in the officer corps.

The Nazi-infested Bundeswehr gives the lie to the Social Democrats' claim to be building a model welfare state and peace-loving nation. To maintain capitalist rule, the SPD has consciously fostered a strong military apparatus. Leber's predecessor as defense minister, Chancellor Helmut Schmidt, attempted to streamline the Bundeswehr with McNamara-style "rationalization." The current defense chief has made a particular point of catering to the whims of the general staff, almost always following their advice when there is a difference with civilian officials.

Characterized by an SPD colleague in parliament as being "in love with uniforms," Leber has consistently chosen military officers over civilians for defense ministry posts, repeatedly favored right-wing officers over those few who are known as SPD members or supporters, and constantly sees "Communist conspiracies" at work among Social Democratic legislators. He has often praised the military power as "that great renowned power which supports the state," and stated that it should have equal place with the parties, the trade unions and the churches.

SPD leaders have admitted that it was no secret that top Bundeswehr officers think like Krupinski and Franke, but now pro-Social Democratic media are beginning to sound the alarm that "the

Der Spiegel

**General Krupinski, fired as German air force chief for defending unauthorized fete of Nazi and attack on Social Democratic leader.**

military authorities began to go overboard in their self-confidence, and the generals became more autocratic" (*Spiegel*, 8 November). The moderate and "left" Social Democrats, however, only want the revanchist, ultra-rightist, fanatically anti-communist generals to keep their mouths shut.

Revolutionaries must point out that the only way to truly cleanse the military of fascist elements is by destroying the officer corps root and branch, through socialist revolution. The fact that Krupinskis and Frankes are legion in the West Germany army is nothing but an expression of the fact that the capitalist state, even where administered by reformist "socialists," always maintains the fascists in reserve, ready to intervene should bourgeois democracy fail to restrain the working class.

In 1979 the statute of limitations on war crimes expires in West Germany. All foes of Nazi barbarism must demand that this collective pardon be annulled, and known war criminals be rapidly brought to trial. It is reported that the "Office of Protection of the Constitution" has more than 3,000 cases of Nazi murderers in their files, but systematically ignores them, instead concentrating on a McCarthy-style witchhunt of leftists in government employment (*New York Times*, 29 August).

While demanding that war criminals be jailed for their crimes, Marxists warn that no confidence can be placed in the bourgeois state to crush the fascists. Unless the German and European proletariat rises up to sweep away bourgeois rule, Nazi barbarism and the imperialist holocaust of World War II will be repeated on an infinitely more destructive scale. ■


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# Maoists...

*(continued from page 1)*

article on the dramatic events in Peking, appearing in the November issue of its New York/New Jersey-area *Worker*. In this article, entitled "Revolution Will Continue in China," we are informed:

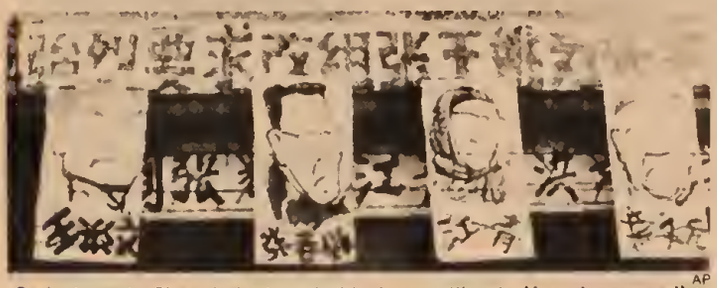
> "They [the "big struggles among top Party leaders in China"] are profoundly political struggles over opposite lines and policies and ways of doing things, over which direction things will take in China—a struggle over which way China will go and which class of people will have power."

That, believe it or not, is the beginning and the end of the RCP's line to date on the events in Peking. The *Worker* refuses to divulge the names of the "struggling top Party leaders," nor does it tell us just what the "profoundly political struggles" are about. With Mao no longer on the scene, the RCP is having difficulty figuring out whether China is on the "capitalist road" or the "socialist road."

If the RCP is procrastinating so long that it looks ridiculous, its rival, the OL, stalled until the defeat of the "Gang of Four" became official and the winning line could be copied word for word from *Peking Review*. The first article on the power struggle in China to appear in the OL weekly, the *Call* (1 November), consists entirely of quotations and close paraphrases from the Chinese press. Given the fluid situation in China, it didn't dare risk an independent commentary. Mike Klonsky undoubtedly hopes that the Peking regime will overlook his blunder in sending condolences to the widow Chiang. After all, this loyal supporter of whoever rules in the Forbidden Palace had not yet been informed by "Acting Chairman" Hua that Chiang was a "monstrous criminal capitalist roader."

Gamma-Liaison

**People's Liberation Army support for the new chairman, Hua.**



AP

**Caricatures in Shanghai, stronghold of opposition to Hua, denounce the "four devils."**

### Guardian: Two, Three, Many Lines

China's alliance with U.S. imperialism against the Soviet Union, and particularly its support to the Kissinger-inspired South African invasion of Angola last winter, provoked dissent among critical currents within the Maoist milieu. In the U.S., this current was represented by the non-party *Guardian*, which is above all committed to reflecting mainstream sentiment among New Left-derived petty-bourgeois radical circles.

This apolitical opportunism governs the *Guardian*'s response to the post-Mao succession crisis. A series of articles by staff writer Jack Smith comes out for the new Hua regime because it appears popular and secure, while rejecting the incredible accusations being leveled against the "Gang of Four." The *Guardian* (10 November) analysis is summarized by the contention that:

> "The post-Mao-Chou era thus dawns with the Communist Party's right and left wings clipped at least temporarily with political power now firmly in the hands of the broad center forces led by Chairman Hua."

And just how does the *Guardian* know that Hua (totally obscure a year ago) now commands "broad forces"? Because he won. In the (highly unlikely) event that Chiang Ching makes a comeback and topples Hua, the *Guardian* would of course conclude that she then represents "broad forces." The *Guardian*'s ever-so-diplomatic reaction to the change in the Chinese regimes proves once again that it is nothing other than an unpaid publicity agent for successful "Third World" nationalists and Stalinists.

Furthermore, the *Guardian*'s analysis stands in flat contradiction to that offered by the Chinese rulers. Far from accusing the Chiang Ching clique of being on the left wing of the party, Hua & Co. lambaste the "Gang" as "rightists" on the "capitalist road." As for the earlier "anti-rightist" campaign against Teng Hsiao-ping, it is being shelved. Teng, who remains in the party and at large, is no longer condemned as a "capitalist roader," but merely as having a right-deviationist line, a fairly mild criticism. And so Teng has reportedly returned to Peking in the company of two generals.

It is noteworthy that all the "friends of China," from liberal academic John K. Fairbank to the various competing Maoist sects, insist that the latest purge is a fundamental class political battle, yet are unable to agree on what are the main issues (or in some cases even to suggest what they are). To say otherwise would reveal too much about the endless bureaucratic war in Peking. To admit that millions of Chinese had been mobilized in a clique struggle would cast doubt on the entire recent political past in China, putting a question mark over the "mass democracy" which allegedly demonstrated the anti-bureaucratic nature of the Chinese rulers as opposed to the Russians.

There is the added problem that the present victims are precisely those who led the Cultural Revolution and were for years seen as being closest to Mao himself. The *Guardian* states that it is "fairly obvious" that the "Gang of Four" had been under Mao's protection. For this it is excoriated by the OL, which reveals:

> "But what is really obvious from the recent CCP statements is that Chairman Mao, far from 'protecting' the 'gang of four' criticized and warned against conspiring and factionalizing over a period of several years."
> —*Call*, 15 November

So much for the "obvious"!

### Myth of the "Radical Maoists"

Predictably some groups have come to the defense of Chiang Ching and attacked Hua's purge as the liquidation of "revolutionary Maoism." Typically these have been "critical Maoist" tendencies that had already criticized the Chinese Stalinists on such questions as the latter's support for NATO, or groups on the fringes of the Maoist movement. Thus in Europe, the German Kommunistischer Bund, the French group Révolution and the Swedish Forbundet Kommunist have come out for the "Shanghai Group" (Chiang Ching and her supporters).

In the U.S., the most sophisticated presentation of the anti-Hua position has been by the eclectic Stalinoid, Sam Marcy, ex-Trotskyist head of the Workers World Party. A three-part article in *Workers World*, entitled "The Suppression of the Left in China," seeks to expose the power grab by "Thermidorian reaction" against "revolutionary Maoism."

Marcy's article is based on the completely fraudulent claim that Mao/Chiang constituted a left opposition to the Chou/Teng right-wing axis. Therefore Marcy is forced to explain away why Mao publicly supported all major statements of Chinese policy over the past period. Marcy calls attention to the new state constitution promulgated in January 1975. He notes the rightist, conservative nature of the document, which guarantees the peasant the right to a private plot, maintains the low-level production team as the basic unit of accounting in collectivized agriculture and asserts the principle of distribution according to work performed. The "radical Maoists" didn't oppose this constitution—in fact, they openly supported it. But Marcy, presumably in secret contact with the Forbidden Palace, informs us:

> "In retrospect his [Mao's] de facto boycott of these meetings [the 1975 National People's Congress] was indicative of the fact that the Maoist supporters were clearly in the minority and that the rightists were in fact trying to reverse earlier 'correct verdicts'."
> —*Workers World*, 29 October

So according to Marcy, Mao was a political coward who refused to fight revisionism unless he was in a majority. Some revolutionary leader! Or perhaps he means that China was even then so bureaucratic that Chou/Teng would have suppressed Mao had he spoken up against them. Some "socialist" China!

With his position that Mao was a sincere, if oft-times ineffectual, revolutionary leader, Marcy has naturally denied the need for workers democracy in China. He rejects the Trotskyist program of soviet democracy through political revolution led by a proletarian vanguard party against the privileged, parasitic Stalinist bureaucracy. Even now when he claims that rightist reaction has just triumphed in China, Marcy refrains from calling for a political revolution to smash the Hua regime. He simply concludes fatalistically that "Both revolutionary revival as well as further regression are possible."

The ideological legacy of Maoism has left its followers in a hopeless muddle. Maoists who memorized their "Little Red Book" lessons well learned that capitalism was restored in Russia with a speech by Khrushchev. For any surviving Maoists who still believe what their mentors taught them in the "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution," the thought that Hua could be the Chinese Khrushchev must send shivers up and down their political spines.

But the victory of the Hua clique has not restored capitalism in China any more than Khrushchev's rise overthrew the proletarian property forms which were a fundamental conquest of the October Revolution and must be unconditionally defended by communists. Rather in both cases the victor emerged from clique maneuvering to (temporarily) nail down a position at the helm of a rapacious bureaucratic caste which arbitrarily rules these deformed and degenerated workers states.

Sam Marcy uses the term "Thermidor" referring to Hua's coup in order to recall Trotsky's analysis of Stalin's usurpation of power following Lenin's death. Yet the Trotskyist Left Opposition was able to launch an international struggle against Stalinist reaction because there was a Leninist revolutionary program which Stalin had to bury, and because of the existence of a Communist International built by the Bolsheviks. In contrast, the foreign Maoists present a pathetic picture, unable to identify any substantial political differences between Hua, Chiang Ching and Mao, and utterly irrelevant to the power struggle in Peking.

Not only partisans of the defeated "Shanghai Group," but loyal mouthpieces for the Peking bureaucracy such as Klonsky and Avakian were utterly impotent in the face of Hua's lightning purge and no more informed than the *New York Times*. Whether or not they support the new masters in the Forbidden Palace, these puppets will remain pathetic and contemptible as would-be revolutionary leaders. ■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# Maoist Economics . . .

*(continued from page 7)*

production as the goal of socialism. And he sees progress toward this end primarily through "ideological revolutionization":

> "Unity among socialist workers must develop on the basis of politics and ideology. Such a unity makes it possible to envisage the eventual elimination of the surviving market relations and the emergence of new socialist social relations, an outcome that is directly related to the *ideological revolutionization achieved by the class struggle unfolding under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party.*" [our emphasis]
>
> —Charles Bettelheim, *Cultural Revolution and Industrial Organization in China*, 1974

That Marx regarded differential wage labor as a necessary characteristic of the transition to communism is well-known, being explicitly stated in both the *Critique of the Gotha Program* and *Anti-Dühring*. Only when labor absorbs an insignificant amount of time and energy will individuals freely grant it to the social collective. Marx would have savagely ridiculed as subjective idealism the notion that the elimination of wage labor could be achieved through "ideological revolutionization." In reality, the Chinese bureaucracy's claim to favor "moral" over "material incentives" is a cover for the allocation of labor by *state coercion*, which is both more oppressive and economically less effective than wage labor.

The Chinese bureaucracy's use of state coercion masquerading as "ideological revolutionization" is apparent in the practice of transferring urban student youth to the countryside for indefinite periods. This practice not only generates enormous social discontent, but is probably a net drain on the Chinese economy. The transplanted youth are indifferent, negligent farmers, and the peasants justifiably resent having to partly support and socialize with recalcitrant, labor-shirking youth, who behave as if they were in a prison camp.

Bettelheim's biases also lead him to favor rationing or socialized distribution as opposed to the individual purchase of consumables. However, the aim of socialism is not to impose a uniform way of life, but exactly the opposite: the full development of individual capacity. This development is not primarily spiritual, but requires the individual appropriation of material wealth. Painting and sculpture, for example, require a wide variety of ingredients available in subtle gradations. Within the limits imposed by overall availability, a socialist economic policy seeks to maximize individual choice of consumables.

Rationing subverts this aim, as does "free" distribution of scarce consumables on a first come, first served basis. In the early 1960's, when Fidel Castro and Che Guevara wanted to establish socialism in Cuba overnight, they eliminated charges on telephone calls. The result was that one had to wait hours to make a phone call! Even under the fullest, most perfect workers democracy, rationing, discriminatory pricing and socialized distribution entail an element of administrative arbitrariness and subjectivity. This subjective arbitrariness is magnified many times over in China where the administrators are an irrational, clique-ridden bureaucracy.

Of course, in times of war or natural disaster administrative control must be rigidly imposed on all sectors of the economy. But as a norm in the dictatorship of the proletariat, and assuming the wage structure is optimal, the market is the most efficient, sensitive and democratic mechanism for adjusting scarce consumer goods and services to individual needs and desires. The extension of socialized distribution should be an exception to be justified by particular merits. For example, a workers government might use free or subsidized distribution to make available sports facilities. It also makes sense to supply free of individual charge necessary services where demand is little affected by price, like mass intra-city transit. However, unless it expresses the elimination of scarcity, the extension of socialized distribution restricts individual choice and so impoverishes social life.

Here again Marx is in explicit opposition to Bettelheim's "Chinese road to socialism." Marx considered that in a collectivized economy under conditions of scarcity, consumables would be priced and *sold* at their cost of production. In fact, he believed that one of the advantages of economic planning would be the elimination of random market fluctuations and that consumables would be available at their true value and equilibrium quantity:

> "(It is *only* where production is under the actual, *predetermining control* of society that the latter establishes a relation between the volume of social labor-time applied in producing definite articles, and the volume of social want to be satisfied by these articles.)... But if the quantity of social labor expended in the production of a certain article corresponds to the social demand for it, so that the produced quantity corresponds to the usual scale of reproduction and the demand remains unchanged, then the article is sold at its market-value. The exchange, or sale, of commodities at their value is the *rational* state of affairs, i.e., the natural law of their equilibrium." [our emphasis]
>
> —Karl Marx, *Capital*, Vol. III, Ch. 10

Under the dictatorship of the proletariat, the market should be the normal mechanism for distributing the *existing* supply of scarce goods and services destined for individual consumption. However, the *extension* of productive capacity for particular consumables should be determined through the centralized investment plan. Major investment in particular consumer goods industries (like the establishment of an automobile industry) should be governed not only by projected market demand, but by a collective (i.e., political) decision concerning general social desirability.

## The Marxist Path From Scarcity to Communism

The crass anti-Marxism of the Maoist ideologues is, in a sense, more revealed by what they do not say than by what they do say. Virtually every time Marx and Engels wrote about communist society and progress toward it, they focused on the radical reduction in necessary labor time and its replacement by creative, scientific work. For Marx the reduction in labor time required to produce necessities was not only the central measure of human progress, but reducing the workday was the object of much of his political agitation, particularly in the early years of the First International.

In the writings of Bettelheim, Sweezy, *et al.*, the reduction of labor time as a precondition for socialism is nowhere to be found. Commodity relations are to be eliminated on the basis of existing technology with little change in the quantity and quality of labor. Sweezy provides this capsule description of communism:

> "...under communism, classes have disappeared; the state has withered away; crippling forms of the division of labor have been overcome; distinctions between city and country and between mental and manual labor have been abolished; distribution is according to need, etc."
>
> —*On the Transition to Socialism*

What makes this possible, or why it could not have been accomplished at the time of the Pharaohs, is not mentioned by this Maoist ideologue in his efforts to combat "economistic" Marxism.

In order to focus on questions of labor and economics, we have not discussed the *nationalist* deviation inherent in the Stalinist concept of "socialism in one country." But Sweezy's description of communism cries out for refutation on this point, too. Sweezy's Stalinist ideology is so deep-rooted he doesn't even realize that the Marxist conception of communism contains as one of its central elements the *disappearance of national affiliation*.

For those whose "Marxist education" is derived from the *Monthly Review* circle or even more vulgar Stalinist ideologues, the original Marxist vision of communist society will come as a shocking revelation. Writing the first draft of what became the *Communist Manifesto*, Engels asserted:

> "The nationalities of the peoples who join together according to the principle of community will be just as much compelled by this union to merge with one another and thereby supersede themselves as the various differences between estates and classes disappear through the superseding of their basis—private property."
>
> —"Draft of a Communist Confession of Faith," June 1847

To return to the main theme of this article, Sweezy's phrase that under communism the differences between "mental and manual labor have been abolished" is vague and consequently misleading. For Marxists, that "abolition" occurs precisely through the *elimination* of arduous, mechanical manual labor and its replacement by creative, scientific work. Marx regarded the most progressive tendency of capitalist industrialization as the elimination of direct manual labor from the process of production and its replacement by the supervision of machinery:

> "Real wealth develops much more (as is disclosed by heavy industry) in the enormous disproportion between labor time utilized and its product, and also the qualitative disproportion between labor that has been reduced to a mere abstraction, and the power of the production process that it supervises. Labor does not seem any longer to be an essential part of the process of production. The human factor is restricted to watching and supervising the production process....
>
> "The worker no longer inserts transformed natural objects as the intermediaries between the material and himself; he now inserts the natural process that he has transformed into an industrial one between himself and inorganic nature, over which he has achieved mastery. He is no longer the principal agent of the production process: he exists alongside it."
>
> —Karl Marx, *The Grundrisse*

In other words, Marx conceived of communism as what would today be called a fully automated society. His opposition to capitalism as a system of production was that it *arrested* technical progress because the expansion of the means of production generated a historically declining rate of profit.

The revolutionary overthrow of the capitalist state permits the expropriation and centralized control of the existing means of production. The full, rational utilization of economic resources, particularly investment embodying the most advanced technology, produces a quantum leap in labor productivity. The increased productivity is partly expended on raising the level of consumption but mainly on a significant reduction in labor time. The additional free time is used for re-education of the working masses which raises their cultural level and technical capacity. When these workers re-enter the process of production, they further stimulate increases in productivity. Thus increases in labor productivity become a self-perpetuating, self-reinforcing process:

> "Real economy—savings—consists in the saving of working time (the minimum, and reduction to the minimum, of production costs); but this saving is identical with the development of productivity. Economizing, therefore, does not mean the giving up of pleasure, but the development of power and productive capacity, and thus both the capacity for and the means of enjoyment.... Free time—which includes leisure as well as time for higher activities—naturally transforms anyone who enjoys it into a *different* person, and it is this different person who *then enters* the direct process of production. The man who is being formed finds discipline in this process, while for the man who is already formed it is practice, experimental science, materially creative and self-objectifying knowledge, and he contains within his own head the accumulated wisdom of society." [our emphasis]
>
> —*Ibid.*

The end of this process occurs when necessary labor absorbs such an insignificant share of time and energy that the individual freely grants it to the social collective. In turn, the level of productivity is then so great that individual material appropriation can be given unrestricted play: "From each according to his abilities; to each according to his needs."

Wage labor and commodity distribution are simply the characteristic *forms* of scarcity and labor coercion under the capitalist mode of production. The true goal of communism is to eliminate the *reality* of scarcity and labor coercion.

Independently of its contribution to the eventual transcendence of scarcity, the elimination of commodity relations has no progressive character at all. A program to eliminate wage-labor and commodity distribution under conditions of material backwardness is reactionary utopianism. Attempts to carry out such a program will lead to economic collapse, as following the Chinese Great Leap Forward in 1960-61, and will create conditions of life more oppressive than those associated with wage labor in the deformed workers states. ■


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WORKERS VANGUARD

## "Left" Cheerleaders for Imperialist Army Join Hands at NSCAR

# From Belfast to Boston: No to the Bosses' Troops!

Bernadette Devlin McAliskey is scheduled to address this weekend's conference of the National Student Coalition Against Racism (NSCAR), an event rife with historical irony. If either Devlin or the NSCAR leadership had any shame (or political scruples), each would be distinctly uncomfortable with the other. Her political history is dramatic testimony to the criminal folly of reliance on imperialist armed forces to "protect" oppressed minorities. Yet NSCAR stands for the same counter-revolutionary policy in the U.S. which Devlin was forced under pressure of events to abandon in Northern Ireland.

Militant

**Bernadette Devlin**

But NSCAR reflects the views of its creator, the ex-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP), and political scruples are not a strong point with that reformist outfit. Indeed, the entire conference is a shamefaced attempt to revive NSCAR after the demise wrought by its impotent, class-collaborationist strategy *without repudiating that strategy*. If black liberals can no longer be cajoled into sponsoring protest marches in defense of busing (the single explosive issue around which NSCAR was formed) and the Boston police will no longer guarantee protection for marches demanding more police (or U.S. Army) protection, then busing simply drops to the bottom of the laundry list in a "new," multi-issue NSCAR.

These political con-artists hope to rekindle the liberals' flagging interest in NSCAR with their projected "Student Protests Against U.S. Complicity With Racist Regimes" in southern Africa. This, after all, is a politically safe issue, particularly if opposition to apartheid is scrupulously separated from the question of proletarian revolution (see "NSCAR Gropes for New Gimmicks," *Young Spartacus*, November 1976).

As apparent evidence of NSCAR's new "international" orientation enter Devlin, billed as "a leader of the Irish freedom struggle." We are waiting with genuine interest to hear her presentation. Will she forthrightly account for her support in August 1969 to the introduction of 6,000 British troops into Northern Ireland and her subsequent reversal after the oppressive role of these imperialist gendarmes became bloodily apparent? Will she draw the lessons of that betrayal and apply them to NSCAR's notorious call for "Federal Troops to Boston"? Or will we hear only the usual, vague "unity and solidarity" mongering by which the most sordid acts of treachery are covered up?

It would seem difficult, to say the least, to ignore the glaring political parallels between support for British troops in Northern Ireland and NSCAR's calls for federal troops (or sometimes merely for better police protection) in Boston. In both cases, an imminent danger, from reactionary thugs (Ulster's Orange gangs, Boston's anti-busing mobs), ineffectively contained or actively aided by bigoted local police forces, was used by ostensible socialists to justify a vote of confidence to the highest levels of the bourgeois state power (Westminster and Washington).

The SWP/NSCAR tell embattled black people in Boston to rely on the U.S. army, as if it were not the same army that raped Indochina and slaughtered black rebels in Detroit. Devlin refused to call for the immediate withdrawal of the occupying British troops, as if they were not the historic oppressors of the Irish people.

Only a week after the initial troop deployment in Derry, Devlin was in New York raising funds to rebuild 500 houses, as if the British military occupation had suddenly ushered in a period of peace and tranquility. In fact, she was quite explicit in telling reporters:

> "We may well be in a lull before the storm. The British forces have moved in to protect the people living behind the barricades from 'the forces of law and order.'
>
> "The British Army must remain. If withdrawn, the underlying problems will again raise their heads."
>
> "Our short-term demand is that the British must disarm and disband the constabulary and the special police, which are instruments of the Unionist party that dominates the six northern counties."
>
> —*New York Times*, 22 August 1969

Two days later, the *New York Times* reports her as "asserting that the civil rights movement wanted direct rule by Britain over Northern Ireland until an all-Irish plebiscite could be held to consider the question of reunification."

**British troops in Belfast (above) claimed to be neutral yet repeatedly attacked oppressed Catholic masses. Boston police (below) likewise enforce racist status quo. In both Belfast and Boston, reformists called for imperialist armed forces to "protect" the oppressed.**

WV Photo

This "leader of the Irish freedom struggle" simply capitulated to the short-lived illusions of embattled Northern Irish Catholics in the neutrality of the imperialist forces. The results of this capitulation were not long in coming. While temporarily restraining the Orange gangs and ending the autonomy of the Ulster police forces, British troops quickly joined with Catholic politicians, businessmen and priests in dismantling the barricades thrown up around the ghettos of Derry and Belfast.

Arms raids and arrests aimed at crippling the self-defense capacity of the Catholic workers followed within the year. One of those arrested was Devlin herself, indicted for having joined in the defense of Derry's Catholic Bogside in August 1969 against an attempted pogrom.

A few days before her arrest, Devlin reiterated her refusal to oppose the British military presence in Ulster (except at some vague point in the future):

> "The saving of lives, the necessity of saving lives in that circumstance, was brought around by the whole system and therefore you cannot simply say take the troops out of Ulster. Because the people will say you cannot take the troops out because if you do the people will die....
>
> "The people must inevitably remove the system, and in the process of doing so will undoubtedly remove the troops."
>
> —interview with the Socialist Labour League's *Newsletter*, 18 June 1970

Only with the election of a Tory government in June 1970 and particularly brutal incursions into Catholic areas of Belfast the next month did Devlin and her group, People's Democracy (PD), call for removal of troops. But the soldiers stayed. In August 1971 internment was introduced, and the camps were soon jammed with nationalist and leftist political prisoners. In January 1972 the Bloody Sunday massacre of 13 Catholic demonstrators in Derry indelibly recorded the bloody

*continued on page 8*

WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

No. 135 26 November 1976

## A Vote for Independence or Protest Against the Liberals?

# Quebec Nationalists Win Provincial Elections

AP

Supporters of the Parti Québécois celebrate election victory in Montreal.

Liberation

Quebec trade unionists march against wage controls on October 14 as part of nationwide "Day of Protest."

In a stunning upset, the Parti Québécois (PQ) swept to power in Quebec provincial elections November 15. The bourgeois nationalist PQ—formed in the late 1960's with the aim of achieving political independence for the Quebec nation—won a victory which surprised even its own strategists. With 41 percent of the vote, it increased its standing in the National Assembly (Quebec's provincial legislature) from six to 69 seats and brought down the Liberal Party government, which only three years before had won 102 of the 110 Assembly seats.

This year the Liberals, bearing a record marked by scandals, inefficiency and repeated clashes with the province's volatile trade-union movement, plummeted to a low of 28 seats in their fall from power. Incumbent provincial prime minister Robert Bourassa, described by a fellow Liberal Party candidate as "the most despised man in Quebec," suffered the personal ignominy of losing his own seat to the PQ, as did ten other Liberal cabinet members.

Bourassa's Liberals had called the election two years before their mandate was due to expire in the hope of achieving a new, if reduced, majority before popular dissatisfaction reached a crisis point as the economic situation worsens. When it became obvious during the campaign that the government had underestimated both anti-Liberal sentiment and PQ support, Bourassa attempted to woo the voters to his camp from smaller non-separatist parties by claiming that the Liberals were the only viable alternative to separatists.

But while the Liberals were making "No to separatism!" their battle cry, the PQ was downplaying the independence issue. Instead it focused its campaign on Bourassa's weak leadership and counterposed PQ chief René Lévesque as a "clean government" administrator with support from the unions. When challenged on the question of separatism, Lévesque repeatedly referred to a pledge adopted by a 1973 PQ congress to hold a provincial referendum on the issue within two years of its accession to power.

The PQ victory was by no means solely due to its position on the national question. A backlash against the Liberals' pro-French language policies among the province's 20 percent English-speaking and immigrant minority (35 percent in Montreal) strengthened several smaller right-wing parties and helped to splinter the federalist vote at Bourassa's expense. Disgust at the inability of federal and provincial Liberal governments to reduce Quebec's unemployment rate of more than 10 percent—while billions of dollars were spent on showpiece projects like the Montreal Olympics and the James Bay hydroelectric development—helped win voters to the PQ, which stressed "fiscal responsibility."

The leaders of the province's trade-union federations gave open or tacit support to the PQ, claiming that it was the party which "stands closest to the workers," in the words of a Quebec Federation of Labour (FTQ) resolution. In a statement hailing the victory of a government based on "honesty and freedom," FTQ president Louis Laberge pointedly remarked that the federation had supported the PQ because of its social and economic policies, but took no position on the question of independence. While over two-fifths of the electorate voted for the PQ, an opinion poll taken several days before the election claimed that only 18 percent of the province's voters actually supported Quebec's separation from the rest of Canada; 58 percent reportedly oppose secession.

### The Language Question

One of the key issues which considerably inflamed the Quebec elections was the language question, both bilingualism at the federal level and the language of instruction in public schools. It is over the language question that national polarization in Canada has become most acute in recent years, and it was this more than any other issue that brought down Bourassa's Liberal Party provincial government in Quebec November 15.

Official bilingualism was enacted as federal policy by Prime Minister Pierre Elliot Trudeau's Liberal government in Ottawa in 1969. Under the Official Languages Act Canadians of either language group could obtain federal services in their native language; articles for sale must be labeled in both French and English, and thousands of civil service positions were reclassified to require bilingualism as a job qualification.

This stirred up resentment among English-speaking government employees required to take French language instruction in order to keep their jobs. There was exacerbated anti-French chauvinism, particularly in the Western provinces where the introduction of the second language was seen as pointless harassment. On October 14, federal defense minister James Richardson of Manitoba resigned from Trudeau's cabinet in opposition to the policy of official bilingualism; recent opinion polls, moreover, show Trudeau's political stock particularly low in the Western and prairie provinces.

Among the French-speaking population (26 percent of the Canadian total), the rising English chauvinism and evident failure of federal official bilingualism to take hold have led to increased pressure for a unilingual French Quebec. It was in response to this sentiment that in 1974 Bourassa enacted Bill 22 which required demonstrated competency in English in order for children to enter the English schools. To abolish the English-language schools and suppress English-language instruction, as the advocates of French unilingualism demand, would be a highly risky attack on economically influential sectors of the Montreal middle class. So instead Bourassa threw a sop to the Québécois nationalists by victimizing the immigrants (mainly Greeks, Italians and Portuguese) for whom Montreal has been a transit point where they learn English prior to entering the broader Canadian (and North American) job market.

As was evident in the controversy over the measure before it became law, Bill 22 was violently and almost unanimously opposed in the immigrant communities, a sizeable section of the Montreal working class. The reaction was so strong that Bourassa promised during the campaign to modify the application of the law. Immigrant opposition to

*continued on page 8*

## Britain's Labour Government Does a Job for the CIA

# *Stop the Deportation of Philip Agee!*

In an unprecedented action, the Labour Party government has announced its intention to deport two American journalists from the United Kingdom, on the grounds that they are threats to "British security." On November 16 Mark Hosenball, a writer for the London *Evening Standard* who previously wrote for *Time Out*, a British radical magazine, was served with a deportation notice signed by Merlyn Rees, the Home Secretary. The following day Philip Agee, well-known former CIA agent whose book, *Inside the Company: CIA Diary*, exposed the inner workings of the American spy/torture/assassination and foreign intrigue agency, received a notice to leave the country.

Hosenball is accused of having acquired information "harmful to the security of the United Kingdom and..., prejudicial to the safety of servants of the crown," while Agee is charged with having contacts with unidentified "foreign intelligence officers." Rees has refused to give any details to back up the accusations and the two men will have no right of appeal if he signs the final deportation orders. Meanwhile their only legal recourse is to appear before a private panel chosen by the Home Office, but without legal counsel or knowing in advance the charges against them!

The case has raised a storm of protest in Britain, with the National Union of

**CIA has brought criminal charges against Agee for revealing "Company" secrets.**

Journalists (to which both men belong), civil libertarian groups and some Labour Members of Parliament rallying to Agee and Hosenball's defense. The very survival of the cabinet, presently resting on a razor-thin majority, is threatened by the affair. One Labour MP, Arthur Lewis, has refused to vote for government motions until the two are given a "fair trial." Nervous party whips rushed to hold another dissident Labour backbencher in his seat when he yelled at Rees during the Home Secretary's statement about the deportations. The government could fall if the protester were asked to leave the House for "rowdiness" and the opposition then called a vote on a crucial issue.

While the Home Office refuses to substantiate its claims, it is clear where the heat is coming from: both men have long been a thorn in the side of the CIA.

**Philip Agee** Terence Spencer

And certainly the American intelligence agency can pressure the British government into doing them a little favor. As Agee pointed out, "[Dr. Edward] Proctor [new chief of the CIA station in London] could have brought pressure on the British government by allowing them less access to information. Britain receives a lot of information from the CIA" (*Guardian* [London], 18 November).

Hosenball, while writing for *Time Out*, had exposed an electronic surveillance network based in Cheltenham, England, which is partially operated by the U.S. National Security Agency, and had published names of CIA agents operating in Britain. Agee, in turn, is completing a new book detailing CIA operations since World War II in East and West Europe, Portugal and South America, and has good reason to suppose that the CIA wants the book stopped. In the last sections of *CIA Diary*, Agee details continual surveillance by CIA and British agents, who opened his mail, bugged his telephone (and typewriter!) and followed him constantly during his work on the book.

(As a regular contributor to *CounterSpy*, the Washington-based journal dedicated to exposing CIA plots and infiltration, Agee has just finished an article exposing the identity of "Leslie," the spy who gave him the bugged typewriter. At last report she was working for the UN-affiliated International Labor Organization in Geneva, Switzerland.)

The CIA would particularly like to get Agee back to the U.S. where it can take revenge on this "betrayer" of its secrets. In publishing his book, Agee provided a service to the left and workers movement internationally not only by uncovering the workings of the mammoth U.S. spy network but also in revealing the names and aliases of over 100 agents, collaborators, conduits and fronts used by "the company." In consequence of these and similar leaks, during Congressional CIA investigations earlier this year "reform" legislation was introduced to make it a federal crime to publish "official secrets" or the real identity of any American intelligence agent working under cover.

Agee is a New Left muckraker whose direct experience with the CIA's murderous activities has led him to the conviction that the U.S. spy agency and all other imperialist secret police bodies must be destroyed. However, even moderates who have sought to expose the most glaring crimes of the U.S.

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# Notes on Vietnamese Trotskyism After 1945

*We print below a report on a July 1975 interview with V.S., a senior Vietnamese socialist who has a long-standing familiarity with the Vietnamese ostensibly Trotskyist movement. It concerns the history of Vietnamese Trotskyism following the massacre of several thousand Fourth Internationalists in 1945-46, both by re-invading French-British colonial troops and the Indochinese Stalinists led by Ho Chi Minh.*

*This hitherto unpublished report appears in a forthcoming Spartacist pamphlet entitled* Stalinism and Trotskyism in Vietnam, *a collection of articles from* Spartacist *and* Workers Vanguard. *Copies of the pamphlet can be ordered by sending $1.00 to Spartacist Publishing Co., Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10001.*

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Beginning about 1938, the French colonial government transported large numbers of Vietnamese to France as manual laborers. Thus in the period immediately following World War II there were some 12,000 Vietnamese in France. The Trotskyists were firmly implanted in this overwhelmingly proletarian population and, according to V.S., occupied a politically dominant position: there were at this time as many as 500 organized ostensible Trotskyists in France.

**Post-World World II publications of Vietnamese Trotskyists in France**

The Trotskyist organization, largely supporters of Ta Thu Thau's La Lutte group, founded a "Comité Provisoire Représentant des Indochinois en France" (Provisional Committee Representing Indochinese in France) in July 1944 which included pro-Stalinists such as the noted philosopher Tranh Duc Thao. This "broad" committee was to serve as a base among which the Trotskyists could work, while at the same time maintaining their own independent publication.

According to V.S., during the first few years after the war, the Vietnamese section in exile contributed substantial financial support to the Fourth International, much more than many other sections. At the same time the section published a paper, *Tranh Dau* (Struggle), before 1947; after the first congress of the Groupe Communiste Internationaliste de Vietnam (GCI—Internationalist Communist Group of Vietnam) in 1947 it published *Vo San* until 1958.

However, beginning in the late 1940's the French government began massive deportations of the Vietnamese back to Vietnam, including about three-quarters of the Trotskyists. The latter simply disappeared after their return to Vietnam, presumably through capitulation to the Viet Minh Stalinists or liquidation by either the Stalinists or the French.

Consequently, by 1951-52 there were only about 70 Vietnamese ostensible Trotskyists left in France. The GCI was in turn divided between former followers of Ta Thu Thau's La Lutte group and Ho Huu Thuong's International Communist League. At the time of the Pabloite split in 1951-53, there was a parallel debate among the Vietnamese resulting in a split in the GCI, with 18 opposing the Pabloist "entrism sui generis" (i.e., liquidation), about 40 supporting it and the remainder abstaining. The "independents" (anti-Pabloites) managed to bring out one issue of their own paper, *Cours Nouveau* (New Course), edited by Lucien who had written an important article concerning the 1945 Saigon uprising, but were unable to continue. Ironically, although the majority was theoretically in favor of entrism, it was never able to carry it out.

At the time of the 1963 reunification between the American Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and the Pabloite International Secretariat (IS), the two Vietnamese groupings also reunited, to form the Bolshevik-Leninist Group of Vietnam (BLGV). According to V.S., this was due to the fact that their practical work had led to a convergence of positions rather than as a result of the SWP-IS discussions. By this time, however, the Vietnamese minority had been converted to the theoretical position of entrism (while the entire combined group recognized the impossibility of putting it into practice). From 1964 on, the BLGV decided that it was impossible to edit an explicitly Trotskyist paper in Vietnamese, and instead began working with an independent anti-Stalinist, "*trotskysant*" (Trotskyoid) paper, *Quat San*, which is still being published today.

V.S. stated that in spite of the post-war assassinations and elimination of

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Quatrieme Internetionale

**Ta Thu Thau**

any organizational presence, traces of the Trotskyist heritage in Vietnam have not fully disappeared. Thus the Stalinists have reportedly never dared attack Ta Thu Thau in person (although carrying on the usual slander campaigns against other individuals), and there is still sentiment in Vietnam for moving Thau's grave from the Vietnamese highlands to Saigon. In addition, there have been periodic reports of Trotskyist influence in the South Vietnamese trade unions. In the early 1950's U.S. government cold warrior Vietnam expert Milton Sacks claimed the Trotskyists maintained a certain presence, and even later V.S. reported some influence of ostensible Trotskyists in the trade unions of the Saigon area.

* * * * *

These sketchy reports reinforce the preceding analysis of the history of Vietnamese Trotskyism, particularly regarding its weaknesses. When Vietnamese Trotskyists in France after World War II concentrated on front-group formations, they repeated the pre-war error of the La Lutte group in not drawing a clear organizational dividing line between themselves and the Stalinists. Before the war, this failure had left the Trotskyists relatively open to repression by the French and Japanese; after the war it politically disarmed them against the Viet Minh, who were meanwhile attempting to murder all known ostensible Trotskyists in Vietnam.

As for the fake-Trotskyist United Secretariat (USec), it has refused to give its Vietnamese section, the BLGV, any assistance, and has in fact kept the BLGV's existence secret (see the letter by the Vietnamese to the USec's "Tenth World Congress" reprinted in this pamphlet). This is hardly surprising given the position of the USec majority that the Vietnamese Stalinists are "empirically revolutionary." Further, by casting doubt on and denigrating the significance of the Stalinists' murder of Ta Thu Thau, the USec majority reviles the history of their own Vietnamese comrades. The SWP, for its part, blocks with the majority in refusing to pose the question of building a Trotskyist party in Vietnam today.

In deliberately *refusing* to build a Vietnamese section—because of the centrist USec majority's political capitulation to the Stalinists and the reformist minority's abject tailing after the liberal bourgeoisie—the Pabloists have made abundantly clear that *the construction of a Vietnamese Trotskyist party can only come about through the struggle for the rebirth of the Fourth International, and the political destruction of the false pretenders to its mantle.* The international Spartacist tendency, which despite lack of access to many sources has been *unique* in seeking to draw the lessons of Vietnamese Trotskyism, pledges itself to this task. ■

# CWA Militant Wins Job Back After 14 Months

## Interview with Jane Margolis

Editor's Note: *The following is an interview with Jane Margolis, the Bay Area union militant who recently won a lengthy struggle to regain her job after being fired by Pacific Telephone Company in September 1975. A leading member of the Militant Action Caucus (MAC) in S.F. Local 9410 of the Communications Workers of America (CWA). Margolis is a former executive board member of Oakland Local 9415. She was fired immediately prior to running for the same post in San Francisco.*

*WV*: How have your fellow workers responded to your rehiring?

*Margolis*: It's been very exciting. Coming back after 14 months, I discovered that people I didn't even know at the time are excited about the victory. People feel that nobody ever wins against the phone company, so when "Ma Bell" was made to "eat her words" for a change everyone felt they had won a victory.

Also, there were really two obstacles in my case. I was up against both the company *and* the union leadership. Because I am an oppositionist in the union, most of the membership thought the odds against me were insurmountable. Finally, this company is hated so much that a lot of people were shocked that I came back to work, even after winning the case.

*WV*: What was behind your firing?

*Margolis*: It was political. It was a frame-up and everybody knew it. The company has wanted to get rid of me for the last five years. I am a leading member of MAC, which is known to be a serious opposition, one which is here to stay. The CWA has had an enormous job loss in recent years and at the time of the last contract, shortly before I was fired, MAC fought to turn our isolated local wildcat into a national strike against layoffs.

It's no accident that I was fired immediately prior to running for San Francisco executive board representative. Nor is it an accident that it was in the fall of 1975 when massive downgrades and layoffs in phone started, and the usual harassment and firings had intensified. The company wanted to ram these policies down the throats of the union membership. They wanted no resistance. They wanted a passive workforce and they would lie through their teeth to fire me.

*WV*: Then how did you win your job back?

*Margolis*: The company hates the following things—bad publicity and resistance from the workforce. So that is exactly what we did. We organized a defense committee of the most militant union members and stewards in the local. Everybody knew I was fired because I am a union militant. We made it clear that if the phone company got away with firing me, the door was open for a clean sweep of victimization against anyone. Once the situation was understood, the union leaders were under a lot of pressure to take up the case, even though many of them would not have been sorry to see me out of the Local.

It is no secret that the CWA bureaucrats have it in for the Militant Action Caucus. In Oakland they once unsuccessfully tried to get us run out of the Local, but the membership stopped it. In San Francisco they had earlier refused to recognize a petition from the majority of my fellow workers to have me represent them as shop steward. But through the defense committee's efforts, and particularly due to the efforts of several class-conscious stewards, we were able to force this case all the way to the top. And the company settled the union grievance even prior to entering arbitration.

*WV*: How does MAC's defense strategy compare with other oppositionists in the CWA?

*Margolis*: The slogan "an injury to one is an injury to all" should be understood as the ABC of trade unionism. But after a wildcat action here in 1974, a lot of people lost their jobs due to sectarianism in the defense. A MAC member was fired then, along with several supporters of the RCP [Revolutionary Communist Party] and PL [Progressive Labor Party]. But the supporters of both these groups refused to join our call for a united defense. Because we were split among ourselves, the company succeeded in firing ten militants. This is the kind of sectarianism which opens the whole membership up for increasing victimization.

Another point—many members told us we should sue the union if it would not fight for me. This is getting to be a pretty common practice among some of the phonies who pretend to be an opposition to the incumbent bureaucrats. In New York Local 1101, for instance, the members of the UAC [United Action Caucus, politically supported by the International Socialists] did not hesitate to take the union to court when bureaucrats of that Local framed them up on a bunch of phony charges. MAC was in a similar situation in Oakland in 1972, as I've mentioned. But we have a principle against calling on the capitalist government and its courts to legislate affairs in our union. We as union members will settle our own affairs. MAC is 100 percent opposed to strengthening the company's and the government's hand against the union in any way.

WV photo

**Jane Margolis**

*WV*: We understand MAC is celebrating a double victory right now.

*Margolis*: That's right. Margaret Martinson, another MAC member, just won her job back after she was fired on the incredible charge that she was "insubordinate" because she stood up while answering directory assistance calls! Even worse, the person who turned her in to management was a service assistant named John Johnson, a *union* member! Margaret beat the victimization and Johnson has been brought up on charges in the union for his despicable finking. By the way, Margaret was once written up for insubordination for "drinking tea in the employees' lounge." This gives you an idea of how bad conditions are in the phone company, particularly for women.

Margaret and I, of course, would never have been fired to begin with if we didn't have a union leadership that believes the company has a "right" to run its business any way it wants to. For example, finking is a long-established tradition at the phone company. It's actually written into our contract that supervisors (many of whom are union members) are expected to report to management any signs of "bad service." The union has never fought this. It's never fought against the vicious absence control plan either, although this plan was set up to allow the company to weed out whoever it wants.

Our jobs are being automated away, but the union meets this with only passivity and a blind eye. What our leadership does do, though, is campaign for Jimmy Carter. MAC calls for a national phone strike against this job slashing and for putting a stop to the CWA's policy of backing the Democrats. We say no support to any capitalist politician and the union should take the lead in building a workers party. You can imagine what kind of response that gets from the bureaucrats!

*WV*: How do you answer the criticism that you're raising political issues which "don't belong in the union"?

*Margolis*: The union leadership raises *its* politics all the time. We simply refuse to abandon the members to the bureaucrats' politics which are at bottom an acceptance of the capitalist system and therefore fundamentally hostile to working-class struggle. Of course, the

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# Alliance with U.S. Imperialism Bedevils Maoist Conference

Particularly since the war over Angola last winter, China's far-reaching alliance with U.S. imperialism has produced doubts and general discontent among broad radical circles which have until recently been sympathetic to the Maoist movement. The problems this poses to would-be U.S. spokesmen for the Peking regime have now been greatly complicated by the violent power struggle that erupted among Mao's heirs following the death of the venerated oracle of Chinese Stalinism in September.

Among the several Peking-loyal sects in the U.S. these contradictions have weighed most heavily on the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP), whose leaders have been the least willing to sacrifice domestic popularity to capture the elusive Peking franchise. Their excruciating dilemma was clear to all at the Conference on the International Situation initiated and controlled by the RCP and its youth group, the Revolutionary Student Brigade (RSB), which took place at Columbia University in New York City November 20.

Planned as a pep rally in the wake of Mao's death, it became clear after China's new leaders purged the so-called "Gang of Four" that this would be no phony Maoist "unity" feast as had periodically taken place in the past under the auspices of the *Guardian*. Although the RCP leadership has yet to take a position on the Peking power struggle—thus opening itself to sharp attacks by competing Maoist groups—it evidently decided the malaise among its periphery was so serious that it had best confront it publicly.

In the short term the conference was a success for the RCP, drawing about 1,500 largely sympathetic participants. But in the aftermath, serious elements cannot have failed to notice that the vicious competition for the mantle of Maoist orthodoxy is taking place in a context of massive confusion and disorientation in their ranks. A notable index was the fact that for the first time in recent years the conference organizers could not limit the proceedings to Maoist double-talk by the use of goon squads and thus were forced to confront the Trotskyist politics of the Spartacist League (SL) throughout the day.

The SL, the only organization claiming the Trotskyist tradition to actively participate in the conference, focused on these contradictions in an attempt to persuade the most subjectively revolutionary participants to re-examine their old assumptions, break from the dead-end politics of Maoism and take up the struggle for genuine international working-class revolution.

Although RSBers had initially threatened the SL, blustering that "Trotskyites" would be physically excluded, pressure by some of the conference's liberal endorsers forced the RCP to reconsider and open up the conference. This unusual openness made it possible for the SL to put forward its politics in discussions, through substantial sales of literature and through the distribution of a leaflet entitled "Questions Maoists Can't Answer." Among those questions are the following:

How is it that the top-ranking "radical" leaders of yesterday's "anti-rightist campaign" are today revealed to have been secret "capitalist roaders" all along and guilty of "unforgivable crimes"?

Why has the "anti-rightist campaign" abruptly ceased, and why is twice-purged Teng Hsiao-ping no longer denounced as a "capitalist roader"?

Why is it that Peking can justify the purge of the "Gang of Four" only through a campaign of personal vilification, and only after the purge was a *fait accompli?*

### The Primary Contradiction

Not only did the opening address by the RCP's Nicholas Unger avoid these critical questions, but it made no mention of China *at all*! Unlike the October League (OL)—which committed the blunder of sending a message of condolence to Mao's widow immediately prior to her arrest and condemnation as a "capitalist roader," then abruptly switched gears to parrot the new line emanating from Peking—the RCP is pursuing the cautious policy of "waiting until all the facts are in," undoubtedly reflecting internal disorientation at the purge of those most closely identified with orthodox "radical" Maoism. In the meantime, the RCP has had nothing to say about the "Gang of Four" either in discussions or in its newspaper *Revolution* (whose latest issue has been predictably delayed in appearing).

Unger spoke instead about what a good thing internationalism was and what a bad thing imperialism was, how the world was in turmoil and how all the people of the world want the same things—peace and progress. He also spoke about how terrible the "capitalist" Soviet Union was—just as terrible as the capitalist United States—referring to it as "the hungry dog-enemy of the people of the world" and "the big bad wolf."

There was, in fact, a curiously large number of references to animals of all sorts throughout the conference—sheep and goats, dogs and wolves. William Hinton repeatedly admonished the audience not to let the tiger in the back door while driving the wolf away from the front door, and at one point pro-RCPer Clark Kissinger told an OLer that if the Chinese Communist Party elected a chimpanzee as chairman, October League leader Michael Klonsky would no doubt send it a telegram of support!

Despite the repetition of platitudes and the endless, mindless Mao-talk about the main enemy, the main danger, the main target and the main blow, the speeches of Unger and of William Hinton, former national chairperson of the U.S./China People's Friendship Association, did reveal—as they say—the "primary contradiction" facing the Maoist movement in the U.S. today: namely the Maoists' difficulty in either fully embracing China's policy of allying with U.S. imperialism or opposing it.

Hinton, a thoroughly consistent Stalinist and long-time mouthpiece for the Chinese bureaucracy, laid down the Chinese line. Between the two superpowers, one is "more dangerous," and that one is the Soviet Union. Coming down heavily on the RCP, Hinton also remarked that the OL didn't quite seem to get the picture, and to one degree or another both were still dancing around the necessity of cementing alliances with the "lesser enemy" by maintaining that there are *two* main enemies—the Soviet Union and the United States. The position of two main enemies is, he said, "a strange use of the English language." There can only be one "*main* enemy." It can also cause you trouble if you want to get it on the gravy train for those lavish banquets in the Great Hall of the People.

To make himself perfectly clear, Hinton proceeded to draw an analogy between Chinese foreign policy today and Soviet foreign policy in the 1930's and 1940's. Since the Soviet Union had been unable to take on all the imperialists in the world at once, he explained, it had followed a policy of "uniting all who could be united" against the "main danger," then Nazi Germany. This lasted until the refusal of Britain and France to be so united made *them* the "main danger," thus compelling Stalin to ally with Hitler against them! Similarly, said Hinton, China is now concentrating on building the widest possible coalition (read alliance with U.S. imperialism) to combat the current "main danger"—the "social-fascist" Soviet Union—and the RCP had better accept it. Needless to say, the current situation is subject to change without notice as at the time of the Hitler/Stalin Pact. That's Stalinist "dialectics" for you!

The RCP's present situation is intolerable. To remain in the bidding for the position of "official" American Maoist organization it will have to give the American working class the word that U.S. foreign policy (at least) must be supported as a blow against "Soviet social-imperialism." On the other hand, to break with China but not with Stalinist methodology would mean, in all likelihood, to label China "capitalist" (which is for Maoists not an objective economic category but a judgment of the subjective attitude of the ruling group) and follow Progressive Labor down the road to obscurity and political impotence.

The Trotskyist analysis alone provides a way out of this Stalinist doctrinal impasse and points the way forward. This analysis begins with an understanding of the real nature of both the USSR and China: neither capitalist nor socialist but degenerated and deformed workers states based on proletarian property forms that must be defended unconditionally against imperialist attack yet saddled with parasitic bureaucracies that must be overthrown by workers political revolution.

### Workshops Add to Confusion

The initial presentations were followed by a series of large workshops dealing with different areas of the world.

At the workshop on East and Southeast Asia the speakers astonishingly managed to avoid mentioning either the Vietnamese Revolution or the role of China in Asia! Several supporters of the Spartacist League and the Spartacus Youth League (SYL) intervened in the discussion to raise these important subjects. One SL spokesman drew the lessons of the Vietnamese struggle by challenging the Stalinist doctrine of two-stage revolution, which was negated in practice: after more than a decade of trying, the NLF ultimately found no section of the bourgeoisie with which to form a coalition to take power. It was instead forced to politically and economically expropriate the bourgeoisie, creating a bureaucratically deformed workers state.

Others questioned the present relationship between Vietnam and China in view of Vietnam's greater reliance on the Soviet Union for arms and equipment during the war. It was pointed out that China had, in fact, often refused to allow "revisionist" Soviet supplies to pass through Chinese territory to reach the embattled Vietnamese. As in the other workshops, RCP supporters were unable to answer these facts.

The Angola workshop consisted of a panel discussion between two apologists for the Chinese position and two MPLA supporters. So embarrassing is the Chinese position that George Glasser of the U.S./China People's Friendship Committee was forced to lie about it, maintaining that China gave no aid to any of the nationalist groups after January 1975. The RCP's Dennis O'Neal simply ignored China's role altogether, seeking to cover the imperialist South African invasion by pointing out that Angola is not socialist and that the MPLA in power has suppressed strikes, arrested leftists and welcomed Gulf Oil back to Cabinda.

The first speaker supporting SL views pointed out that support for China's alliance with South Africa in Angola represented a turning point for the Maoist movement. "It means something when an organization which claims to be revolutionary ends up in a bloc with the most racist reactionary regime on earth," she said. "If you could stomach Angola, you'll buy a bloc with your own imperialists in the next world war. You are taking the same path as the CP took at the time of World War II. Soon you'll be breaking strikes and turning in CPers and other people to the FBI."

The second SL supporter noted the myth that was being perpetrated that

WV Photo

**Morning session of RCP conference November 20**

William Hinton WV Photo

David Dellinger WV Photo

Bob Avakian WV Photo

China had been neutral in Angola. There were two sides in Angola, he said, and China was on the wrong side—the side of U.S. imperialism and of South Africa. "If you had read the Chinese press," he said, "you would have seen nothing but attacks on the Soviet Union for its role in Angola. But there was not one word of criticism against the U.S.; they didn't even mention the South African invasion until nine weeks after it happened."

As was to occur in other workshops as well, SL speakers were often listened to with interest until the use of some key word like "Stalinist" or "Spartacist" tipped the audience off that the speaker was a "Trot" and triggered a Pavlovian spasm of "Trotskyite"-baiting and references to ice-picks. New recruits to the Maoist movement are kept in such primeval political ignorance that they cannot tell the difference between their line and that of the "critical" Maoists, let alone Trotskyists, until the proper organizational tag is pinned on the speakers!

This use of "Trotskyite" hogeymen to harden up the ranks of a disoriented movement reached its nadir in the workshop on Chinese foreign policy. Here OL Central Committee member Eileen Klehr got up to announce her "disgust" that "the sponsors of this conference let Trotskyites slander China," disingenuously claiming that the Trotskyists' participation in the conference was OL's reasnn for refusing to co-sponsor it. When, seconds later, she demanded to know the RCP's position on the "Gang of Four," she was herself hooted down with cries of "That's a Trotskyite question!"

The cries expressed the RCP's evident embarrassment that it had not yet taken a position on the Peking purge. When an SYL supporter asked RCP chief Bob Avakian to answer "yes or no" whether Chiang Ching was a "capitalist roader," he replied at first "No!" and then, "I don't know. I don't know."

Through an apparent slip-up in conference planning, the RCP invited Ralph Shoenmann of the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation to be a panelist in the Chinese foreign policy workshop. Shoenmann raised a series of Trotskyist-derived criticisms of China and noted from the platform that the expulsion from the party of the "Gang of Four" without so much as a hearing before their lifelong comrades was proof that there was no workers democracy in China. For once the audience understood the political importance of these charges which could not be answered and erupted in anti-Trotskyist fury.

In the USSR workshop, well-known RCP supporter Mike Zweig, reflecting the Chinese bureaucracy's bias toward peasant autarky, said that the Soviet Union was capitalist because it has a "giant navy" which goes to every part of the world and has "direct economic relations of capitalism with countries all over the world." The way you can tell that China is socialist, he said, is that it "consciously applies Marxism-Leninism to break down class distinctions."

When an SL speaker asked Zweig when the counterrevolution which allegedly restored "capitalism" to Russia had taken place, he replied that it had not been necessary to have one but that when Khrushchev went to the Central Committee meetings and Politburo meetings with the "army in his pocket" that could be considered "sort of a coup." Panelist Bob Coe from the U.S./China People's Friendship Association dutifully parroted the line that the USSR was the main enemy—except that possibly if one lived in the Panama Canal Zone, perhaps there the U.S. might be the main enemy.

Toward the end of the discussion, the two left-liberal academicians on the panel, Lynn Turgeon and Ben Eklor, who had presented indisputable empirical proofs that the USSR was not capitalist, sharing qualitatively more in common with China than with the United States, began to get Trotsky-baited. The final SL speaker pointed out that while these two panelists had a firmer grip on reality than most of the people in the room (who had adopted the false consciousness of the Chinese bureaucracy), they were certainly not Trotskyists. The Trotskyist position, which was not expressed by Turgeon and Eklor, he said, begins with unconditional military defense of the gains of the Russian and Chinese revolutions. But even the call for the military defense of China against imperialism, since it came from a Trotskyist, was reflexively booed.

### Avakian Plays with Critical Maoism

The final session of the conference was a bitter confrontation between the RCP's No. One honcho Robert Avakian and William Hinton about the position U.S. Maoists should take in the event of a third world war between the U.S. and the Soviet Union. Although it was set up as a three-way debate, the third panelist, outmoded New Left radical-pacifist Dave Dellinger, stood largely outside the clash, intervening from time to time to vainly protest the sharp right turn in Chinese foreign policy.

Avakian began the evening, drawing wild cheers from the RCP (one RCP supporter was overheard to whisper to another, "I *love* Bob Avakian. He's *so* working class!") as he strutted across the platform asserting that "we do not stand with *either* imperialist" and vowing that his organization would reject a bloc with the U.S. In response, Hinton warned repeatedly that the Maoist movement in the U.S. was in for big trouble from China if it refused to toe the line on this crucial question.

Over and over Hinton stressed that "the U.S.S.R. is the main danger," that the "turn in the world situation requires ...new tactics," exemplified in the recent struggle in Angola. He insisted that he was speaking for the Chinese leadership. In response to the RCP's charge that he pulled his politics "out of the air," Hinton said, "I didn't create it. It's the result of the analysis of Mao Tse-tung."

That Avakian will take this warning seriously, despite his demagogic present "left" posture, was evident by his final remarks of the evening. While the RCP does have criticisms of the role of the Browderite CPUSA during World War II, he said, he was definitely not ruling out circumstances in which the RCP could bloc with U.S. imperialism in a war.

Continuing loyalty to Peking was also evident in Avakian's answer to a question posed by an SL supporter in the audience. The SL speaker asked:

> "Since the question of the class nature of the Soviet Union is fundamental, doesn't the refusal of the Vietnamese Workers Party to characterize the Soviet Union as capitalist mean by your criterion that the Vietnamese government itself is revisionist and on 'the capitalist road'?"

Avakian's response was that confused people aren't necessarily enemies. With regard to China, he said that Mao had recognized that the Soviet Union was on the road to capitalism as early as 1956 and had struggled with Khrushchev internally (within what international organization he could not, of course, say, since Stalin had long before liquidated the Communist International). Avakian went on to declare bombastically that China had educated a whole generation of revolutionaries and would

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# Free the Trotskyists in Chinese Jails!

At last weekend's Maoist conference on the international situation panelist Clark Kissinger—a former president of SDS, current chairman of the U.S./China People's Friendship Association and mouthpiece for the politics of the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP)—delivered what he imagined to be the definitive attack on the "Trotskyites." But his story was in fact a stinging indictment of the Chinese Stalinists' policies of imprisoning their left-wing political opponents.

Kissinger, having "heard just about enough" of Mao's betrayals from various "Trotskyite" speakers, told his audience that on speaking tours he is asked why China has released the old Kuomintang (KMT) officers from jail but not the Trotskyists. He offered the question to the audience to ponder, then added: "I said I didn't know, but I thought the possibility of re-education was higher among the Kuomintang."

It is the most grotesque attack on the fundamentals of workers democracy to release Chiang Kai-shek's war criminals and police agents while veteran working-class militants are kept penned up for the rest of their lives. But from Kissinger's perverse point of view he is right. The Kuomintang officers whom China began releasing in the fall of 1975 may well be more amenable to Mao-style "thought reform" than those Trotskyists who fought tenaciously against Japanese imperialism and KMT reaction.

Chiang's former generals wouldn't have to learn much at all to become reformed Maoists. They wouldn't have to break with their narrow nationalism, nor with their murderous bureaucratic appetites. Furthermore they would no doubt welcome the alliance with U.S. imperialism based on anti-Sovietism and global counterrevolution.

But for the Trotskyists who struggled in the interests of the oppressed masses of China and the international proletariat, reconciliation with the Maoist regime would mean capitulation to the forces they fought with so much courage. After many Chinese Trotskyists spent years in Chiang's jails they were again persecuted immediately after Mao's peasant armies were victorious in 1949. In 1950-51, they were picked up by the hundreds in a nationwide dragnet, jailed on indeterminate sentences and many sent to their deaths. Proud of their struggle on behalf of the Chinese proletariat, when they were to be executed these class martyrs asked only to be identified by the single word, "Trotskyist." But instead the Maoist regime falsely branded them as "enemy KMT agents" (see "Mao's Jails for Revolutionaries," *WV* No. 63, 28 February 1975).

Today it is the real KMT enemy agents who go free while the revolutionaries remain imprisoned. This is testimony not only to the barbaric anti-working-class injustice of the Mao regime, but also to the power of the Trotskyist program. The political cowardice behind the vindictiveness was mirrored at the RCP conference in the repeated mindless "Trot" baiting to drown out embarrassing questions. In his attempt to cover up for Mao's treacherous foreign policy of alliance with U.S. imperialism, white-supremacist South Africa and a host of "Third World" butchers, Clark Kissinger may have wished for a few "educable" KMT generals and police agents to help stop the Trotskyists from exposing the betrayals of his masters in Peking.

Demands for the release of the imprisoned Trotskyists, who never had a public trial, have met with a wall of hostile silence from the Chinese authorities. And shamefully, their moving appeal, written under desperate circumstances and smuggled out of "People's China" at the risk of death, instead of reaching their comrades all over the world was suppressed by Ernest Mandel and his Pabloist band of renegades from Trotskyism. They were so busy tailing after the "revolutionary" Maoists that they couldn't be bothered with defending Mao's Trotskyist opponents. But their case must not be buried. The entire workers movement must demand: Free the Trotskyists in Chinese jails!

## Stop DDR Crackdown on Dissidents!

# East Germany Deprives Singer Wolf Biermann of Citizenship

Wolf Biermann UPI

Last week East Germany deprived the left political folksinger, poet and critic of the bureaucratic regime, Wolf Biermann, of his DDR citizenship. On November 16 a communiqué of the official East German news agency stated that Biermann had "cut the ground out from under his own feet for further exercise of DDR citizenship through performances hostile to the German Democratic Republic."

Having emigrated to the DDR from West Germany in 1953, the 40-year-old Biermann, an idol of New Left radicals and East German youth since the mid-1960's, is known for his outspoken dissidence which, while deeply critical of the Stalinist regime, continues to uphold communism as the only hope of mankind.

Biermann is no anti-communist reactionary in the service of imperialism à la Solzhenitsyn. His cause must be supported by the international workers movement, demanding that his East German citizenship be reinstated at once.

Biermann's three-week tour of West Germany, hosted by the youth group of the metal workers' union IG Metall, was the first time in 11 years that the DDR had permitted him to leave the country. Before his departure he was explicitly assured by East Berlin authorities that he would be permitted to return, and he held valid exit and entry visas for the Democratic Republic. In the wake of the protest singer's expulsion, West German author Heinrich Böll rightly exclaimed that Biermann was "tricked in the shabbiest fashion."

The bureaucracy used a 1967 law against Biermann providing that persons engaging in "major violations of their duties as citizens" can be deprived of their citizenship. The East German Socialist Unity Party (SED) organ *Neues Deutschland* hypocritically asserted that the DDR had "exercised much patience with Biermann," who had "been spraying out his poison for years with the approval of enemies of the DDR."

### Stalinists and Cold Warriors

The excuse given by *Neues Deutschland* for the action was the concert given by Biermann in Köln on November 13 to an audience of 7,000 young people and carried live by West German radio. In the concert he took pains not to appear as an anti-Communist, but the East German Stalinists found his reported characterization of the DDR as "clique rule, a dictatorship to be sure, but not the dictatorship of the proletariat" as a sufficient pretext to get rid of a troublesome critic.

Trotskyists understand that the DDR is indeed a dictatorship of the proletariat, albeit one qualitatively deformed by the enforced political monopoly of the self-serving Stalinist bureaucracy (not just a tiny clique). However, Biermann, like the Trotskyists, has made clear his commitment to defend the DDR and its collectivist property forms against imperialist attack, and in any case the East German authorities' action was certainly not due to a political dispute over the nature of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In West Germany all sorts of reactionaries including such sabre-rattlers as Franz-Josef Strauss will make political hay out of the DDR Stalinists' act of high-handed bureaucratism. Biermann has shown an awareness of the need to distinguish himself from imperialist reaction by attacking a number of West German politicians in his latest concert.

However, even within the workers movement there are many reformists who will seek to use Biermann for their anti-Communist aims. His hosts of the IG Metall bureaucracy, for instance, have been in the forefront of efforts to exclude "radicals" (which would definitely include the likes of Biermann) from the "democratic" union movement of West Germany. The political singer was also invited by an "Initiative Committee for Freedom of Opinion in East and West" at Bochum University. Among the participants in this committee, in addition to the youth groups of the Social Democratic Party and the bourgeois Free Democrats, are liberal professors and the IAK (International Workers Correspondence, connected with the French OCI), which has played the leading role in the group.

In addition to the treacherous equation of abstract political "freedom" in the degenerated/deformed workers states with the capitalist West (a liberal concept denying the fundamental class difference between these societies), for the IAK to form a political bloc with bourgeois and social-democratic anti-Communists against the Stalinist-ruled states is to side with imperialist "democracy" (i.e., counterrevolution) against historic conquests of the workers movement. If Biermann wishes to avoid this fate he must be extremely vigilant about the company that he keeps.

### Crackdown in the DDR

Despite the fact that the worst enemies of socialism will seek to make capital out of the Biermann affair—Pinochet will doubtless gloat over the fact that the DDR happens to be one of 35 nations sponsoring a UN General Assembly resolution condemning Chile for depriving opponents of the junta of citizenship—this outrageous victimization does indeed expose the hollowness of the socialist pretensions of the East German Stalinist regime.

The measure is part of a generalized crackdown on dissent in East Germany during the last month, which has involved a cabinet reshuffling and the expulsion of Rainer Kunze from the East German writers' union for publishing a book of vignettes critical of the DDR in the Federal Republic. These are unmistakable warnings to other critics of bureaucratic misrule in the DDR not to push their luck too far.

The Stalinist rulers in East Berlin are worried about an outbreak of popular discontent, in particular over the issue of permission to emigrate to the West. Allegedly over 90,000 DDR citizens have applied for authorization to leave the country since the Helsinki Accords (supposedly guaranteeing freedom of movement) were signed in August 1975. Even though living standards in East Germany have risen considerably in recent years and the DDR (with only 20 million people) now ranks ninth among industrial nations, they are still far below the level in West Germany—as DDR citizens are daily made aware by Western TV commercials.

Now, faced with a sharp rise in the prices of raw materials from the USSR, more DDR-produced consumer goods will have to be exported to pay for Soviet gas and oil. The bureaucracy evidently hopes that by clamping the lid on dissent it can avoid a repetition of last summer's Polish workers' protests against planned price rises. It could, however, have the opposite effect.

### Hungarian Revolution or Prague Spring?

To his credit, Biermann recognizes the tremendous achievement represented by the collective ownership of the means of production as opposed to the anarchy of capitalist production relations. He also defends the Berlin Wall as necessary to stop the crippling drain of trained personnel which imperiled the East German economy before 1961 (though adding that "in the long run the DDR needs neither penitentiaries nor the Wall"). Biermann attacks West Germany for the permeation of upper levels of government and industry with unreconstructed Nazis, and calls for the reunification of Germany on a socialist basis. He explicitly states:

> "My stance of critical solidarity toward the DDR rests on the conviction that the DDR, despite all the bureaucratic evils, is a transitional society to socialism."

But Biermann is trapped in political contradictions by his failure to accept the fact that the German proletariat can go forward to socialism only by both ousting the parasitic bureaucracy through a political revolution in the DDR and by carrying out a social revolution in the West, while rapidly extending both revolutions internationally. He is unable to envision a workers movement independent of the "official" Communist parties, and wants to reform the Stalinist SED rather than smash this instrument of bureaucratic rule.

For Biermann, the SED is still "his" party, as his poems and songs have made clear for years, and he is still longing for the appearance of an East German Dubček. But the Hungarian workers revolution of 1956, not the Prague Spring, is the road of revolutionary advance. Hungary demonstrated that the bureaucratic Stalinist regimes in the deformed workers states can be toppled by workers soviets. What was lacking—the key element of success—was a democratic-centralist Trotskyist vanguard party to lead the struggle against Stalinist rule.

Viewing Stalinism solely from the basis of his own experiences in a deformed workers state, Biermann takes the protestations of Marchais, Berlinguer and Carrillo against the USSR's invasion of Czechoslovakia as a commitment to "socialist democracy." He fails to grasp the fact that, far from desiring to attain socialism—which they abandoned as a goal long before formally renouncing the dictatorship of the proletariat—the French, Italian and Spanish Communist leaders are simply attempting to demonstrate their reliability to their respective bourgeoisies.

Thus Biermann has written (on the jacket of his latest LP, a recording of Spanish songs) that, having read Carrillo's book, "I now know that the position of the Spanish CP on all the important questions of the international workers movement is virtually identical with my

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**From: The Singer's Inaugural Address**
**by Wolf Biermann**

*Who once bravely endured in the face of machine guns*
*Are afraid of my guitar. Panic spreads in all directions*
*When I open my jaws, and*
*The sweat of terror is seen on the snouts of the*
*bureaucrat elephants*
*When I treat a concert hall to my songs, truly*
*A monster, a plague, that's what I must be, truly*
*A dinosaur is dancing on the Marx Engels Platz*
*A backfiring shell, a dumpling stuck fast in the fat neck*
*Of the responsible, who fear nothing so much as*
*Responsibility.*

## In Bid for World Opinion, Pinochet Releases 129

# Thousands of Class-War Prisoners Rot in Chile's Jails—Free Them All Now!

On 17 November the *New York Times* ran a story headlined "Chile Will Release Political Prisoners." The story began: "The military Government announced today that it was releasing all but 20 political prisoners held without charges under Chile's stage of siege." The next day the State Department issued a statement "welcoming" the action and indicating that "the United States had played a behind-the-scenes role to bring it about." What was the truth behind the obvious public relations ploy?

In reality, "all" turns out to be a little over 300 left-wing prisoners out of an estimated total of several thousand. On November 18 the blood-stained junta announced the release of 129 political prisoners. Another 168 were reportedly transferred from Puchuncavi, a coastal prison camp near Valparaíso, to Tres Alamos in Santiago, with the promise that they will be freed soon. General Hernal Bejares went so far as to claim that all persons held without charge under the state of seige laws would be released and allowed to remain in Chile and that 198 persons who had been exiled to remote areas of the country for political reasons would be permitted to return to their homes.

For more than three years, millions of workers throughout the world have vociferously demanded the release of the thousands of militants being held in Pinochet's torture centers and concentration camps. The release of several hundred—even if it is intended by the junta as a gesture to clean up its image—is a victory for the workers movement. But it cannot be forgotten than an unknown number of political prisoners whose fate is unaffected by the Bejares decree still remain in jails and torture centers throughout Chile. The Chilean interior minister admits only that 280 persons are on trial before military tribunals and that another 600 are already sentenced. Yet the Paris station of Amnesty International estimated on October 22 that there were *4,000* political prisoners in Chile (to say nothing of the more than 30,000 left-wing militants, workers and peasants slaughtered by the junta since 11 September 1973).

The junta also has a list of 20 prisoners of "special danger to state security" who will be released only if they agree to go into exile and are received by a foreign country. Among these are former economics minister in the Allende regime, José Cademartori (CP); the former secretary of state for the interior, Daniel Vergara (CP); the former mayor of the San Miguel district of Santiago, Tito Palestro; a journalist Gladys Díaz (CP), as well as MIR leader Victor Toro. The identity of the others is unknown.

In addition, Luis Corvalán, leader of the Chilean Communist Party, and Jorge Montes, a member of the CP, are being held for ransom by the junta as part of a political ploy designed to embarrass "socialist" countries. Pinochet has offered an exchange: Corvalán for Vladimir Bukovsky, a left critic of the Soviet bureaucracy who has been in jail in the Soviet Union since 1970; and Montes for Hubert Matos, a Cuban counterrevolutionary, in prison for 15 years for attempting to organize an army revolt against Castro.

Daily World

Luis Corvalán

But the workers movement will not be blackmailed into calling for freedom for counterrevolutionaries like Matos, or equate the Soviet deformed workers state with the reactionary Chilean military dictatorship. We demand the *immediate and unconditional* release of all victims of right-wing repression in Chile and throughout Latin America!

### The Terror Continues

Although the prisoners currently being released are required to sign a document claiming that they have never been tortured, the junta has been unsuccessful in convincing even its supporters that it is anything other than a gang of thugs and murderers. Because of the many reports of continued repression in Chile from groups like Amnesty International and the UN Commission on Refugees, as well as testimony from political prisoners who managed to flee Chile, pressure has been put on the junta recently by various capitalist governments for whom Pinochet has become somewhat of an embarrassment.

AP

**Chilean political prisoners released from prison outside Santiago November 17. They represent a small fraction of the total still being held by the junta.**

Amnesty International reported in August that "the wave of repression begun in May of 1976 [just prior to the OAS Conference held in June in Santiago] does not seem to have declined in intensity." At that time, hundreds of members and leaders of left-wing parties, including Victor Díaz, deputy general secretary of the Communist Party in 1973, were arrested without charges. A United Nations panel of inquiry has charged Chile's military junta with systematic extension of repression, arbitrary arrests, torture and deportations. On October 13, the executive committee of UNESCO passed a resolution expressing profound

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## UAW Tops Let Ranks Blow Off Steam

# "Apache" Strike at GM

The United Auto Workers (UAW) bureaucracy has just concluded the shortest strike in its history against a "Big Three" auto manufacturer and reached a settlement with profit-bloated General Motors that is one of the worst in UAW history. At midnight Friday 69,000 GM workers at 16 plants walked off the job in the first of a planned series of "mini-strikes," but by noon calls were going out from Solidarity House ordering the day shift back to work with a contract essentially identical to the one Woodcock railroaded Ford and Chrysler workers into accepting last month.

The issue which provoked the unexpected walkout (the first time two of the auto giants were struck in the same year) was reportedly a UAW demand that management pledge in writing not to interfere with the union's organizing drive at new GM plants in the South. When bargaining began last summer a UAW spokesman announced that the call on General Motors to halt its anti-union propaganda "is the only demand where we have a declaration of war" (*Detroit Free Press*, 5 August).

In a clear move to profit from low wages prevailing in non-unionized areas, GM has recently opened six new parts plants in Southern states notorious for their "open shop" conditions. Typical of such plants is the Clinton, Mississippi, headlight plant where local workers average $2 per hour less than those at GM's Anderson, Illinois, plant where the same work was done before it was moved south. Recent UAW bids to win representation at two of these plants failed after the company mounted massive propaganda campaigns against unionization.

The Woodcock bureaucracy, while it certainly prefers to slow the trend toward "runaways" if only to maintain its dues base, is unwilling to mobilize the UAW and the rest of the labor movement for the militant struggle necessary to organize the unorganized and sweep away reactionary "right-to-work" laws. The GM settlement includes a formal letter from the company pledging what UAW General Motors director Irving Bluestone termed a "posture of neutrality" toward union organizing drives at the Southern plants. Asked how the pledge would be enforced, Woodcock reportedly answered: "We have the good faith of General Motors behind this, and that's good enough for us" (*Wall Street Journal*, 22 November). But for auto workers, empty promises are not enough.

Furthermore, union officials openly admitted that the purpose in striking only 16 of GM's 119 plants was to avoid paying strike benefits to the membership, even though the strike fund currently stands at $160 million, enough to cover an eight-week strike! UAW "opposition" bureaucrat Frank Runnels, president of Cadillac Local 22 in Detroit, tried to give a militant cover to Woodcock's defeatist strike strategy: "It's Operation Apache, to hit them at our convenience, not theirs.... It goofs up their production and throws their schedules into chaos. It drives them nuts."

Runnels "forgets" that the same tactic was used to no avail by UAW tops in 1972-73 with a series of isolated local strikes against backbreaking speed-up, notably at GM's automated Lordstown plant. Far from bringing the company to its knees, the only effect of these hit-and-run strikes was to drain off militancy and demoralize the union ranks.

Despite the UAW misleaders' trust in the "good faith" and "integrity" of the bosses, despite Woodcock's contention that the new contract "will provide UAW members and their families with greater job security and income," the ranks will soon discover the truth. The deadly line speed and grueling overtime will continue as unremitting inflation eats away at their paychecks. As inventories swell and auto sales falter along with the rest of the economy, they will find themselves defenseless against the new round of layoffs which will sweep the auto industry in coming months.

Bluestone's hat-in-hand begging for company "neutrality" toward organizing in the South only shows how far the UAW has fallen since the days of the 1936-37 sitdown strikes. This kind of pussyfooting could never have organized the most powerful industrial union in the U.S.! It is not enough to pressure Woodcock & Co. The only hope for auto workers lies in the construction of a militant and consistent opposition to the labor fakers which is dedicated to the principles of relentless class struggle. Vote down the GM contract! Unchain the UAW! ■

# Quebec...

*(continued from page 1)*

this enforced French language instruction was partly reflected in the November 15 balloting in increased votes for the reactionary Union Nationale. However, the PQ was more interested in winning votes than in consistent nationalism and appealed to the immigrants by proposing that no present Quebec residents would be required to have their children pass language tests in order to gain access to the English schools.

There is real linguistic discrimination against French speakers in Canada and elsewhere. In Quebec industry the language of work is often English, since ownership is dominated by English Canadian and U.S. companies. The separate English-speaking school system, moreover, is both segregated and privileged, since it is located by and large in more affluent neighborhoods. As internationalists, communists must oppose such discrimination and privileged status for any language.

On the other hand, Québécois nationalists are concerned primarily that the number of French speakers is declining due to a falling Quebec birth rate, the influx of English-speaking immigrants and out-migration from the province in search of economic opportunity elsewhere. This is the source of demands for enforced French unilingualism in Quebec—an attempt to stop the erosion of French due to economic factors by substituting a government edict. This must be opposed by class-conscious workers, who seek not to create a barricaded ghetto but to lower national antagonisms among the working people.

### A Vote for Independence?

Since the elections, Lévesque has admitted on a number of occasions that the support for independence among Québécois is definitely in the minority at present. However, the November 15 vote may have set in motion a dynamic heading in the direction of separation. The PQ will in any case seek to increase provincial powers in a number of areas at the expense of the federal government; and Trudeau (whose political career would be ended by Quebec independence) will oppose handing over significant powers. So would virtually any other federal government, for the secession of Quebec would threaten the existence of the confederation.

Quebec has experienced a long history of national oppression, and thus one of the most fundamental tasks of revolutionaries in English Canada is to fight for Quebec's unconditional right to self-determination—i.e., the right to secede. If the federal government should move to deny this right—either by citing constitutional barriers (the British North America Act of 1867 has no provision for secession) or by militarily occupying Quebec, as it did in the wake of the Quebec Liberation Front (FLQ) terrorist attacks in 1970—Leninists will defend the rights of the oppressed Québécois nation.

The Leninist position on the national question is based on the struggle against all forms of national inequality or privilege. In upholding the democratic right of national self-determination we seek not to foster the bourgeois ideology of nationalism, but to remove national antagonisms so that the fundamental class questions may be brought to the fore. In the case of colonies the right of self-determination can be expressed only in the demand for unconditional, immediate independence.

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pour toute correspondance Pascal Alessandri, B P 336, 75011 Paris, France

In the case of multi-national states such as Canada the question is not so simple. It is only when national antagonisms decisively cut across the class struggle that Marxists go beyond defense of the right of self-determination to actively advocating independence. Lenin argued that this was the case in Norway early this century, and therefore supported the demand for Norwegian independence from Sweden. Should conflicts over the language question, immigration policies, use of federal troops and other issues escalate national hostilities in Canada to such a point—a distinct possibility with a PQ government in Quebec—then we would be obliged to demand independence.

At this time, however, we continue to point out that separation would be a step backward. Given the high degree of integration of the North American economy and the potential leading role of the militant Québécois proletariat in the North American socialist revolution, the failure to achieve proletarian unity within the context of one state

Pierre McCann/La Presse

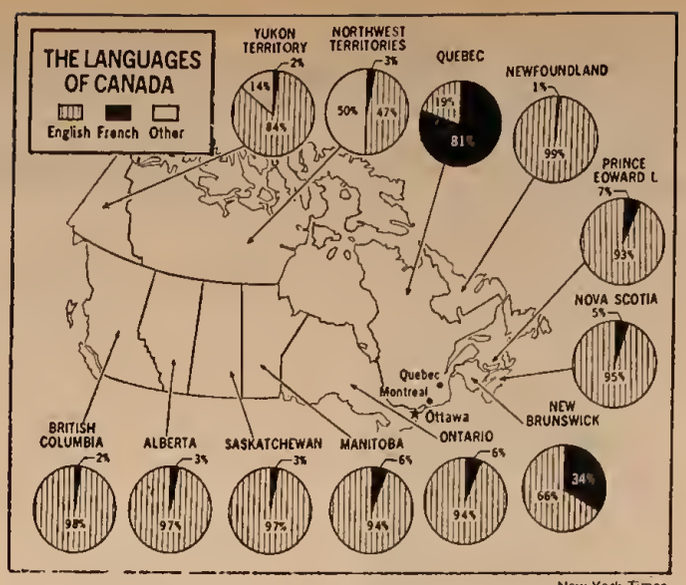
**René Lévesque**

power in Canada would be a setback for the working class. This defeat would be in large measure the consequence of the national arrogance of the existing leadership of the English-Canadian working class—in particular the reformist New Democratic Party, which refuses to recognize Quebec's right to self-determination.

While the most combative sectors of the Quebec proletariat are sympathetic to Québécois nationalism, they have also played a key role in sparking cross-Canada labor actions in the recent past. In several railway and postal strikes the initiative was taken by Montreal locals of the unions in question. In the event of Quebec independence such important links among North American workers as the international and Canadian unions may well be lost, which can only retard the struggle for proletarian state power. Despite the wishful thinking of sundry left-nationalists, there is no road to socialist revolution for the Québécois proletariat separate from its class brothers and sisters in English-speaking North America. The burning necessity of united trans-national class mobilization was amply demonstrated by the October 14 cross-Canada protest/strike against wage controls.

### The PQ Against the Working Class

The labor bureaucrats' support to the PQ as a supposed "lesser evil" is a conscious betrayal of the militant Québécois proletariat—the most combative working class on the North American continent. The PQ is a *bourgeois*, openly anti-working-class party, formed in 1968 by a fusion of nationalist splits from the populist Créditiste Party. (The subsequent affiliation of the more left-wing nationalist Rassemblement pour l'Indépendance Nationale gave the party much of its fake social-democratic veneer and base of support among Québécois youth.)




New York Times

During the massive province-wide general strike of May 1972, the PQ appealed for calm and a return to work, while denouncing the "irresponsible" labor leaders of the Common Front. In 1973, it voted for the Liberal Party's emergency legislation, forcing striking Quebec Hydro workers back to work, and repeated this against hospital workers and nurses in 1975 and 1976. It supported the introduction of federal wage controls in October 1975 (adding only that they should have been implemented sooner!) as well as their implementation by the provincial government, and denounced the unions' October 14 anti-wage-control protest as "useless." In order to emphasize its independence from the labor movement, the PQ refuses to accept financial support from trade unions, claiming that this would inhibit its ability to deal "squarely" with them when in power.

Actually the entire PQ leadership is composed of former ministers and functionaries from the Liberal Party and the reactionary Union Nationale (the third major bourgeois party). Lévesque himself was for years a close associate of the present federal prime minister Pierre Trudeau and was the No. Two man in the provincial Liberal Party government of Jean Lesage until 1966. His top lieutenants include former provincial deputy minister Claude Morin, Jacques Parizeau, provincial premier during 1961-69, millionaire stock broker Guy Jorin and Guy Chevrette, former member of the Liberals' union-busting Cliche Commission inquiry into the Quebec construction industry (see "Quebec Government Seizes Construction Unions," *WV* No. 70, 6 June 1975).

Lévesque's main public activity since the election has been an attempt to convince wary U.S. and English-speaking businessmen that they have nothing to fear from a PQ government. He assured the *New York Times* (21 November) that there would be no social revolution(!) in Quebec, "because we cannot afford it." Both the chairman of the Bank of Montreal and the president of the Montreal Stock Exchange quickly issued statements emphasizing that the vote was not a referendum on independence.

The leading Montreal daily *La Presse* (18 November) editorialized against a *New York Times* headline ("Quebec Votes Separatist") and noted that, while there were "extremist elements" in the PQ who talk of socialism:

> "It appears ... that moderate elements—i.e., the René Lévesques, Jacques Parizeaus, Claude Morins ... and some others have constantly known how to make moderation and good sense prevail."

The paper also quoted George Weiksner, vice-president of the First Boston Corporation, which has extensive holdings in Quebec, as saying:

> "There is a great deal of talk about socialist tendencies, but if the Lévesque government is capable of bringing harmony at the level of labor relations, putting a stop to waste of public expenditures and creating a calmer social climate than under the preceding governments, that will be a considerable achievement for the economy."
>
> —*La Presse*, 20 November 1976

### For a Workers Party With a Class-Struggle Program

While the combative Quebec workers are in many ways more advanced than the rest of the North American proletariat, they lack an independent class party, thanks above all to the class-

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collaborationist program of the union bureaucracies. Not that they can't mouth a pretty left line when the occasion calls for some tough talk. All three of the provincial trade-union federations (even the AFL-CIO-affiliated FTQ!) have made programmatic statements calling for struggle against the capitalist system.

Acting on a mandate pushed through at its December 1975 convention, the leadership of the Quebec Federation of Labour broke from its Gompersite tradition of non-participation in politics

Labor Challenge

**Robert Bourassa of the Liberal Party**

and called for "tactical" support to the Parti Québécois. As usual the officialdom of the Confederation of National Trade Unions (CSN) and the Quebec Teachers Federation (CEQ) gave tacit (but unmistakable) support to Lévesque with campaigns to vote the Liberals out of office. Montreal CSN leader Michel Chartrand hailed the PQ victory as that of a party based on "honesty and trust."

The top bureaucrats of the reputedly "radical" CSN and CEQ and the more "moderate" FTQ all seek to dodge the responsibility of waging a militant working-class political struggle by affirming the necessity of a labor party at some time in the future. A masterful example of their double-talk came in an interview with CSN leader Marcel Pepin at the union congress last summer.

> "Personally, I'm pretty much in agreement with the [French] CFDT [social-democratic-leaning union federation] position on this subject: the political party and the union must be two distinct realities.
>
> "At the same time, we favor the emergence of a labor party, the workers party which we are so cruelly lacking here. But we don't want to have confusion with the labor federation.... At present none of the political parties really satisfies us, even if we're closer to the Parti Québécois. But it's a reformist party, not an anti-capitalist party. If one day there were a real labor party—as far as I'm concerned, I have the impression that it will be created within the year—we could only welcome it."
>
> —*Le Monde*, 27 June

For now, the bureaucrats agree, the workers are "not yet ready" for class political action. Accordingly, in order to help "prepare" them, the FTQ/CSN/CEQ tell them to vote for the bourgeois PQ!

Recently a campaign has been waged for a labor party in the Montreal union movement by the Regroupment of Union Militants (RMS), a pan-union oppositional caucus based on a three-point minimum program calling for independence of the labor movement from the state, united labor action and a labor party. The ultra-reformist lowest-common-denominator RMS program for the labor party is supposedly based on "demands expressed by the workers themselves"—i.e., economist demands raised by the bureaucrats.

The RMS simply acts as a pressure group on the existing labor bureaucracy—particularly on "left bureaucrats like Chartrand—seeking to induce them into building a reformist labor party on the bureaucrats' own program. The RMS is led by some of these same "left" bureaucrats, including the president of the Montreal Transit Maintenance Workers Union, the secretary of the CEQ's national bureau and the president of the Montreal Teachers Alliance. In the recent election campaign, the RMS, which is uncritically supported by the fake-Trotskyist Groupe Socialiste des Traivailleurs du Québec (GSTQ), went so far as to set up an electoral bloc with the tiny and discredited rump of the social-democratic New Democratic Party (NDP)—on the latter's program.

While calling for the formation of a workers party based on the trade unions, Trotskyists in Quebec should struggle against illusions in either NDP-style social-democratic cretinism or Québécois nationalism. The latter is reflected in the demand raised by the ostensibly Trotskyist Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière (LSO) for a separate Quebec labor party.

The proletariat's political struggle must be directed against the existing

Labor Challenge

**Quebec labor bureaucrats: from right, Charbonneau of the CEQ, Laberge of the FTQ and Pepin of the CSN.**

state power. This political struggle cannot be confined to a single province just as it cannot be confined to a single plant. So long as Quebec remains a part of Canada, Québécois workers must struggle for a workers party and a workers government across Canada, not just in Quebec. This struggle must be in common with the English-speaking working class and can be victorious only through the closest unity of the proletariat of both nations.

### The Quebec Left and the Elections

In the November 15 Quebec provincial elections, several left-wing formations presented candidates claiming to provide a working-class alternative to the PQ and other bourgeois parties. Among them was the tiny and ossified Communist Party of Quebec which stood 15 candidates on a popular-frontist program of allying with the "progressive" wing of the bourgeoisie, in this case Lévesque & Co.

Among the ostensibly Trotskyists, the GSTQ (affiliated with the French OCI) gave "full support" to the electoral bloc between the miniscule Quebec NDP and the RMS, which presented 21 candidates on a lengthy, reformist program calling for such things as "higher taxes on profits" in order to secure more "balanced" economic development. Its "counterposition" to bourgeois Quebec nationalism was bourgeois Canadian nationalism: a call for a constituent assembly (!) in order to "democratically" establish a new Canadian constitution independent of the British crown. Predictably, NDP/RMS candidates received only a small number of votes.

While the GSTQ was building a mini-propaganda campaign for right-wing parliamentarist social democracy, the LSO (Quebec affiliate of the League for Socialist Action [LSA] in English Canada, associated with the reformist "United Secretariat [USec] minority) was, as always, wallowing in the most chauvinist aspects of Quebec nationalism. For some months the LSO has been playing footsie with the GSTQ inside the RMS, and for factional purposes it has sought to place itself to the left of the Quebec Lambertistes. Thus, while the GSTQ was forging an electoral bloc with the NDP, and continuing to tail after bureaucrats like Chartrand, the LSO announced that:

> "The principal obstacle [to the creation of a labor party] is the refusal of the present leadership of the unions to take up this task and to abandon its policy of subordination to the PQ."

But this is mere eyewash, commensurate with a more "laborite" flavor than normal to its election campaign. But while its election supplement begins with a call for the unions to launch a labor party, and the capsule program appears under the reactionary utopian slogan "For an Independent and Socialist Quebec," the LSO's real program appears in a section entitled "For a French Quebec" (*Liberation*, November 1976).

A careful perusal of this article and the election supplement shows that the LSO's main objection to the Parti Québécois is that the latter is not *really* for independence. The "consistent nationalists" of the LSO—who have made French unilingualism into their hobby horse even when most of the bourgeois nationalists lost interest—particularly criticize the PQ for pledging to "re-establish freedom of choice of the language of instruction for the children of immigrants who have already arrived in Quebec."

> "The candidate of the Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière does not have the same worries, since the LSO unconditionally defends the linguistic rights of the French-speaking majority....
>
> "The LSO proposes a single, secular and French school system. Everyone would have to study in French, with a choice, obviously, of studying second languages, including English...."

This glorification of the "nationalism of the oppressed" leads straight into the worst excesses of national chauvinism! Oh, the poor, irresolute, faint-hearted PQ—because these electoralists want to get votes they are willing to compromise so that the Greek and Portuguese immigrants can have their children to study English in order to break out of their depressed Montreal ghettos. If only to win seats in the National Assembly, Lévesque must make a gesture toward democracy. But not the "consistent" LSO—its program is to drive the immigrants into the sea or into English Canada!!

The fact that this discrimination against the sizeable non-French-speaking minorities in areas like Montreal and the Gaspé peninsula would serve to justify similar discrimination

Labor Challenge

**Quebec nationalist supporters of French unilingualism demonstrate against Bill 22.**

against French speakers in New Brunswick, Ontario and elsewhere is not of the slightest interest to these glorifiers of "French Quebec." No electoral support can be given to these disgusting nationalist bigots!

While the LSO calls for, alternatively, an "independent socialist Quebec" or a "French Quebec," the more leftist Groupe Marxiste Révolutionnaire (GMR, loosely affiliated with the Revolutionary Marxist Group [RMG] in English Canada and also a sympathizing organization of the USec) calls for a "Quebec Workers Republic." The GMR's position of a separatist road to power for the Québécois working class (replete with fantasies of Cuban- and Vietnamese-style guerrillaist "armed struggle") is both utopian and reactionary: utopian because it dreams that proletarian power could be consolidated in this isolated corner of North America, and reactionary because it rejects the perspective of joint class struggle throughout the country.

This militant Québécois nationalism is further elaborated in a GMR pamphlet ("Pour la République des Travailleurs du Québec," 1976) which announces:

> "The liquidation of the ... corrupt bureaucracies of the international unions cannot be achieved except by a break with the American federations and the taking in hand of these unions by the Quebec labor federations; that is to say, the reorganization of trade

*continued on page 10*

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# Quebec ...

*(continued from page 9)*

unionism on an industrial basis inside a United Labor Federation of Quebec."

Thus, even while Quebec remains a part of Canada, the GMR calls for a nationalist breakaway from the powerful international unions, abandoning any hope of struggling within them to oust the pro-capitalist leadership. Similarly, the GMR calls for a "revolutionary workers party" of Quebec, rather than a cross-Canada party. In fact the very existence of the GMR as a separate organization is an expression of Québécois nationalism and Bundism, contrary to the Leninist principle of "one state power, one party."

All four (two English, two French) USec organizations in Canada share an anti-Leninist program of support to nationalism. But where the LSO glories in telling English-speakers and immigrants their children must learn French or else, the GMR tries to duck the issue. The RMG, while upholding the primacy of French in Quebec even allows "the need to make bilingual provisions for the local needs of national and linguistic minorities" (*Old Mole*, July-August 1976). Where the LSO denounces the PQ mainly for not being resolutely separatist, the GMR attacks Lévesque's party for being capitalist, a treacherous Kuomintang of the "colonial" bourgeoisie.

The GMR program calls for immediate nationalization of multi-national corporations, without compensation and under workers control; for a general strike against wage controls until the law is revoked; for a revolutionary workers party and no vote for the bourgeois parties. The program is vague, nationalist and minimalist-maximalist. But while the reformist LSO's program is overwhelmingly nationalist and fundamentally anti-working class, the centrist GMR's campaign presents a class-against-class thrust. Therefore, the Trotskyist League of Canada, sympathizing section of the international Spartacist tendency, called for critical support to the candidates of the GMR in the November 15 Quebec elections. ■

# UAW Strike at Harvester

WV Photo

**Striking UAW Local 6 workers picket International Harvester plant in Melrose Park, Illinois. A tentative settlement was announced only 14 hours after some 40,000 Harvester workers walked off the job Wednesday at midnight. Although their contract had expired October 1, it was extended by UAW bureaucrats to prevent common strike action with workers at John Deere (another major farm equipment manufacturer) who recently ended a 39-day strike. The Harvester settlement was similar to those at Ford, GM and Deere: a woefully inadequate pay raise and a few more days off per year.**

# Biermann ...

*(continued from page 6)*

own view and that of my comrades and friends in the DDR." Carrillo, it should be noted, in his book explicitly endorsed the GPU executions of Trotskyists in the 1930's as "counterrevolutionaries" and agents of fascism, claimed that left critics were attempting to "bury under a pile of filth all that was positive in the popular front," and justified the CP's refusal to fight for a social revolution and the creation of a workers republic during the Spanish Civil War.

The views of the pseudo-Trotskyist French Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR) coincide with those of Biermann as in its endorsement of Stalinist self-reform such as Dubček's "socialism with a human face." Thus the LCR favorably published an interview with Biermann in *Rouge* (22 October 1976), and even (in an overenthusiastic introduction) took DDR permission to leave as a sign that the bureaucracy needed to "act with relative prudence vis-à-vis artistic and intellectual opposition." The LCR glosses over Biermann's rightward turn toward "Eurocommunism" by remarking that he remains "a critic *from the left* of goulash-Gulag Communism"—with the small qualifier that on this anti-bureaucratic consciousness "is grafted a rather deformed view of the role of the Western CP's."

### Restore Biermann's Citizenship!

Wolf Biermann has refused to accept his exclusion from East Germany and deprivation of DDR citizenship; his wife has turned back movers sent by the Stalinist authorities to ship his household goods to the West. Moreover, in a brave act of solidarity, a group of 12 leading East German artists and intellectuals, including Stefan Heym and Christa Wolf, has called on the SED Politbüro to reconsider its decision, commenting that "in contrast to anachronistic forms of society the DDR should be able to bear such unpleasant criticism with equanimity."

Biermann's close friend, Prof. Robert Havemann, in an interview with the West German news service, denied that Biermann had shown himself to be an enemy of the DDR, stating that the singer had "simply exercised his right as a communist to criticize a communist government." In the West a group of well-known writers and professors—including the dramatist Peter Weiss, left-leaning history professor Wolfgang Abendroth and author Günter Wallraff, known for his opposition to the Greek colonels and his exposure of Spinola's dictatorial pretensions in Portugal—fired off a protest to the East German government.

As in the case of the committee of Polish intellectuals formed to defend the workers arrested for protesting price increases last summer, the act of East German writers in publicly defending Wolf Biermann can be of tremendous importance for the political revolution in the DDR. Trotskyists and class-conscious workers in the capitalist countries must also vigorously protest this Stalinist atrocity and demand that this attempt to silence this socialist critic of bureaucratic rule be met with international labor protest. ■

## CORRECTIONS

In *WV* No. 130 (22 October), the article "How Woodcock Strong-Armed Ford Workers" reports on page 10 that at UAW Local 140 an oppositionist was "struck with a chain"; actually, the weapon was a chair.

In *WV* No. 131 (29 October) there were several mistakes in the article "The Fall of Swedish Social Democracy." On page 6 it is stated erroneously that "the pro-Liberal *Aftonbladet*, the biggest evening paper in Sweden, called on Moderate leader Gösta Bohman to resign." The newspaper in question is *Expressen*; *Aftonbladet* is owned by the labor federation and is pro-Social Democratic. On the same page Per Ahlstrom is referred to as editor of the metal workers union newspaper; Ahlstrom is a member of the editorial board of *Metallarbetaran*.

On the following page the FK (Communist League) is linked to Lotta Continua in Italy; it should have been to Avanguardia Operaia. On the same page, it is stated that non-citizens who had lived in Sweden for two years could vote in local elections; the voting requirements were actually for *three* years residency.

In *WV* No. 133 (12 November), the article "Reformist Opposition Takes UAW to Bosses' Court" incorrectly refers to Al Gardner as former head of the Local 600 skilled trades unit instead of the tool and die unit.

# Maoist Conference ...

*(continued from page 5)*

continue to struggle against all enemies of the revolution, "open and disguised."

Following this, Clark Kissinger, (another leading member of the U.S./China People's Friendship Association) maneuvered to get the microphone to argue for the RCP's benefit that Hinton is not the mouthpiece of China, but instead puts words into the mouths of the Chinese. In a particularly demagogic broadside, Kissinger asserted that he had been on the same trips to China as Hinton, had sat in on the same discussions in the Great Hall of the People, had visited the same Chinese diplomats at the UN mission in New York and that the Chinese were always "measured in their response," at no time stating that the USSR was the "main danger."

In response, Hinton replied that Kissinger was "off the wall." Vehement in his insistence that the Chinese had put words into *his* mouth and not the other way around, Hinton reached down into his briefcase and pulled out a box of file cards. Dramatically waving them in the air he protested that he had here numerous statements from the Chinese press corroborating his arguments.

It is characteristic of the deliberately obscurantist Maoist bureaucracy that its edicts are always indirect, forcing its would-be disciples into contortions over interpretation of line. The Kissinger-Hinton exchange resembled nothing so much as two religious disputants from Hellenistic Egypt visiting the oracle of Delphi, to return each proclaiming his own vindication. Nonetheless, behind the RCP's frenzy to dismiss Hinton as a right-wing revisionist is evidence that the ex-New Left Maoist milieu to which Avakian & Co. orient (as does the OL) is still unwilling to swallow an open bloc with U.S. imperialism lock, stock and barrel.

Dellinger's remarks reflected his growing dismay with the rabidly anti-communist tone of the conference. "How long can we not raise what happened when China supported the military junta in Chile?" he asked. (To this Hinton answered that the Chinese government tries to make peace with *every* government, blandly adding that the widespread outrage over the Chinese embassy's refusal to accept political refugees at the time of the coup was misdirected; the Chinese refused only because they considered the embassy "unsafe" for refugees!)

"What about China's support for the Shah of Iran?" Dellinger persisted. "Not to bring it up is dereliction of revolutionary duty." Dellinger also complained that he was baffled with "Bob and Bill's insistence that the USSR is capitalist." "You think the arch-enemy is Khrushchev," he said. "You don't want to face up to what happened under Stalin." But Dellinger's own lack of answers to his questions, combined with his pathetic longing for a return to the days of uncomplicated chanting "power to the people," made it impossible for anyone to take him seriously.

The conference revealed that the differences between the two major American Maoist groups today remain quantitative. The RCP states that it will ally with its own imperialist ruling class only under exceptional circumstances; the OL is rather more disposed to this course. However, the OL's Peking-loyalism draws it inexorably toward Hinton's unconditional State Department Maoism. At the same time, the workerist-philistine RCP is certainly capable of following Progressive Labor's path to become a nationally limited, irrelevant Stalinoid sect. In either case, loyalty to Chinese Stalinism, embodied in a treacherous, clique-ridden bureaucracy, will have led the cadre of both organizations very far from the motives and goals which originally inspired their allegiance to socialist politics. ■


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# Philip Agee...

*(continued from page 2)*

intelligence network for the purpose of reforming it have been thwarted by existing U.S. legislation. Publication of ex-agent Victor Marchetti's *The CIA and the Cult of Intelligence* was held up by court order until author and publisher agreed to massive deletions on virtually every page.

The U.S. Department of Justice has reportedly been giving "serious consideration" to prosecuting Agee for violation of federal espionage statutes, but has held off until it has him securely in its clutches. (This way it is difficult for him to apply for asylum elsewhere on the grounds of political persecution in the U.S.). American Civil Liberties Union attorneys have challenged the government on behalf of Agee, charging that "the Government prefers to play cat and mouse games rather than to provide frank and straightforward information to an American citizen" (*New York Times*, 19 November).

The threats against Hosenball and Agee are deadly serious for these courageous exposers of the sinister network of surveillance, violence and intimidation which underlies imperialist rule. The attempts to silence them threaten not only freedom of the press but also the right of citizens to know what "their" government is plotting. Socialists, unionists and defenders of democratic rights have an urgent interest in preventing the deportation of Agee and Hosenball from Britain. The imperialist secret spy/police agencies—from the CIA/NSA/FBI to Britain's M2)—must be smashed in order to put a stop to their deadly attacks on the workers movement! ■

# ILWU Elections...

*(continued from page 12)*

cus. A spokesman for the MC told *WV* that its candidates had visited some 80 warehouses and nearly a dozen ILWU-organized hospital X-ray units. Although limited by restrictive rules to short campaign statements, the Militant Caucus supporters clearly counterposed their class-struggle program to the bureaucratic treachery of the Bridges-McClain leadership. In his campaign statement, Mandel referred to a "crisis of leadership" in the ILWU and denounced class collaboration:

> "Instead of mobilizing the membership through mass pickets, sympathy strikes and the call on longshoremen and Teamsters not to handle scab goods, the leadership crawled to Moscone and the Berkeley city council."

Denouncing the union's endorsement of racist peanut boss Jimmy Carter, Mandel ended with a call for a workers party to fight for a workers government and the ousting of the "pro-capitalist union leaderships."

Candidate Farruggio's statement noted that:

> "Together with my cothinkers, I founded a caucus to oppose the policies of class treason and fight for a class struggle leadership. Seeking to link the strength of longshore and warehouse, we fought for jobs for all through a union-wide strike for a shorter workweek at no loss in pay. At places like Associated, we urged union support of plant occupations and elected strike committees to prevent runaways and impose workers control of production. We fought the capitalist government's racist, chauvinist attempts to blame foreign-born workers for the depression. We opposed the leadership's call for import quotas and instead advocated mass labor action against Gestapo-style deportation raids in San Jose and L.A. While the leadership bowed to government control of the union, we called for militant action to smash court injunctions and to defend strikes at all houses in the ILWU/IBT alliance. We called for union action against racist police terror like Operation Zebra. We initiated union support in defense cases like Tyrone Guyton and called for immediately implementing the boycott of South African cargo to defend those fighting apartheid."

The MC campaign emphasized the solid achievements of the Caucus in the recent period. These included: initiating union action in the Tyrone Guyton defense case; initiating the call for mass picket lines, which saved the KNC strike from total defeat; leading boycott actions against scab Nestlé's products; and pressing a successful boycott action of Chilean cargo in protest against the bloody junta.

The successes registered by the Militant Caucus in the ILWU Local 6 elections underscore the possibilities for class-struggle oppositionists in the Bay Area labor movement. Despite important setbacks in the June northern California warehouse strike and the S.F. city workers strike, the morale of the Bay Area proletariat has not been shattered. While the anti-labor backlash has made some workers more conservative and apathetic, others have become increasingly open to a militant alternative to the class-collaborationist union bureaucracy. The ILWU, in particular, because it resisted the McCarthyite "anti-red" purges in the 1950's contains some of the most class-conscious elements in the American labor movement, and has an importance beyond its numbers. The winning of such elements to the principled programmatic perspectives of the Militant Caucus is a crucial task of the next period. ■

# Class-War Prisoners...

*(continued from page 7)*

alarm at the violations of human rights in Chile. Chile, Uruguay and Argentina did not vote on the resolution.

It is not surprising that Argentina would not support a condemnation of the same policies and practices which it uses to crush the workers movement. Like the Pinochet regime, in the last half year the Videla junta has come under widespread attack for its arrest and torture of left-wing militants and its encouragement and support of the death squads of the "Triple A" (Argentine Anti-Communist Alliance) and especially its savage abuse of political refugees from Chile, Uruguay and other Latin American countries.

The campaign to save Mario Muñoz, the Chilean miners' leader and refugee in Argentina who was the target of a manhunt by the Videla government, was one of the first efforts to expose the Argentine reign of terror. The campaign of international solidarity and protest co-sponsored by the Partisan Defense Committee (PDC) and the Committee to Defend the Worker and Sailor Prisoners in Chile, finally secured the release of Muñoz and his family this August.

The Partisan Defense Committee reports receiving information from the UN that one of Muñoz' *compañeros*, Eduardo Crus Farias, who was tortured in the prisons of Pinochet, crossed the Andes with Muñoz to Argentina and was hunted by Videla's henchmen, has now obtained refugee status in Canada. The campaign continues to save five of his comrades who are still in Argentina.

The international proletariat embraces those Chilean militants who have been freed; they have languished in prison, gone through unspeakable agonies and humiliations and have survived. But we cannot rely on the guilt of the liberal bourgeoisie or the temporary embarrassment of those who helped to put Pinochet in power in the first place to come to the aid of the oppressed masses in Latin America. The international working class alone can liberate the tens of thousands who still suffer under the yoke of right-wing repression in Latin America. ■

# Militant Nurses Strike in Chicago

WV Photo

**Chicago demonstration November 20 at the Drake Hotel in support of striking nurses of Cook County and Oak Forest Hospitals. Out since November 3, the nurses have defied a court injunction, $10,000-a-day fines, withdrawal of official union backing, threats of deportation (many are Filipinos) and a barrage of hostile press coverage. Freezing winter weather has not stopped the strikers from maintaining their combative spirit and their picket lines, rarely less than 50-strong. The strike, reportedly 75 to 90 percent effective, was provoked by attempts to cut the nurses' sick pay and reduce patient capacity and staff through attrition.**

**The militant determination of the nurses has been undermined by many of those who claim to back them. Jesse Jackson of Chicago PUSH offered himself as "neutral" mediator to resolve the dispute, while arguing that the strike was hurting blacks (not to mention how much it hurt Jackson's close friend...hospital director James Haughton!).**

**Despite appeals for support to the nurses in the Maoist October League's *Call*, OL supporters in the Housestaff Association (mainly interns and residents) "support" the picket lines on their lunch hour, then turn around and blithely cross the lines back to work! There is only one word strong enough to describe such cynical "revolutionaries" who claim to support the strike while daily crossing the picket lines: scab! Shut Down the Hospitals—Victory to the Nurses Strike!**

# CWA Militant ...

*(continued from page 3)*

leadership pretends that politics have no place in the unions.

At the same time, the CWA is one of the major unions behind the American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD), the CIA-run fake "labor" organization which has had a hand in imposing right-wing dictatorships in many Latin American countries and bears part of the responsibility for the murder of tens of thousands of Chilean unionists. MAC stands for smashing AIFLD and we have been fighting for a long time to expose this project to the ranks of the union.

*WV*: What are MAC's plans now and what does the union membership think about the caucus?

*Margolis*: We will be concentrating on the contract which expires in August. At the CWA convention last summer, the local bureaucrats were already preparing to sell out our upcoming strike by voting to siphon off our tiny strike funds to the International. MAC is starting now to try to win the rank and file to institute a membership-controlled national strike steering committee. We need a program of defending jobs through a shorter workweek with no loss in pay and a full cost-of-living clause. We also need a union hiring hall to put a stop to the company's racist, sexist policies.

How is MAC seen in the eyes of the membership? To be honest, I know that many people feel defeated by the company and thus think MAC is "idealistic" and our program not "realistic." This is because the phone company has an ability to break people and the union leadership's do-nothingness has people convinced of their supposed lack of power. And it's true that many other opposition groups have been wiped out over the years.

But MAC has been fighting in this union for over five years now and people see that we aren't one of these fly-by-night oppositions you see so often. The real battle is to make the membership aware of its own strength and to understand that with MAC's program for a class-struggle leadership, we are capable of defeating the company. I expect the present victory will have an impact. And as we go through more experiences of struggle, as the members compare our strategy and program to that of the bureaucrats and the fake oppositionists that come along, I expect a transformation in the members' consciousness and in the union as well. ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

# Militant Caucus Scores Victory in ILWU Elections

OAKLAND—On November 18, Local 6 of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) held elections. The elections were the first major contest in the Bay Area warehouse local since last June's badly defeated contract strike, and were an important test both for the leadership of Local 6 president Curtis McClain as well as for ostensible militants.

Coming in the wake of the defeated strike, it was not surprising that voter turnout dropped from the previous election two years ago. The elections did not record any fundamental change in the basic composition of the Local 6 leadership. Nonetheless, there was a perceptible erosion of support for McClain and his apologists. At the same time, spokesmen for class-struggle policies showed that they had gained an added measure of authority among the membership.

In the election for General Executive Board (GEB) in the East Bay Division, which includes Oakland, Militant Caucus (MC) leader Bob Mandel retained his GEB post with 398 votes, coming in second in the list of ten winners. (In 1974, Mandel came in eighth.) The Militant Caucus supporter finished ahead of all well-known supporters of McClain, all well-known supporters of the reformist Communist Party (CP) such as Tony Wilkinson, and the International-appointed organizer Karl Leipnik.

Mandel also was elected as an International convention delegate, defeating Leipnik and well-known CP supporters like Joe Lindsay, who failed to get elected as convention delegates. While another Militant Caucus supporter, Pete Farruggio, failed to obtain a post on the GEB, he received 291 votes (only 18 short of being elected) in his first election attempt.

In the East Bay elections for GEB and business agent, although many of the incumbents were returned to office, the spread between winners and losers was considerably less than two years ago. Even in the somewhat less militant San Francisco Division, where the bureaucrats and their Stalinist henchmen faced no left-wing opposition and the winning margins were generally much wider, two of the most virulent incumbent red-baiters—Al Lannon and Don Ruth—were forced into runoffs.

Lannon has openly accused the Militant Caucus of being "CIA and FBI agents," a typical Stalinist slander against left opponents. Ruth was the individual who authored charges which became the basis of a witchhunt campaign to censure Mandel as a "provocateur" for his role in helping to build mass picket lines in defense of the KNC strike in 1974. (The Local 6 membership resoundingly rejected these frame-up charges.)

Last June's strike was a key issue in the election campaign. The strike itself had been preceded by a number of union-busting police attacks on pickets at ILWU shops like Victor and Automatic Plastic Molding. At Victor the company forced an unprecedented open-shop agreement from the ILWU. The Automatic Plastic strike ended with the company planning to decertify the union and move out of the area

ILWU militants at April demonstration against police terror.

WV Photo

The bosses' success in these forays encouraged them to extend these tactics to the joint ILWU/Teamster warehousemen's master contract strike in June. A number of picketers were arrested during this strike; over 30 union militants still face charges stemming from these police busts, and several ILWU members from the East Bay have already been jailed. The McClain leadership's only response was to appeal impotently to strike-breaking San Francisco mayor Moscone and the Berkeley City Council to end the scabherding.

This weak-kneed policy presaged the eventual acceptance of a sellout agreement. The union leadership also soft-pedaled the police victimization of the picketers, falsely claiming at the time of the contract ratification that amnesty for arrested strikers was one of the terms of the settlement. At the same time it refused to condemn a goon squad assault on Bob Mandel at a stewards' meeting during the strike.

Disgust with the manner in which the ILWU leadership conducted the warehouse strike permeates the membership. It was significant that Karl Leipnik, who is highly regarded by the International tops, failed to make convention delegate and came in fifth in the GEB election. Leipnik, who has never previously held an elected union office, was appointed organizer by the International two years ago. He is known for his vicious attacks on militants in the union, and went out of his way in his election statement to denounce the Militant Caucus and to defend the International:

> "A few phony 'militants' have been calling every strike a defeat—every contract a sellout. Only the bosses will benefit if our unity is weakened."

Clearly the membership did not fall for Leipnik's line of "unity" with the bosses on the basis of the rotten contract.

While a number of prominent CP supporters managed to win posts, maintaining their influence in the Local bureaucracy, this was accomplished only by putting on a verbal left face and covering up their treacherous role in the June strike. For instance, well-known CP supporter Joe Lindsay made reference in his election statement to the need for a "fighting leadership"; but as chief steward at Golden Grain, Lindsay was instrumental last June in making a deal to allow management and office workers to cross the picket lines.

Well-known CP supporter and business agent Abba Ramos was also a party to this deal which helped undermine the strike. While omitting this embarrassing detail, Ramos boasts that "our settlement ranks amongst the tops in the country"! This is a patent whitewash of the Bridges/McClain leadership's sellout.

CP supporters also demonstrated the hollowness of the "independent" Communist Party campaign of Gus Hall and Jarvis Tyner, which remained limited to the pages of the *Daily World* and *People's World*. So as not to embarrass their allies in the bureaucracy (the Bridges leadership endorsed Jimmy Carter), the CP supporters were silent on the presidential election. At the same time, they endorsed a whole series of local Democratic Party candidates, including John Tunney for U.S. Senate.

Warehouse Workers United to Fight, a grouping supported by the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP), has evidenced considerable disorientation in the recent period. Last February, at the union's contract convention, this grouping devoted its energy to attempting to prove the outrageous and idiotic contention that the Militant Caucus was working hand in glove with the bureaucracy. Meanwhile it voted *with the bureaucracy* against all MC proposals, including for the right to strike!

This cowardly attempt to ingratiate itself with "independents" failed miserably, however. The RCP supporters' own reformist resolutions were badly defeated. Unable to find a niche for itself as "loyal" oppositionists, it has been essentially rudderless. In the current elections it ran no candidate, instead issuing leaflets filled with vague "fight back" rhetoric, for the ostensible purpose of pressuring the candidates to take more militant positions.

In sharp contrast stood the election campaign waged by the Militant Cau-

*continued on page 11*

WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

No. 136 3 December 1976

## Boycott the Phony Referendum—For Workers Revolution!

# Massive Strikes in Spain Say No to Francoist Monarchy

NOVEMBER 30—In the year since the death of dictator Francisco Franco, the regime headed by his hand-picked successor King Juan Carlos has been unable to douse the Spanish masses' burning desire for freedom. U.S. rulers cast worried looks toward Madrid as successive "reform" cabinets have been unable to put together a coherent power base in order to carry out a peaceful transition to semi-bonapartist "Spanish democracy." As diehard Falangist ultras rail against Prime Minister Adolfo Suárez' "concessions to Bolshevism" and a "democratic opposition" ranging from aristocratic conservatives to Communists calls for an end to the dictatorship, the spectre of Portugal and the vividly remembered Spanish Civil War looms over the shaky Francoist monarchy.

Following the death of the Generalissimo, virtually every month has seen massive demonstrations and political strikes. Last December experienced one-day strikes in Madrid and Barcelona that were followed by tens of thousands of workers. In January the capital's subways were struck for the first time in history and the main factories of Madrid's industrial periphery shut down in a *jornada de lucha* (day of struggle). The next month there were successive Sundays of mass demonstrations in Barcelona demanding "liberty, amnesty and a statute of autonomy" for the Catalan region. In March the cold-blooded murder of four workers by the hated *grises* (riot police) in Vitoria led to a funeral procession of 40,000 and the most massive general strike since the fall of the republic, affecting the entire Basque region.

April saw bloody street fighting between riot police and leftists in Madrid and Barcelona. Timid attempts to publicly celebrate May Day were met with baton charges and hundreds of arrests. While the protests diminished somewhat over the summer, June saw the beginning of the bitter Motor Ibérica strike which lasted more than 100 days, and in July 100,000 demonstrated for full amnesty for political prisoners and exiles. In pressing for concessions from the government the Communist Party (PCE) threatened a "hot autumn" of labor unrest if its demands were not granted.

And the autumn turned out to be hot indeed. Twice the Basque country exploded first over the police murder of a trade unionist and again on September 27 when 500,000 struck on the anniversary of the execution of five ETA (Basque nationalist) and FRAP (Maoist) militants by Franco the year before. In the same region, Basque construction workers struck for a month and a half, and as soon as they went back Pamplona construction workers walked out.

The biggest protest of all was a one-day general strike throughout the Spanish state on November 12, the first such action since the Civil War, drawing well over a million strikers. Strike activity was most intense in Barcelona, where tens of thousands of metal workers participated; in Galicia, where shipyard workers walked out; and in Asturias, where 50,000 miners joined the action. The government responded with a total mobilization of its repressive forces, deploying 100,000 police, manning each Madrid subway car with two cops armed with machine guns, arresting leading members of the PCE and launching a general round-up of "far leftists."

AP

**Demonstration in Madrid on September 14 to protest austerity measures.**

### Boycott the Referendum—For a Constituent Assembly!

While continuing to rely on military force to repress workers' protests, beginning immediately after being sworn in last June Suárez has sought to push through a series of reform palliatives in the hopes of striking a deal with the bourgeois "democratic opposition." The linchpin of his program was the parliamentary reform passed by the largely Franco-appointed Cortes on November 18. By a vote of 425 to 59 the Falangist relics approved a package providing for a bicameral parliament; the new "constitution"—which the *Economist* (27 November) terms "almost-democratic"—will be submitted to a popular referendum on December 15.

Even though the right-wing opposition in the Cortes centered around former minister of the interior Manuel Fraga Iribarne eventually knuckled under, the hardline "Bunker" did not. On November 20, the anniversary of Franco's death, tens of thousands of blue-shirted Falangists and fascists marched in the streets of Madrid. Proclaiming their loyalty to the stinking corpse of Francoism, they surrounded the Cortes, demanding the resignation of Suárez and shouting "We don't want democracy!" and "All power to the army!"

However, the Spanish bourgeoisie has been frightened by the "hot autumn" (as well as the equally hot summer, spring and winter which preceded it), and is clearly banking on the halting reforms of the Suárez government. They certainly contain more than sufficient guarantees for the right. The anti-democratic upper house is elected on a regional basis (favoring backward rural areas), with one-fifth of the senators appointed by the king. Moreover, the government has stated clearly that it will not legalize the PCE and it is even in question whether all the Christian Democratic and other bourgeois opposition formations will be permitted to run in the elections.

Some liberal opposition currents were tempted by the parliamentary reform. On the day after the vote in the Cortes, *Diario 16* came out with a banner headline "Adios Dictatorship." Aging right-wing Christian Democrat José María Gil-Robles, the butcher of the 1934 Asturias miners insurrection, announced: "We will not make a declaration explicitly rejecting the referendum" (*Cambio 16*, 22 November). And earlier in the fall the issue threatened to split the popular-front Coordinación Democratica (CD) down the middle, as the Socialist Workers Party (PSOE) initially opposed taking a hard line against Suárez' "reforms."

However, the PCE opposed the sham "democratization" which would still leave it outlawed. While the other members of the CD have no scruples about knifing their "ally" in the back—rumors are rife that the PSOE would agree to participate in spring elections even if the PCE is still ruled off the ballot (*New York Times*, 22 November)—they are reluctant to openly break with the party that today exercises predominant control over the key sectors of the workers movement. Without the support of Santiago Carrillo & Co., who will keep the proletariat in line? Thus the bulk of the opposition will undoubtedly end up abstaining on the December 15 referendum.

However, they do *not* demand an immediate end to the dictatorship: abolition of the monarchy, dissolution of the special police forces, the right of national self-determination and a constituent assembly. The Coordinación Democratica program is explicitly *for* a "negotiated breakthrough" with "reform" elements of the government. The CD (*including* the Communists) simply want a better deal from the Francoist monarchy. Revolutionaries would call for abstention on the Francoist referendum and demand a democratically elected constituent assembly; and while fighting for democratic demands they insist that the "immediate program" of the proletariat must be to erect the only government that can sweep away Francoism once and for all a workers republic of soviets.

### Division in the Working Class

While the November 12 general strike was massive, the leadership (largely in

*continued on page 3*

**Behind Polish Workers' June Protests..... 6**

# Exchange on Feminist Sectarian Gala:

# Invitation to a Betrayal

November 15, 1976

Women's Commission
c/o Spartacist League

Dear Sisters,

We are writing to invite your participation as co-sponsors of a cultural and political event being organized by Action for Women in Chile [AFWIC] and the Marxist Education Collective, around the international repression of women, especially women political prisoners, by imperialism. This event, which will be held on December 11 at Washington Square Methodist Church and will be emceed by Annette Rubinstein, will feature the singing of Suni Paz and poetry readings, as well as the reading of testimonials from women political prisoners in Chile by AFWIC, women who have been sterilized without their consent and without the right to free abortion by the Committee to End Sterilization Abuse, and women involved in the South African liberation struggle.

In addition, Bonnie Mass, author of *The Political Economy of Population Control in Latin America*, will speak on the imperialist healthcare policy, and one of the sponsors will point out the unitary character of imperialism's attacks on women through its state apparatus: openly on women freedom-fighters as prisoners, and in less obvious ways on all of us, especially Third World Women, as recipients of imperialist "health care." We have also been in contact with the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, and Lureida Torres, if available, will discuss the U.S. government's use of the grand jury to repress the Puerto Rican socialist and independence movement.

We feel that the issues to be raised in the testimonials and speeches—the torturing of women in Chile, the arrest of Puerto Rican women (and feminists) in the U.S. through the use of the grand jury, the forced sterilization of minority and poor women in the U.S. and throughout the world—are clear evidence of the unified attack of imperialism on all of us. Therefore, a united action to call attention to these attacks by a broad spectrum of women's groups, demanding the support of all progressive people, would be a significant step forward in our common struggle against the imperialist state that calls for our united self-defense.

Please contact Mary Boger or myself at the School for Marxist Education, at 989-6493, so that we can get your views on this.

In Solidarity,
Juliet Ucelli for MEC [Marxist Education Collective]

---

29 November 1976

Marxist Education Collective

Dear Comrades,

The Commission for Work Among Women of the Central Committee of the Spartacist League/U.S. declines your invitation to co-sponsor your "cultural and political event being organized around the international repression of women." It would be deeply unprincipled for an organization committed to the united defense of class-war prisoners to endorse such a shameless display of feminist sectarianism.

As you are aware, the international Spartacist tendency is actively committed to militant defense work on behalf of the victims of right-wing terror. The broadest possible defense efforts against savage junta terror in Latin America and throughout the world have consistently been among our urgent concerns. But the defense of class-war prisoners against right-wing repression can only be damaged by the sectarian/feminist "event" you are planning.

Your sex-defined strategy for political defense would not in principle preclude the defense of, for example, an Isabel Perón, or a Nazi like Hermine Braunsteiner Ryan, who is certainly a political prisoner in imperialist West Germany. Your attempt to apply the feminist concept of "sisterhood" to defense work leaves you with no way to separate the defense of women prisoners in the torture centers of Chile from the cases of *other women who are their class enemies*! At the same time you reject any concern for the men who are victimized alongside their female comrades by the same butchers for the same "crime" of resistance to junta terror. Your defense "event" draws the sex line where it is absolutely crucial to draw the class line.

Our tendency has consistently been the most committed defenders of the whole of the working people without sectarian or factional regard (and now we must add, with reference to your proposal, without regard to the sex of the victim!). As you certainly know, following the murderous coup in Chile the SL stood virtually alone on the U.S. left in insisting on the urgency of defending, along with Allende's bourgeois ministers, Communist Party head Luis Corvalán and "United Secretariat" spokesman Luis Vitale, the "far-left" victims of the coup such as the militants of the guerrillaist MIR. The international Spartacist tendency launched a worldwide campaign to focus attention on the peril of MIR leaders Bautista Van Schouwen and Alejandro Romero.

By way of contrast, the Socialist Workers Party's (SWP) Latin American defense organization USLA demonstrated at the time of its foundation that its commitment was to the courtship of liberals rather than to a militant defense of the oppressed, by rejecting a proposal to explicitly renounce any defense for outright reactionaries (the Nazi Mrs. Ryan would be a good contemporary example). In this early confrontation over defense work a decade ago, the SWP foreshadowed its current insistence on the fascists' "right" to "free speech."

The logic inherent in USLA's refusal ten years ago to draw the class line by repudiating the defense of reactionary activists fulfilled itself this year when USLA, outdoing even the Stalinists in sectarian venom, lined up against the campaign to save Mario Muñoz, the Chilean trade-union leader who became the target of a murderous manhunt in Argentina, where he had sought refuge after the Chilean coup. The campaign which brought Muñoz and his family out of Argentina to safety was also an important weapon in exposing the media's screen of lies about the "gentlemen's coup"; it brought hope for the tens of thousands of left-wing refugees still trapped in Argentina that their plight would not go unnoticed.

As you know, the Muñoz campaign was co-sponsored by the Partisan Defense Committee (PDC), the class-struggle anti-sectarian defense organization which is in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League. It was founded as an alternative to the liberal/Stalinist "defense" tradition of libertarian cretinism and criminal sectarianism. For you to now pronounce yourselves in favor of sectarian defense work defined along sex lines is a setback to the united defense of the working people against reactionary repression.

Logically, the "event" which you ask that we co-sponsor should take no interest in the successful battle to wrest a male trade unionist from the bloody hands of the Videla junta, but it should salute the safety of Mario Muñoz' *compañera*, Olga Meneses Ibaseta, and that of her daughters (but not her sons)! Or, looking at another case which the PDC has recently publicized, it should solidarize with Maria Regina Pilla but ignore her companion, Paulo Antonio de Paranagua, the Brazilian surrealist filmmaker. And what would your attitude be toward the *Workers Vanguard* interview with Richard and Cristina Whitecross which publicized their harrowing account of torture in Argentina?

Your unfortunate defense-for-women-only "event" is a product of New Left multi-vanguardism. It exposes your rejection of the accumulated Marxist experience of the struggle against the special oppression of women, as well as of the traditions of anti-sectarian class-struggle defense work. In the course of the SL's communist work among women, we have witnessed and struggled against the debilitating effect of feminist ideology upon the development of revolutionary class consciousness in women. Your proposal lays bare the destructive logic of feminism.

As Marxists, we understand that the struggle against the special oppression of women must not be the concern of militant women alone, but is of urgent concern to the working class and its vanguard in combating backwardness and reactionary bourgeois ideology among the entire working people. If it is criminally wrong to pose a women-only strategy for the emancipation of women, it is equally wrong and ludicrous besides to split up along sex lines the issue of reactionary repression, where male and female unionists and left-wing militants are manifestly jointly victimized by the common class enemy. We find your defense "event" sadly reminiscent of the divisive slogan which the Socialist Workers Party some years ago thought appropriate for black antiwar activists: "Bring Our Black GI's Back Home Now."

Right-wing terror is simply not sex-determined. Women are specially oppressed, but that is not the reason they are rounded up along with men by the military butchers. In fact, many more men than women are victimized by right-wing repression. The greater number of male militants whose names will be found among the defense propaganda of left-wing organizations is not a result of "male-dominated" groups ignoring the women's cases, but is a reflection of the real social oppression of women. This oppression, located at bottom in the material conditions of class society, means that most working-class women, isolated in their family homes, are less politically active than their husbands, brothers and sons. It means they are less likely to become the trade-union leaders and left-wing spokesmen, and therefore less often the direct targets of repression.

The women in Chile's jails are certainly tortured differently by Pinochet's sadists than are their male comrades. Yet they are not being tortured *because* they are women, but because they are class-struggle militants. Even women who are victimized because they are feminists are being attacked for their radical political activity rather than because they are women. In *Workers Vanguard* and *Women and Revolution*, we have solidarized with the defense of victimized feminists in accordance with our anti-sectarian principles. For example, we call for freedom for Susan Saxe. We have also publicized cases such as those of Drs. Edelin and Morgenthaler, men persecuted for performing abortions. And we have denounced Jane Alpert, whose feminist ideology allowed her to line up with the capitalist state in the prosecution of the "male-dominated" New Left.

The SL Women's Commission, as you should be aware, is not some autonomous "women's caucus" inside

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# Spain...

*(continued from page 1)*

the hands of the PCE) prohibited street demonstrations and limited demands to purely economic issues (across-the-board pay raise, eight-hour day, right to strike and trade-union liberty) in order to demonstrate its respectability. And even though massive protests by the workers have occurred at one place or another in Spain almost weekly during the spring and fall they never linked up into a unified general strike against the dictatorship. Instead, both the PSOE and PCE consciously divide the working class and seek alliances with sectors of the bourgeoisie. It is their class-collaborationist reformism that has been responsible for the episodic and impotent character of the hundreds of strikes in Spain over the last year.

The government is seeking to play on these divisions by driving a wedge between the PCE and its allies, particularly the social-democratic PSOE (in the hopes that the latter could, with tacit official toleration, overcome the Stalinists' "head start" in the trade-union field). Thus, for example, the PSOE-led General Workers Union (UGT) was permitted to hold an open convention in April while the national conference of the PCE-led Workers Commissions (CC.OO.) on September 28 was explicitly banned and had to be held clandestinely. The PSOE congress, originally planned for November 4, was banned in order to avoid irritating Francoist deputies who were being lined up to back Suárez' parliamentary reform. However, it has now been rescheduled for late December, by mutual agreement with the government, and will include an all-star cast of international dignitaries (Willy Brandt, Mário Soares, François Mitterand, Olof Palme).

In order to aid the cystallization of a credible alternative to the PCE among the militant Spanish workers, the government has finally decided to abandon the corporatist syndicates which were a keystone of the Francoist state. The "vertical unions" of the CNS provided employment for numerous Falangist functionaries and were intended to prevent the formation of an independent workers movement. However, during Franco's waning years the workers commissions established themselves as clandestine trade unions which in key industrial bastions completely overshadowed the CNS. This eclipse of the CNS has become even more pronounced in recent months as elected strike committees have begun to appear (Standard-ITT, Motor Ibérica). On October 8, the cabinet announced it would introduce a law to authorize "independent associations" of workers, although it still intends to exclude the CC.OO.

While this signals the death knell of the syndicates, the 30,000 CNS functionaries may not be the only ones sad to see the "vertical unions" go. For the last few years, the PCE had sought to infiltrate and win control of the ready-made bureaucratic apparatus of the CNS. In July 1975 Communist-backed "democratic unity" slates won elections for shop delegates in Barcelona and Madrid. This led a wing of the Stalinists to hope that they could repeat the Portuguese Communist Party's successful coup in capturing the Salazarist "national unions," permitting the PCP to tightly control the Intersindical immediately after the April 1974 fall of the Caetano dictatorship. Sectors of the PCE hoped to similarly inherit the CNS intact and use it as a power base for insuring the PCE a role in governing a "democratic" capitalist Spain.

In its most explicit form this position was expressed by two leaders of the Partit Socialista Unificat de Catalunya (PSUC—Catalan branch of the PCE), Isidor Boix and Manuel Pujadas. In an article entitled "The Leap Forward in the Democratic Occupation of the Syndicates" Boix and Pujadas labelled the successes of CC.OO.-backed slates in the CNS elections "a great leap forward in the constitution of a unified and democratic working-class trade union," and argued against the perspective of splitting from the CNS (reprinted in *Revista de América*, April-May 1976). This stance raised a storm of protest within the PCE because of the downgrading it implied for the workers commissions. Boix and Pujadas were suspended for taking this public position.

However, their views did not substantially differ from those of PCE secretary Carrillo, who was less interested in the future of the CC.OO. than in what pressure the PCE can generate within the Coordinación Democrática. He was quoted as saying, the "way out of the present situation is not to call for the reinforcement of the traditional structures of the COs [workers commissions]..." (*Intercontinental Press*, 15 March 1976). But the leadership of the CC.OO., headed by Marcelino Camacho (also a top PCE leader) opposed liquidation of the workers commissions, while favoring participation in the *verticalista* elections.

The internal dispute was based on an acceptance by both sides of the PCE's need to more firmly establish bureaucratic control over the working class in the increasing turbulence of Spanish politics. It was soon resolved, moreover,

*continued on page 10*

UPI

**Blue-shirted Francoists march in Madrid on November 20, anniversary of Caudillo's death.**

## Drop the Charges!

# East Boston Blacks on Trial for Defending Homes

BOSTON—At a court hearing on November 22, postponements were issued in the trials of Robert Phifer, Gary Franklin and Brian Swan, three black residents of East Boston's Maverick Housing Project who were arrested last year for defending themselves and their families against racist attack.

Swan was jailed in April 1975 for allegedly throwing a bottle after a 200-strong gang of white racists on a three-day rampage through the project had broken every window in his mother's home. Franklin and Phifer were arrested in August for assault and battery as well as firearms charges after Franklin was attacked by a club-wielding gang of white youths who followed him to his uncle's home and heaved boulders through the windows. In both cases the racist cops arrived on the scene, did nothing to stop the attacks and then arrested the victims. As Robert Phifer said later: "The police are not out to protect blacks."

Four other East Boston black men—Melvin Bean, David Brydie, Sam Bell and Vernard Hoge—who were arrested in the summer of 1975, victims of the same type of police frame-ups, have since been released: Bell after spending three months at Deer Island prison for protecting himself and his baby daughter from a bunch of rock-hurling thugs. Hoge was acquitted this past August after a five-day trial.

At the time of these arrests, the court-ordered Phase Two busing program was about to be implemented in Boston. Racist anti-busing scum like ROAR, the KKK and the East Boston Marshals were on an all-out offensive to provoke violence, terrorizing black neighborhoods with lynch-mob frenzy. Over 25 black and Latin families, including Franklin and Phifer, were driven from their homes in East Boston fearing for their lives as the racists tried to keep these almost lily-white neighborhoods what Jimmy Carter would call "ethnically pure." Gangs of whites cruised the projects, armed with chains, pipes and clubs, smashed up cars and firebombed the homes of blacks. The year before, police turned one housing project into an armed camp with hundreds of police and snipers stationed on the roofs, busting up meetings of blacks and arresting black youths at will.

In October 1975, eight members of an integrated, organized defense group who had been guarding the homes of blacks in East Boston were railroaded through a one-day trial based on the incredible lies of racist cops and sentenced to from six months to one year in jail. Now, a year later, two members of the Committee Against Racism (CAR), unionists Rose Lewis and Wendell Watkins have been thrown in jail on phony assault and battery charges stemming from a July 1975 incident when 70 ROAR members surrounded and attacked a CAR meeting in Hyde Park. The police later raided a CAR office and arrested 17 people at random. Of these, 13 have been freed and two more still face trial.

Clearly, appeals to the capitalist courts, cops or federal troops (as the NAACP liberals and SWP reformists propose) will not stop the right-wing mobilizations in Boston; nor will they win the freedom of those who have courageously defended their homes and families against racist assaults. ROAR and the rest of the vigilantes will only be stopped by the forces of the organized labor movement and the oppressed black population, mobilized into integrated defense guards.

The Spartacist League and the Partisan Defense Committee demand the freedom of the East Boston defendants Franklin, Phifer and Swan, CAR members Lewis and Watkins and all the victims of the racist police frame-ups. Drop the charges! Further information can be obtained by writing to: Committee to Free the East Boston Black Defendants, PO Box 8875, Boston, MA 02114. ■

Committee to Free the East Boston Black Defendants

**East Boston defendants at press conference.**

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# Murderous Repression Against Student Movement in Sri Lanka

*The following report on the vicious repression of students at the University of Sri Lanka was written for* WV *by veteran Ceylonese Trotskyist Edmund Samarakkody of the Revolutionary Workers Party. The police attack comes in the context of a continuing crisis of the coalition government headed by Sirimavo Bandaranaike and her reactionary nationalist Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP). Since the SLFP unceremoniously booted the ex-Trotskyist Lanka Sama Samaja Party (LSSP) out of the government in September 1975, the coalition has suffered several by-election defeats; it already faced overwhelming opposition from the youth since its bloody repression of the JVP revolt in 1971.*

*Since the report below was written, student protests have continued. UPI reported on 22 November that in view of a threatened island-wide general strike all entrances to the capital, Colombo, would be guarded; armed riot squads were placed at police stations. Demonstrations on public highways were banned and the government threatened to arrest all students found outside schools and universities during working hours.*

COLOMBO, Sri Lanka, November 16—The date of 12 November 1976 will go down as "Black Friday" for university students and the working class in Sri Lanka. On that morning 3,000 students of the University of Sri Lanka, Peradeniya campus, and strikers of the non-academic staff had gathered below the Senate building to protest the university president's decision to close the campus in response to a strike by 2,000 campus employees demanding his dismissal for notorious bureaucratic and dictatorial behaviour and maladministration.

**by Edmund Samarakkody**

The reaction of the hated bureaucrat to this protest action was to summon the police to break the strike and disperse the students, who had pledged full support to the striking employees. Without any real warning the police launched a murderous attack on the students. Simultaneously they tear-gassed, baton-charged and opened fire, killing one student and seriously injuring over 60 others, including 21 women

That murder was the objective of the police is proven by the fact that they shot from a range of only five yards. And if more evidence of the extreme brutality of the police is needed, there exists the uncontradicted report that police dragged two women students by their hair, took them to a higher floor and flung them out a window, causing serious injury, including fracture of the spine.

As expected, the police version of the story, read by the deputy minister of defence to the National Assembly, was that the police were attacked by the students and strikers, who also allegedly set fire to one police vehicle and damaged others. But this version is flatly contradicted and condemned as a lie by the students and strikers, who allege that the damage to police vehicles was the work of the police themselves.

This murder and police brutality at the university was carried out as part of the government plan to break the growing struggle of employees and students of all campuses of the University of Sri Lanka against the now notorious University Act Amending Bill, through which the government sought to give the education minister dictatorial powers over university administration, undermining whatever autonomy the university had hitherto enjoyed. This bill furthermore completely denies the trade-union rights of employees and severely restricts the rights and freedoms of the students.

On November 1, 30,000 employees and students of all six campuses of the Sri Lanka University launched strike action which continued for three days, demanding withdrawal of the Amending Bill. And it was as a direct outcome of this struggle that the government suddenly put off indefinitely the debate on this bill in the National Assembly.

It was in this context that the Peradeniya campus president's maladministration and harassment of the university community led to the launching of strike action on November 12 by the non-academic employees, who demanded his removal.

The special committee appointed by the education minister to report on the allegations made against this hated bureaucrat unanimously recommended his removal. But instead of acting on this report, the government, through the education minister, decided that the Peradeniya president should remain, thus causing the strike of the 2,000 campus employees. The government responded to this strike with a reaffirmation of its position. To all appearances it welcomed this confrontation as it had its own plans to deal with the strike and resolve the issue—the murderous police attack.

Sensing mass reaction against the government, the acting prime minister and his cabinet colleagues sought to defuse the situation by expressing "regret for the unfortunate incident" and by sending a two-man ministerial committee to make on-the-spot inquiries and visit the hospital where the injured students were warded. The SLFP [Sri Lanka Freedom Party] cabinet, in the absence of Prime Minister Sirima Bandaranaike (who was appropriately wining and dining with the butcher Marcos in the Philippines), decided on a commission of inquiry into the shooting and directed the removal of the hated campus president.

Meanwhile, the SLFP "radicals," led by the prime minister's son Anura, and the Communist Party (CP—the other partner in the government) are demanding the sacking of the involved ministers and officials of the education ministry and the interdiction of the police officers involved in the shooting. The aim of these SLFP "radicals" and the CP is to find scapegoats in order to protect the government.

While the education minister, his officials and the hated campus president are responsible for this murder together with the police, the direct responsibility of the SLFP/CP government for this murder and police brutality remains. It is not a matter of inefficiency or callousness on the part of the govern-

# Ann Arbor Teach-in on Right-Wing Terror in Latin America

Right-wing terror in Latin America was the subject of a four-day teach-in held at the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor on November 15-18. While concentrating on horror stories of *gorila* (militarist) butchery, like many anti-junta demonstrations the teach-in was designed to build support for the same popular-front policies which led to the bloody Pinochet coup in Chile in the first place.

The featured speakers were Isabel Allende, daughter of the late Chilean president Salvador Allende, and Isabel Letelier, wife of the late Orlando Letelier, a former minister in Allende's government who was assassinated in Washington D.C. on September 21 by agents of Pinochet. While Isabel Letelier limited her remarks to decrying the massive repression in Chile, Isabel Allende went further, extolling her father's regime as the first attempt to build socialism by peaceful means. However, neither speaker commented on the fact that the Popular Unity government had actually preached confidence in the "constitutionalist officers" like Pinochet, in the name of utopian-reformist schemes for "a peaceful road to socialism," both politically and physically disarming the workers and peasants.

Some of the sharpest political exchanges occurred in the workshop on the status of labor unions in Latin America between Abe Feinglass of the Amalgamated Meatcutters and Butcher Workmen, who recently returned from Chile, and Keith Dodds, member of United Auto Workers Local 600 and a spokesman for the Partisan Defense Committee (PDC), a class-struggle, anti-sectarian defense organization which is in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League.

Feinglass, a long-time proponent of Communist Party politics, stated that the Chilean masses will rise again—not to smash capitalist exploitation but to establish "a government of the people, by the people and for the people" according to the principles of Abraham Lincoln (!) and to secure "a better share

WV Photo

**Isabel Leteller speaking at Ann Arbor teach-in.**

of economic justice." (During the evening session Feinglass clarified his thoroughly reformist position still further by declaring that the strategy of proletarian revolution advanced by several SL speakers was "pie in the sky.")

Keith Dodds recounted the recently concluded PDC campaign which succeeded in freeing Chilean miners leader Mario Muñoz from the clutches of the Argentine junta and countered Feinglass' defeatism by citing the continuing resistance of Chilean and Argentine workers. The task for class-struggle militants is to draw the lessons of popular frontism in Chile and to prepare to seize the unfolding opportunities.

The absolute necessity of working-class independence was underscored by an SL supporter, who stated: "The key to preventing a recurrence of the defeat in Latin America for the working class is the building of Trotskyist parties in Latin America, opposed to the reformists' political coalition with the capitalist parties and reliance on the bourgeois armies." ■


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ment but, on the contrary, this is only the latest manifestation of the government's on-going attack on the working class and the toilers. Its perspective is to smash the trade unions and the left movement in order to consolidate an even more repressive "strong government" of the capitalist class. This is how the SLFP leaders, supported by the Stalinists, seek to respond to the pressing demands of workers, students and toilers.

It is with the assistance of the LSSP [Lanka Sama Samaja Party] and CP that the coalition government led by Sirima Bandaranaike began to strengthen the repressive apparatus of the state, the police and the armed forces following the 1971 youth massacre. This includes the adoption of a new constitution in which the hated Public Security Act was incorporated! A "State of Emergency" has been in effect for over five years, outlawing the right to strike and severely restricting a wide range of other democratic rights including that of assembly.

The best manoeuvres of the SLFP ministers, their "radicals" and their CP have failed to channel mass resentment over "Black Friday" away from the government. On the contrary, the other side of the masses' profound sympathy for the dead and injured is wrath against the SLFP/CP government.

The student population reacted with the greatest indignation. All six campuses of the University of Sri Lanka came out on protest strike for two days, and in a large number of secondary schools students staged sympathy strikes. Anti-police and anti-government slogans, including "Down with the capitalist SLFP-CP government!", were prominent. Striking students stopped buses and painted anti-government slogans on them.

While some individual work places staged sympathy strikes on the first two days after the incident, the three LSSP workers federations—the Ceylon Federation of Labour, the Government Clerical Service Union and the Government Workers Trade Union Federation—have called for a one-day token strike for Friday, November 19. Although the LSSP has criminally failed to make any attempt to draw other trade union federations into this token strike—which failure became an excuse even for trade unions not allied to the government, including the Ceylon Mercantile Union (led by Bala Tampoe, leader of the USec group), to stay out of the strike—it is likely that workers in these unions, including the SLFP/CP unions, will solidarise with this token strike.

It is undoubtedly in the interests of the students, workers and the rest of the toilers that the protest strike be a success. But the struggle against government repression cannot be confined to this action, for the struggle against this repression is none other than the struggle against the capitalist SLFP/CP government itself. Thus it becomes imperative to link the present action on this issue with the burning issues of the workers, students and toilers—for the further mobilisation of the masses in the anti-government and anti-capitalist struggle in the perspective of the realisation of the only alternative to the present SLFP/CP capitalist regime, the "workers and peasants government." Thus, what has been sharply posed before the workers, students, youth and the rest of the toilers of Sri Lanka today is the forging of the revolutionary leadership which is inextricably linked to the struggle against the LSSP-CP reformists and the centrists in the working-class movement. ■


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## At Forums in Chicago, NYC

# Myths of Maoism Exposed

*With the Maoist movement in turmoil over the power struggle taking place within the Chinese bureaucracy since the death of its "Great Helmsman" in September, the Spartacist League has taken every opportunity to cut through the incoherent gibberish of Mao-talk to present the Trotskyist analysis of Chinese Stalinism. In the last two weeks SL spokesman Joseph Seymour has given public forums in Chicago and New York entitled "Mao's Heirs at Each Others' Throats," in which he placed the murky clique fight in the context of perennial revolving-door bureaucratic purges in Peking. The New York forum took place on November 21, the day after a Conference on the International Situation initiated by the Maoist Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP), and dealt with many of the questions left unanswered at that conference.*

*The hesitancy of some Western Maoists to declare themselves for the new top dogs in the Heavenly Palace is not difficult to understand. Unlike Stalin's rule in the Kremlin—where the "Great Father of the Peoples" seemed immovable—years of experience have taught them that in China, today's heroic leader may be tomorrow's "capitalist roader": Hua may well be "China's Khrushchev." They fear that perhaps they will wake up one morning and find that in "socialist China" yet another group is in power, which claims yesterday's "great leader" was actually seeking to "restore capitalism."*

*Comrade Seymour dealt at length in his presentation with the Maoists' subjectivist revision of Marxism. He pointed out that just as George Orwell had noted in his 1945 article on "Politics and the English Language," "fascist" had become little more than "something one doesn't like," so today in China "capitalist-roader" is partly a meaningless political insult. At the same time, however, its current usage reflects a fundamental revision of Leninism and even something of a departure from classical Stalinism. We reprint below this section of his remarks.*

WV Photo

**Joseph Seymour speaking November 21 in NYC.**

I said before that in one sense the term "capitalist-roader" is simply a meaningless political insult. In another sense it's not. It is common for Stalinists when they're engaged in purges to attack the people that they're purging as "capitalist reactionaries." In the 1930's Stalin accused not only Trotsky of being an agent of the fascists, but everybody was an agent and a saboteur. The entire Central Committee of Lenin that had managed to survive—Bukharin, Zinoviev, Ryazanov, Tukhachevsky—all were accused of being agents of fascism. This is standard Stalinist practice.

However, the Maoists have given it a certain twist. Stalin's concept of "socialism in one country" always had as a component the assumption that Russia would catch up with the West economically in a relatively short space of time. However, China in the 1960's was so far behind the advanced capitalist countries—much farther by large orders of magnitude than Russia was behind the advanced capitalist countries in the 1930's—that socialism in China had to be redefined. It could not possibly be defined in terms of the economic superiority of the Chinese planned economy or its capacity to catch up with the West within a politically meaningful time period.

Therefore Maoism, insofar as it differentiates itself from classical Stalinism, represents the *subjectification* of classic Marxist categories. For Maoists, class society no longer rests on objective economic relationships. Those who sat in the workshop on the nature of the Soviet Union at the conference yesterday saw this. Lynn Turgeon—who is kind of an honest bourgeois academic left liberal—said: Well, you know, China and Russia have the same system of agriculture; they have the same this, they have the same that. And the RCPer said: That's not really what counts. What counts is that the government in one country is committed to socialism and in another to capitalism.

So within the framework of Maoist ideology there really is such a thing as "capitalist-roadism," because socialism is basically in the mind. If somehow you don't think right, you can transform the society back into capitalism. It's essentially a question of the will of the leading figures and has nothing to do with objective economic relations.

Now, before 1924 absolutely everybody, even the most backward, uneducated, raw recruit to any party calling itself Marxist—even some 16-year-old kid out of the coal mines—knew that socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat were fundamentally different concepts: that socialism was the first stage of communism and was the successful culmination of the dictatorship of the proletariat. It was therefore irreversible. It was a classless, stateless society in which there was no specialized bureaucracy, and no specialized army or repressive apparatus. It was inconceivable that socialism could exist in an economically backward society surrounded by hostile imperialist forces, if for no other reason than that the military exigencies would prevent the emergence of such a society.

However, the Stalinist movement has so miseducated radicals that it's necessary to go back to the ABC's, to say something to which the most raw recruit to the German Social Democracy in 1914 would have replied, "So what else is new?" Socialism does *not* exist in the mind. It's a state of society which has objectively determined economic relationships.

There's another aspect to it: the higher state of communism is essentially denied by Maoists. If you read Sweezy, for instance, the lower stage of communism is now identified with the higher stage, and socialism is identified with the dictatorship of the proletariat. Still another deduction of the Maoist subjectivist theory is that capitalism was restored in the Soviet Union—and presumably could be in China—basically through a successful conspiracy. Stalin died and this scheming "capitalist-roader" — Khrushchev — took over. In 1956 he made one speech denouncing Stalin, and by golly capitalism was restored!

Now, of course, this involves the rejection of the Leninist theory of the state, which holds that it's not only necessary to overthrow the state apparatus to achieve a workers state, but also in order to go from a workers state back to capitalism. It's just Krushchev's "peaceful road to socialism" in reverse. And implicit in the Maoist theory is that if you can restore capitalism by conspiracy, presumahly you can also overthrow capitalism by conspiracy. There's a kind of theoretical justification of the decades-long struggle of the Communist Party to take over the Democratic Party. You know, maybe some day you, a "socialist-roader," could weasel your way in as vice-president. Right? They don't know who you are. The president dies and, by Jove, you can usurp power without soviets, without a workers uprising. This is where the Stalinist theory leads. ■


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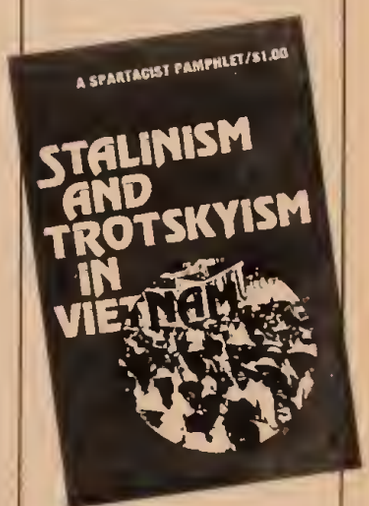


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# Behind Polish Workers' June Protests

Der Spiegel

**Party headquarters in Radom that were burned down by workers in June.**

When the Polish government announced last June 24 that meat prices would be raised by an average of 70 percent and other foods by 30 percent, it touched off a wave of workers' protests that shook the ruling bureaucracy to the core. The demonstrations and strikes which broke out the next day were quickly contained, but the nervous authorities knew they had come within a hair's breadth of a massive uprising on the scale of those that toppled Warsaw governments in 1956 and 1970, and which threatened to shatter the straitjacket of Stalinist rule altogether.

The full extent of the strikes and unrest on June 25 is only now beginning to come out. As the London *Times* (22 November) has pointed out, workers struck in disciplined and determined protest in virtually every industrial center in the country. Troops were brought in to man the country's biggest steelworks at Nowa Huta near Krakow. Dockers in the Baltic ports refused to load food ships bound for Russia, and the Soviet oil pipeline at Plock was feared to be in danger. The *Times* account continued:

> "More importantly, the real reason for the strikes has not been made clear. The outburst was provoked less by the proposal to raise food prices than by the accompanying proposals for adjusting wages and salaries. The average Polish worker, earning some 3,000 zloties [about $120] per month, was not prepared to see his own wage packet increased by only 200 zloties, while that of people earning 6,000 zloties and over was to rise by 600 zloties. In the eyes of the man in the street, here was yet another example of state and party officials feathering their own nests at the expense of the working class, and as such was quite intolerable."

"Feathering their own nests" is only a small part of the capricious crimes of the bureaucracy. The Stalinist pipedream of "building socialism in one country" leads to attacks on the proletariat ranging from raising the prices of basic necessities to murderously repressing the workers' protests. In order to maintain their privileged position, the rulers of the deformed workers states conciliate reaction both domestically and internationally. In Poland last June this fact was reduced to a naked economic transaction, as the workers were told to tighten their belts so that higher prices could be paid to private farmers and quality meats could be exported to the West for hard currency.

The most dramatic protests on June 25 occurred in the industrial town of Radom and at the Ursus tractor factory near Warsaw—where workers tore up the main railway line leading into the capital. We are printing below a detailed account of the events in Radom, translated by *WV* from the 15 November issue of the German news magazine *Der Spiegel*, which clearly reveals the resentment felt by the working masses toward the parasitic bureaucracy which rules in their name. But in addition to the dramatic scenes of working-class solidarity related in the report, the rapid dissipation of the workers' militancy at Ursus and Radom showed that the key element for a victorious political revolution against Stalinist rule was missing: a Trotskyist party standing at the head of the insurgents.

The report on the Radom protests originated from civil liberties supporters in Poland. These have formed a Committee to Support Worker Victims of the Repression which includes a number of prominent socialist intellectuals. Due to their efforts and widespread protests against the repression by the workers movement in West Europe, seven Ursus workers who received outrageous prison terms ranging from three to six years for damaging state property and blocking rail traffic had their sentences reduced to one-year suspended sentences by action of the Polish Supreme Court in late September. However, the imprisoned worker militants of Radom have received even harsher prison terms and more numerous convictions in ludicrous frame-up trials.

Hundreds of Polish workers have been fired from their jobs for participation in the June 25 protests. At the Ursus plant alone, the workforce has shrunk by 1,500 persons since the strike. The Committee to Support Worker Victims of the Repression has reported collecting and distributing some 360,000 zlotys [over $13,000] to aid the families of fired workers in Radom and Ursus. In addition to attempts by the secret police to disrupt the Committee's activity and infiltrate provocateurs, at least two Committee members have been fired from their jobs in retaliation.

The victimized Polish worker militants need the support of class-conscious workers throughout the world, demanding that those imprisoned be immediately freed and the charges against them dropped, and all those fired be reinstated.

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The unrest began on 25 June 1976 with a strike in all the factories of Radom. At 6 a.m. in the "General Walter" Works (an armaments plant), the workforce of department P-6 decided to take to the streets. Other sections followed their lead. The "Walter" workers broke open the door to the arms storehouse to arm themselves—in vain. The arsenal was empty. The night before, management had taken the precaution of removing the entire stock of weapons to the Radom military airport.

The "Walter" workers marched into the streets in exemplary order, with red-and-white [Polish] and red flags, singing the "Internationale." Workers from other Radom factories joined the demonstrators: from "Radoskór" (a shoe factory), from the telephone factory, the railway repair shops and many smaller plants.

Smaller enterprises, whose workers did not take to the streets, also took part in the general strike. In some of them, for example the factory for fire-resistant materials, party secretaries were beaten up by the workers. At other plants it was the representatives of management who received a thrashing.

The demonstrators, whose ranks had been swollen in the meantime by student youth and the populace of Radom, marched to the offices of the party

Der Spiegel

**Workers at Ursus tractor factory.**

district committee in May First Street. The demonstrators demanded to speak with the local party leadership, but district secretary Prokopiak refused to come outside. After a while, second secretary Adamczyk came out. To cries from the crowd that the workers wanted to speak with the party leadership he answered that he would not speak with a mob.

Then a woman stepped forward, a child in her arms. She was a widow, she said, with three children to raise and an income of 2,200 zlotys [about $95] per month. Until now, she said, her wages were sufficient only to pay for bread and sugar for the children; with the price rises it wouldn't even be enough for that. Finally the woman asked: "And how high is your salary, comrade secretary?"

Party Secretary Adamczyk answered by posing another question: "If your children's fate is so dear to you, why did you drag this child along with you instead of leaving it at home so it could rest?"

The woman lost her composure and took off her shoe to hit Adamczyk on the head with the heel. The agitated party secretary suggested that a delegation be formed: he would be willing to speak with a delegation. Then another woman called out: "So you want a delegation! Then you'll know whom to arrest. Very well, I'm the delegation and we'll talk right here and now!"

From all sides there came catcalls against the party secretary and the entire party. The tension was increasing. The agitated Adamczyk kept repeating that he wouldn't carry on a conversation with a mob. Thereupon a worker from the "Walter" plant stepped forward, dressed like all the workers in his dirty workclothes, and pointing to his garb said that he received a replacement pair once a year even though he was entitled to a new one quarterly. Then he pointed to Adamczyk's suit: "And what does your suit cost? Surely about 6,000 zlotys [almost $300], if not more!"

Immediately there were cries from the crowd, "Undress him! Undress him!" A couple of young people rushed forward and forced Adamczyk to undress. The second secretary fled back into the building in his underwear while being pelted with garbage. He fell down once, but then got up and ran on. According to unconfirmed reports he is said to have suffered a severe heart attack and was taken to the hospital.

Near the party offices a large bonfire was ignited, into which those workers who were party members threw their membership cards. When the door to the party offices would not budge, three tractors were brought up: a rope was fastened on to one of them, and both the door and doorframe were ripped out. With the aid of another tractor the demonstrators wrenched out the windowframes, after the glass had already been broken by stones. The third tractor was set afire and started off toward the building's open door; it went in and sent the party offices into flames.

Young people climbed in through the empty window openings, carried carpets to the windows and showed them to the crowd. The demonstrators reacted with cries of indignation and the carpets were thrown down onto the street.

The storeroom of the party committee's canteen was broken into and large quantities of expensive sausage and other foods were found. Everything was piled up in front of the building. Then the remaining rooms of the party building were set afire. The ground floor and the first two stories were consumed by the flames, while the third floor apparently was salvaged.

* * * * *

In the meantime, house walls in Radom had been covered with placards. "Down with the mercenary PUWP [Polish United Workers Party, the Stalinist party]!" and similar slogans could be seen. A large crowd laid siege to the municipal and district administration buildings and to the adjacent district police headquarters.

While this was going on the police made no use of their firearms. Instead they barricaded themselves in the building complex and launched tear-gas grenades into the crowd. The people in the streets were being photographed from the besieged buildings. Many of the most active demonstrators covered their faces with towels. Above the streets circled a police helicopter, from which security forces filmed the masses.

With the exception of the besieged building complex all of Radom was in the hands of the populace. People began to construct barricades. On May First Street, fire engines sent to the burning party headquarters were halted. With these trucks barricades were erected, blocking the streets to Ilza and Rzeszow. A young woman directed the building of barricades.

The first forms of organization appeared. As the barricades were being built a group of young people stood about guarding those doing the construction work. As a bus approached the young woman halted it with a hand signal and motioned to the driver where he was to park in order to close up the barricade. She explained, "If you want to eat ham, then you have to park here!" At first the driver objected, but then

steered the bus toward the gap pointed out by the young woman.

It's not clear whether he then attempted to oppose the order or just accidentally stepped on the gas pedal—in any case, several of the young guards leapt onto the running board next to the driver's cab while another let the air out of the tires. On instructions from the young woman another group got hold of a tank truck full of gasoline. As a test they poured some gasoline onto the roadway of Slowacki Street and set fire to it. Instantly the roadway was in flames and the asphalt caught fire. Then they concealed the tank truck in some bushes in a nearby park, in order to be able to use it in the event of a police or army attack.

During the unrest many military men were seen on the streets of Radom. They followed the events and observed the struggles with the police. It was clear that they were on the side of the populace and solidarized with it. In no case did they take action against the demonstrators or resist them.

In front of the party committee offices and the buildings of the city administration, police and security authorities, the official cars and private vehicles belonging to the big shots were set aflame. Following the attack on the Radom packinghouse tons upon tons of canned ham, for the most part intended for export, were distributed to the population.

At around 9 o'clock Radom was cut off from the international telephone network. Several dozen barricades had been erected in the streets. Pensioners were inciting the youth to take part in the demonstrations and the battle against the militia. They were heard saying, "Either now or in two or five years—in any case, you'll have to fight them! So get going—into the fight!"

* * * * *

The situation was unclear. According to an unconfirmed rumor, a policeman who was stoned as he drove past the party building could not get out of his car in time and was said to have been burned to death inside it. Another was allegedly beaten to death with his own club.

At about 12 o'clock the party leadership set up an airlift: the non-commissioned officers' school for police and security services from Pila landed at the Radom military airport with special equipment for street fighting. The special units arrived with army vehicles, four-engine aircraft of the "Ukraina" type and also two-engine planes. Columns of police from Lublin, Rzeszow, Tarnobrzeg and other cities raced toward Radom with their lights on at speeds of over 60 mph. Much later a special police unit from Golendzinow also arrived.

The equipment of the police included:

- Armored cars whose cannons shot tear gas to a distance of about 300 meters;
- Tear-gas cannons which were not mounted on armored cars;
- Troop carriers and prisoner transport trucks, jeeps and radio cars.

The militia units advanced by companies in attack formation with altogether about 1,000 men, their helmets on and with protective eye-shields, carrying nearly three-foot-long riot sticks and grenade throwers for tear gas. Light rockets were also fired into the crowd.

At one point a hard-pressed police unit was surrounded and had to form a "porcupine"—covering themselves on all sides with their protective shields and firing off tear-gas grenades in all directions. Then a young man climbed onto the roof of a house just above the "porcupine" and began pelting it with stones.

Meanwhile, houses had been set on fire by the rockets. Toward 5 p.m. the crowd, heated by battle, began looting stores along the main street. In a short time goods worth several tens of millions of zlotys [hundreds of thousands of dollars] were taken. It can't be ruled out that the looting might have been started by agents of the security services in order to disorganize the guarding of the barricades.

* * * * *

With the steadily growing military superiority of the police and security forces, as evening approached the street battles were transformed into a pogrom against the populace. In this the main role was played by the special units from Golendzinow, recruited for the most part from convicted criminals who are allowed to substitute service in police or security units for their prison terms.

It is certain that they were supplied with alcohol before the action; the rest was taken care of by the excitement of battle against an unarmed but militant crowd. Numerous eyewitnesses confirm that normal human beings would never have been capable of striking with such insane fury against women and even small children. They were in a bloodthirsty rage.

At roughly 11 p.m. the security forces and party had the situation in Radom under control. Several thousand people were arrested. During the night, brigades of construction workers were forcibly brought up from Warsaw, Kielce and Kozienice, along with three "Voluntary Work Groups" stationed near Radom in order to clean up the streets, repair the façade of the burned-out party building, remove the slogans of June 25 which were hostile to the party from the walls and to tow away the burned-out cars.

* * * * *

According to rumors circulating among the population, approximately 17 civilians were killed [in Radom], among them perhaps one child, a pregnant woman and a 25-year-old doctor. As was the case with the victims of the December 1970 revolt, they are said to have been buried in the local cemetery with strictest secrecy on the night of June 26/27. Official communiqués in the party press speak of two persons killed, supposedly slain by their own comrades in the disorders.

It should be added that several additional people were probably killed during the investigations which followed the unrest. Several days later the corpse of a young man, known to have been imprisoned, was found on a country road.

The losses in the ranks of the security forces and the militia are not known, but it has been determined that the police delegations from Warsaw came to a burial ceremony for several security men on June 30. Some 75 security officials and militia members are said to have been injured, eight of them severely. According to eyewitness reports, the police were attacked with kitchen knives, stones and razors. Tear-gas grenades launched by the police were also thrown back at them.

Most of the wounds suffered by civilians stemmed from baton beatings; often a single person was beaten by several militia men. Many injuries were attributed to the gas grenades, which are encased in glass containers: the faces of people wounded by them looked like a bloody stew. The burns resulted from crossfire or from illumination flares shot into the crowds.

* * * * *

The arrests and settling of accounts with the populace began at once, affecting an undetermined number of inhabitants. Among other things, a young man was arrested for having three packets of cigarettes, although he explained to the militia men that he had bought them at a kiosk.

The activity of the "Special Courts" began as early as midday Saturday, meting out sentences of up to 10 years in jail. The most important "proofs" were statements of security and police functionaries. The "courts" consisted of one "judge" and a secretary. Those found guilty were immediately taken to various prisons around the country.

On Monday, June 28, five "Administrative Judicial Panels" went into action, churning out approximately 700 sentences a day. It is estimated that by July 4 approximately 5,000 persons were convicted by these panels. The most common punishment was three month's imprisonment and a fine of 5,000 zlotys [about $200].

In one reported case, a woman judge scolded a defendant who had clearly been beaten—the traces were unmistakable—for not having washed before the court proceedings. The defendant answered. "Judge, you talk of washing when I haven't had anything to eat for three whole days." She replied: "That doesn't matter. You're going to jail now, and there you'll get your lunches for all three of the last days."

Militia patrolled the streets of Radom in groups of three. The inhabitants seek to leave the city using the most diverse pretexts. Radom looks like a ghost town; young people are scarcely to be seen—they are sitting in prison cells. Nevertheless, a week after the disorders, on July 2 a police car was destroyed by fire near the main train station. The militia is continually receiving anonymous warnings not to mistreat the population and the prisoners.

* * * * *

So far it has been extremely difficult to tell what has been the extent of the reprisals against the workers and the populace of Radom following the strikes and demonstrations of 25 June 1976. The number of those detained by the authorities on that day is estimated at 1,000, but it is known that the arrests continued into the first days of July....

Among the prisoners, three categories can be distinguished. During June 25-28 those arrested were primarily participants in the organized workers demonstrations, those who joined the protests and chance passers-by, such as those who happened to pass through the Zomo [militarized police]-controlled area on their way home from work. The latter group appears to have been fairly numerous. More than a dozen cases have been definitely established where people coming home from work late in the afternoon or the evening were arrested by the police who were pacifying the city.

The third category is made up of those in whose apartments the police found objects they believe were taken during the looting of the stores. These persons were arrested beginning on June 29.

In most cases, identification of the suspects was made on the basis of photographs taken during the demonstration. But it was often sufficient if during the house-to-house searches objects were found that came from stores which were looted on June 25, even if the items had been previously

*continued on page 11*

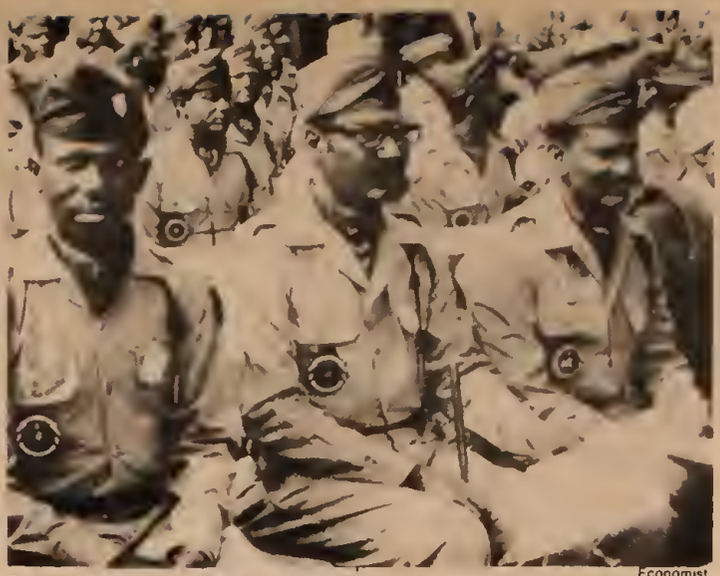
Der Spiegel

**Warski shipyard workers in Szczecin hold strike meeting in 1970.**

Der Spiegel

**In 1970 workers burned party office in Szczecin.**

Derg army — Nogues–Sygma



Derg rulers of Ethiopia; Gen. Mengistu at left. — Economist

## Military Lashes Out at Labor, Leftists

# Anti-Communist Terror in Ethiopia

NOVEMBER 22—Ethiopia's bonapartist military junta has executed 50 left-wing political opponents in less than a month. On November 2, Addis Ababa radio reported that 23 so-called "anarchists and reactionaries" had been killed, almost all of them members of the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Party (EPRP). Two weeks later, 27 more executions were announced. These death sentences summarily handed down by a secret military tribunal are part of a desperate campaign by the ruling military cabal—known as the "Derg" (junta)—to exterminate the EPRP.

Mass executions are as commonplace under the pseudo-socialist Derg as under the feudalist regime of Emperor Haile Selassie. Although it has also struck down many members of the aristocracy, the junta has from its accession to power clashed sharply with militant workers, peasants and students. Since the summer, its principal target has been the EPRP, which commands significant support among the discontented rural and urban masses.

Under a Special Penal Code promulgated July 5, anyone arrested for EPRP sympathies is liable to the death penalty. That same month, an air force mutiny linked to the party's influence was drowned in blood. In August, 20 peasants who had been arrested in Tigre province and were suspected of supporting the EPRP were gunned down. Other militants were reportedly tortured by being thrown successively into boiling oil and ice cold water.

This savage repression was escalated even further after a September 14 national radio broadcast labeled the party "subversive and anti-revolutionary" and accused it of "industrial and economic sabotage, robbery and acts of banditry in the rural regions, peasant unrest, propagating false information and attacks on electrical installations" (*Afrique-Asie*, 18 October). Subsequently, a round-up list of 150 party members—including trade-union leaders, student militants and members of peasant and women's associations—was issued. A notorious Israeli-trained terror squad, called the Nebelbal ("flame"), has carried out systematic raids in Addis Ababa and the EPRP peasant strongholds of Jimma, Harar and Sidamo. Several dozen young leftists have been found shot or strangled in the streets of the capital since the witchhunt began.

The Derg's demagogic "Ethiopian socialism" with its half-baked program of land redistribution and government co-ownership ("nationalization") of industry has done nothing to stifle the raging conflicts which threaten to topple the isolated regime. Feudalist landlords, nobles and dissident military officers have raised private armies to defend their wealth and privileges against both land-hungry peasants (many of them armed) and the would-be bourgeois modernizers of the Derg. Some of these reactionaries, like the sultan of the Afars, have successfully challenged the government's control over large areas of the countryside.

At the same time leftist guerrillas control most of the province of Eritrea, and the junta has resorted to saturation bombings to terrorize the population, in the process turning many villages into ghost towns. Since 1962, an estimated 34,000 civilians have been slaughtered and 400,000 driven from their homes in this dirty war of national oppression which the Derg has pursued as savagely as the emperor. This spring the military attempted to smash the guerrillas by raising an army of 30,000 backward Christian peasants, whipped up to a fever pitch by communalist incitement against the largely Muslim Eritreans and promises of war booty. The guerrillas turned back this ragtag army in May with two bloody attacks.

With the bulk of its armed forces tied down in Eritrea or on the Somalia border, scene of a long-simmering territorial dispute, the central government has little power to stem the centrifugal tendencies of secessionism and feudal warlordism. Its manifest impotence has sparked greater repression and intensified the Byzantine intrigues, splits and assassinations that had reportedly reduced the Derg's largely anonymous membership from 120 officers in early 1974 to 40 by mid-1975 (*Financial Times* [London], 22 July 1975).

Nearly three years ago, the organized workers movement emerged as the leading force challenging both military bonapartism and feudal despotism. In a country where independence dates back thousands of years and whose feudalist social structure exacerbates class divisions bourgeois nationalism and petty-bourgeois "African socialism" have little appeal to the working masses. The peak of the months of turmoil which led to the downfall of Selassie was a crippling general strike in February and March 1974, called by the 100,000-member Confederation of Ethiopian Labor Unions (CELU) (see "Army Topples Emperor in Ethiopia," *WV* No. 53, 27 September 1974).

Immediately after taking power, the military clique banned all strikes and arrested trade-union and student leaders who were demanding a civilian government. In October 1974, the junta's soldiers opened fire on a meeting of 1,500 CELU members protesting the arrest of their leaders. Two of the workers were killed.

Despite efforts by the Derg to put on a "progressive" face, it has been unable to stem the radicalization of the workers movement. At its June 1975 General Congress, the CELU voted to sever its ties with the traditionally U.S.-dominated International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. Since the public emergence of the EPRP in August 1975 its influence within the labor movement has been apparent. On 12 September 1975 the officers organized a massive demonstration to celebrate the first anniversary of their power. EPRP supporters, however, carried anti-Derg slogans such as: "Replacement of the Military Junta by Popular Power," "No Socialism Without Revolutionary Party," "Down With Petty-Bourgeois Socialism" and "Immediate Release of All Imprisoned Students" (*Struggle—Journal of the World-Wide Federation of Ethiopian Students*, November-December 1975).

That same month, congresses of the CELU and the Ethiopian Teachers Association adopted resolutions reflecting the EPRP's opposition to the Derg and its classically Stalinist two-stage strategy for revolution. The labor congresses also rejected the phony state-controlled "National Party," which the Derg attempted to launch to undercut the opposition, particularly the EPRP.

The government responded sharply to this direct challenge. On September 25, the police prevented members of the Ethiopian Airlines Workers' Union from distributing the CELU manifesto. In the confrontation, the police opened fire, killing seven workers and wounding 20. The airline union began a protest strike, which was supported by workers in other industries. On September 30, the Derg announced a state of emergency declaring, "Our Revolution will not be disturbed by strikes." The state of emergency lasted over two months and several thousand workers were arrested.

While repressing the workers and leftist opponents, the Derg, true to its bonapartist character, also sought this spring to steal the EPRP's political thunder through a public "ideological debate" culminating in a new program which, on key points, could have been cribbed word-for-word from the "Marxists." In place of the junta's former platform of "Ethiopia tikdem" ("Ethiopia first") the colonels have now declared their long-term goals to be "total eradication of feudalism, bureaucratic capitalism and imperialism," the laying of "a firm foundation for transition to socialism" and establishment of "a People's Democratic Republic" (*Keesing's Contemporary Archives*, 27 August).

The Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Party is an eclectic "Third World" Stalinist party, the first sizeable ostensibly Communist party in "black Africa." Under the blows of the Derg's repression it has taken up some relatively left positions and has no clear ties to any of the deformed workers states (despite occasional references to it in the bourgeois press as "pro-Soviet"). The political hodgepodge represented by the EPRP is encapsulated in the fact that at the 1976 May Day march in Addis Ababa its supporters carried portraits of both Mao Tse-tung and "Che" Guevara.

Founded in April 1971, the EPRP reflects the fluid, semi-Maoist currents of the Ethiopian students movement, especially among university graduates who have studied abroad. A spokesman described the party's origins in the student mobilization that has been growing in the country since 1965 (interview in *Lotta Continua*, 8 January 1976). Beginning at the 11th congress of the World-Wide Federation of Ethiopian Students (WWFES) there have been political divisions in the student movement between partisans of "armed struggle"—labeled Guevarist by their opponents and predominant in the

Ethiopian Students Union in North America (ESUNA)—and proponents of "mass ideological education," who lead the Ethiopian Students Union in Europe (ESUE) and are accused by ESUNA of being soft on the "fascist" military junta.

The EPRP is evidently closer to the "Guevarist" positions, although both sides habitually express themselves in Maoist terminology (ESUNA speaking of "encircling the cities" in the manner of Lin Piao; the ESUE railing against "Soviet social fascism" in more up-to-date Peking style). What prevents the party from taking a straight-line pro-Chinese position is Mao's support both for the murderous regime of emperor Haile Selassie and now for the junta butchers.

When the Negus was still on the throne, *Peking Review* (28 December 1973) hailed this "anti-imperialist" tyrant's "historic friendship" with China, his "achievements in Ethiopianization" of industry and "tapping agricultural potential" (this in the middle of a famine that took 100,000 to 500,000 lives!). After the military took over, the Chinese bureaucracy hailed the Derg for ousting Selassie's "feudal dynasty" (see the Spartacus Youth League pamphlet, "China's Alliance With U.S. Imperialism," January 1976). The EPRP spokesman quoted above is forced to admit that the Chinese give technical help to some of the junta's projects, while the USSR supports the Derg openly and "refuses any request for help from the left opposition"; the only ray of hope is that Peking has "never condemned the opposition."

In the face of the Derg's demagogy, EPRP supporters have in some cases gone pretty far to the left for Stalinists. In "The February Upsurge in Ethiopia" (February 1975), ESUNA spokesmen wrote that:

> "The accession to power of this petty-bourgeois military elite requires full acceptance of the repressive, exploitative and oppressive nature of the state machinery which it employed as a major mainspring for acquiring power....
> "The group of elite majors and colonels that have taken power have been transformed into a new ruling class, mainly that of the comprador and bureaucratic type....
> "Independent national capitalism whatever the degree of patriotism and national hysteria of its agents is obstructed by the nature of world imperialism."

Another publication, in explaining why it was necessary to oppose the Derg, quoted extensively from Marx's 1850 "Address to the Central Committee of the Communist League," generally considered forbidden fruit by more orthodox Stalinists, although leaving out the passage in which he calls for "permanent revolution" (*Combat*, July 1975).

But the EPRP leaves the door open for supporting or allying with more leftist sectors of the armed forces. ESUNA writes of the Derg that it "was originally a committee of soldiers' deputies elected along more or less democratic lines" (*Combat*, November 1975). An EPRP spokesman speaks of the junta's arising out of "a progressive wing of rank and file soldiers and junior officers," and points out that when Andom (the first head of state, pro-U.S.) was shot along with 55 other reactionaries, so also were six "progressive members of the Derg" (*Lotta Continua*, 8 January). The EPRP program (August 1975) meanwhile says only that the junta has "progressively divorced itself from the masses" and "Even within the Derg, power is exercised only by a small clique of elite officers...."

The EPRP's most glaring capitulation to the bourgeois nationalism which is the Derg's political calling card was its initial position on the war in Eritrea. The party's program passes over the ten-year independence struggle in a single sentence, pledging "to condemn and to struggle against the military slaughter of the Eritrean people to solve the question: to ensure that the Eritrean question is resolved peacefully and democratically." Throughout 1975, the EPRP and its supporters affirmed Eritrea's "right of self-determination," while pointedly refusing to call for Eritrean independence, i.e., the concrete exercise of the "right" for which tens of thousands of Eritreans have died. Recently the EPRP has changed its position and issued joint statements of solidarity with the Eritrean guerrillas.

The EPRP's open door to class collaboration is theoretically expressed in its anti-Marxist program for a "two-stage" revolution, begining with a "new democratic revolution" and a "people's democratic republic" which, it claims, would be neither the class dictatorship of the proletariat nor of the bourgeoisie:

> "The Party does not call for the immediate realization of its final aim....
> "In order to realize the New Democratic Revolution the E.P.R.P. joins hand with all anti-feudalist, anti-imperialist parties....
> "The People's Democratic Republic ...shall be based on the alliance of workers and peasants; and shall embrace all progressives, students, progressive intellectuals, small merchants, progressive soldiers, poor urban dwellers and their like."

Furthermore, the EPRP proposes to "allow private business activities *particularly in the industrial sectors* as long as they are not linked with imperialism...." Through these formulations, the EPRP states its hope of finding some "progressive" capitalists and military officers with whom to build an "independent" (capitalist) economy with a relatively large state sector, such as is common throughout Africa.

The situation in Ethiopia dramatically and tragically demonstrates Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution. Even in this country with a tiny proletariat and a huge, impoverished

*continued on page 11*

D.R.

**Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Party supporters, May Day 1976.**

# NY Court Messes Up MAC Boondoggle

NOVEMBER 29—Once again New York City is tottering on the brink of a financial collapse, triggered this time by a state Court of Appeals ruling November 19 that the "debt moratorium," imposed one year ago to head off the city's imminent bankruptcy, was unconstitutional. The court's ruling in favor of a class-action suit brought by the Flushing National Bank plunged NYC money managers into a worse financial bind than they were in two years ago when the bank-manipulated financial crisis first began.

With the city given a 30-day deadline to come up with a scheme to pay back the $1 billion owed to the holders of the short-term notes, it is clear that—as in the past—it will be the working masses who suffer the blows. Within hours of the court's decision, the bourgeoisie was clamoring for yet another wave of massive municipal layoffs and cutbacks.

Ironically, it was the suit of a little neighborhood bank which toppled the debt moratorium, an elaborate scheme devised last November by the financiers in conjunction with the New York state government as the short-term "solution" to the city's crisis. Although the banking conglomerates themselves held much of what at the time amounted to $1.6 billion worth of short-term city notes, and although they had provoked the crisis in the first place, they began to realize that default in the financial capital of the world could trigger an international banking collapse.

With the Ford administration's flat-out refusal of federal aid, the bankers decided on a moratorium. An elaborate boondoggle was worked out under which investors could swap their short-term notes for a new, more profitable ten-year bond issue, underwritten by $1.8 billion forcibly extracted from the city unions' pension funds. Those bond holders choosing not to swap were guaranteed 6 percent interest for the next three years until they could cash in the notes.

Now Flushing National has upset the whole applecart by suing for its $600,000 investment on the grounds that the notes had been backed by the city's "full faith and credit." The city had argued that it was an "emergency" situation under which it had a constitutional right to "police powers." Two lower courts upheld this position, but the state's highest court of appeals overturned it, ruling that "emergencies" referred to situations such as "nuclear decimation" and even the city's dire financial straits did not place it in this category.

### Real Crisis Behind the Boondoggles

Behind the bankers' boondoggles and the politicians' shell games which have accompanied the "fiscal crisis" since its inception, New York has, in fact, been in the throes of a real crisis for the past two years—that of the inability of state and local governments to pay off their debts during periods of economic decline. Unlike the federal government, the city cannot extend credit to itself, the modern-day equivalent of printing more money. With the non-productive public sector becoming an intolerable burden to the capitalists, the bourgeoisie has been pushing during the current depression period for massive cutbacks in this sector, attempting to transfer these resources to private profit.

Thus the advent of the fiscal crisis two years ago was the result of a conscious and concerted decision on the part of the city's major financiers to force drastic reductions in the city's budget. At the time we wrote:

> "The Rockefeller and Morgan banks created the fiscal crisis in the first place by refusing to routinely rewrite the city loans in June, then got the legislature to set up the 'assistance' corporation on whose board they are represented, then underwrote the new loans at an astronomical 9.5 percent interest rate...."
> —*WV* No. 74, 1 August 1975

In addition, the *Village Voice* revealed recently that government investigators now have proof that between October 1974 and March 1975 the banks secretly dumped $2.3 billion in city securities on the market before the impending bond crash was known to the public ("Banks to City: Drop Dead," *Village Voice*, 22 November).

The financiers' message was loud and clear: organized labor and the city's poor, not the banks, must pay for the economic decline. After first provoking the crisis, the financiers—unwilling to rely on elected officials whose ties to their constituents might impede carrying out the rigid austerity program—proceeded to set up an elaborate system of government controls. Through the creation of the Municipal Assistance Corporation (MAC) the mayor's office was placed under direct receivership to the banks.

Under Big MAC the budget was slashed, at the cost of incalculable hardship to the city's working masses.

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Ed Hausner/New York Times

**From left: Felix Rohatyn of MAC, governor Carey and mayor Beame.**

# MAC Boondoggle...

*(continued from page 9)*

The United Federation of Teachers alone lost over 20,000 jobs, while the city's largest municipal union, District Council 37 (DC 37) of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) lost tens of thousands more. Wage freezes were slapped on the union; cost-of-living clauses were thrown out; contractual fringe benefits were overturned. Equal blows fell on services largely benefiting the working population and poor: subway fares were raised; six major municipal hospitals were closed; the open admissions, free-tuition policy of the City University system was done away with, forcing thousands of students out of school.

By the fall of 1975, months after Big MAC began its work, it was decided that the draconian cuts were still insufficient and the city was on the brink of yet another "crisis." Big MAC announced its July bond issue was a failure because the "ma-and-pa" investors out in the boondocks were still shying away from investing in New York. *WV* had commented earlier on this charade:

> "...the hypocrisy of the bankers is positively breathtaking. According to Big MAC *this* crisis (as opposed to the 'budget crisis' a few weeks ago, or the 'cash-flow crunch' before that) stems from the hesitancy of folks around the country to buy New York bonds because they think the Big Apple is soft on labor and welfare chiselers. 'No one knows who buys these bonds,' they say, conjuring up images of small investors in Toledo, Ohio, who are outraged at the thought of 'free college.' But just turn the page and you will find that 80 percent of MAC bonds have been bought by the banking conglomerates (Morgan Guaranty Trust, Chase Manhattan, First National City, Chemical), insurance companies and other financial institutions."
>
> —*WV* No. 74, 1 August 1975

By November of 1975 Big MAC could announce that the city unions had been coerced into further "co-operation," agreeing to invest huge sums from their pension funds to underwrite a second Big MAC fund drive.

From this point on, things rolled along relatively smoothly for the capitalists. Big MAC was socking it to the working class. But then, just as everything seemed to be in place, Flushing National wins its suit and the whole deal is off. Predictably the city's solution to the new crisis is...yet another bond swindle. On November 24 MAC board chairman Felix Rohatyn announced a plan to raise the money through another issue of Big MAC bonds, underwritten this time through diverting $175 million now pledged to repay the pension funds and banks for interest on the previous issue.

### Possibilities of a Carter "Bail-Out"

The court's decision last week sent Mayor Beame scurrying home from Tel Aviv where he was attending a conference on urban problems. But in sharp contrast to last year's bitter mood of despair, with Carter now in the White House both the Democratic mayor and governor are reportedly full of optimism. According to Beame, there is a "completely different relationship" now in which "everyone understands the importance of the problem—and everybody wants to help."

Such sentiments notwithstanding, there is still a cool billion to be raised, and by press time nobody was very sure where it would come from. The clear meaning of a 23 November *Wall Street Journal* editorial was that a federal "bail-out"—if one is forthcoming at all—will come with strings a mile long:

> "The city has still avoided a frontal attack on the core of the problem—its over-ambitious range of services, such as the municipal hospitals; its middle-class subsidies like rent control; and its padded union contracts.... We suspect any help Mr. Carter will offer will come with onerous conditions, as is proper."

The only really sure bet is that the city's labor bureaucracy will once again swallow the new layoffs and cutbacks. On November 24 Beame and Rohatyn met with Victor Gotbaum, head of DC 37, trying to get his approval on the new plan to postpone payment on the union's investments. There was no objection from Gotbaum; if he demurred at proposals to sink still more DC 37 funds in MAC bonds, it can only mean that there is nothing left to give away.

Things are so bad in New York City now that doctors are quitting the staffs of the municipal hospitals because they refuse to take responsibility for patient deaths caused by the massive cutbacks in personnel and services. So thin are the social services running that it is hard to imagine how they could lay off many more workers and still have the schools, hospitals and transportation and sanitation systems running at all.

There presently exists a felt need for the organization of a powerful resistance effort aimed at smashing Big MAC once and for all, presenting an enormous opportunity for the labor movement in a city whose plebeian masses have long been divided along racial and ethnic lines. A class-struggle leadership in the city unions at this time could unite behind it the city's poor, the minority populations, the students and beleaguered petty bourgeoisie into a struggle directly threatening the bourgeoisie's capacity to rule. The city union bureaucrats' abject refusal to mobilize the labor movement in defense of its standard of living constitutes an enormous betrayal of the poor and working masses.

As the Spartacist League has insisted since the fiscal crunch began two years ago, the attacks on working people of New York City must be met through the mobilization of NYC labor for militant union action up to and including a city-wide general strike against layoffs and cutbacks. Debt moratoriums and other useless, reformist schemes must be rejected and the exploiters made to pay for the crisis brought on by the continuing existence of the capitalist system itself. Labor must demand the debt be canceled and the banks be expropriated without compensation.

Moreover, it won't be long after Jimmy Carter's inauguration before it becomes clear that under the Democrats' administration the bourgeoisie's program for the masses of NYC will remain the same as it was under Ford: "Drop Dead!" The labor movement must break its ties to the Democrats and build a workers party to lead the way forward to a workers government.■

# Spain...

*(continued from page 3)*

by the organizational disintegration of the CNS, and the Stalinists were forced to rely on the workers commissions as the main vehicle for exerting their stranglehold over the Spanish proletariat.

### Trade-Union Unity?

Meanwhile, the PSOE-led UGT and another social-democratic labor federation, the USO, which arose from Catholic opposition to Franco, have experienced rapid growth and sought to establish themselves as formal trade unions in the plants. Both were permitted by the government to hold open congresses as a counterweight to the influence of the CC.OO.

Moreover, during the last year the leadership of the workers commissions found itself repeatedly swept aside in the more militant strikes. Madrid has become a stronghold of Maoist organizations such as the Partido de Trabajo de España (PTE Spanish Labor Party) and the Organización Revolucionaria de los Trabajadores (ORT—Revolutionary Workers Organization). The PTE has support among postal workers, bus drivers, municipal employees and metalworkers in the suburban industrial belt. In the Basque region, Maoists, "Trotskyists" and nationalists were able to seize leadership of the more combative strikes (as in Vitoria).

The Maoists are by no means a qualitative improvement, however. Like the PCE and PSOE, they support the popular front (the PTE is a member of the Coordinación Democrática). And they are the equals of their reformist big brothers when it comes to sectarian backstabbing and dividing the working class as well: the relatively low participation in the November 12 strike by the Basque region and Madrid was due to the Maoists' failure to mobilize heavily for it!

The November general strike was called by the Coordinating Committee of Trade-Union Organizations (COS), made up of the CC.OO., UGT and USO. So far, efforts to turn the COS into a single union federation (particularly favored by the Stalinists, who would dominate it because of their wider influence) have run into objections from the social democrats, who prefer to build their own separate organizations. Faced with this rejection, the PCE decided to give the workers commissions the organizational forms of trade unions, simply in order to avoid being overtaken by its rivals. While claiming to have a democratic internal

# Gilmore...

*(continued from page 12)*

always been criminally and incurably insane.

This much is certain: living on the brink of execution does terrible things to people. Few have been able to face this barbarity with dignity and courage. Among the exceptions are most often the political prisoners, who understand why a vengeful capitalist state is taking their lives. In this country, the Italian anarchists Sacco and Vanzetti, who knew that the entire workers movement was fighting tooth and nail for their lives, are probably the best example of death-row dignity. In Utah, the same state in which Gilmore faces death, in 1915, labor organizer Joe Hill spoke to the entire working class when he uttered his famous "Don't mourn, organize." But the workers movement, which embraces the defense of its own martyrs, and of all the framed-up victims of capitalist "justice," also has compassion even for the indefensible criminals who sit in their five-by-nine cells waiting to be legally murdered.

U.S prisons, which even many wardens concede are racist hellholes, undoubtedly have their share of mad killers. But not all killers are on death row—far from it. The organized death squads of capitalism's police forces have the real monopoly on organized criminal violence. And just as prison life can in time turn a young offender into a violent, hardened criminal, so life on the thin, blue front line of capitalism's security squad can turn a young class-traitor into a hardened, sadistic murderer with a badge, or just a dangerous nut with a gun.

The cop who just shot a 15-year-old Brooklyn boy without apparent explanation (see pg. 12) is a case in point. The police spokesman who termed the incident "proper procedure" spoke more truly than he probably intended. The freeze on capital punishment did not stop executions. Temporarily frustrated on the juridical front, capitalism's hired gunmen simply stepped up their summary executions on the streets.

While Gilmore contemplates his film and publishing offers as he awaits a new execution date, another prisoner has emerged as perhaps the more likely candidate for the first execution in nearly ten years. His name is Robert Excell White, and he is a 38-year-old drifter from Mississippi, now in a Texas prison convicted of killing three people during a grocery store hold-up. Like Gilmore, White has asked to be executed without delay, saying: "I'm the one who killed those people and it's a hell of a thing to live with." He has been sentenced to die in the electric chair on December 10.

Although White presents a less sensational image than Gilmore, he, too, understands in some twisted way that his case is bound up in a public ritual in which he is the central figure. This understanding is expressed in his desire to be executed on network television. Showing just how mixed up he is—and how mixed up the business of capital punishment is with a popular culture of cruelty—White has offered as his reason for wanting to be electrocuted on television not only "paying for his crime" but speaking out against capital punishment.

The Roman arena did more than punish rebels and feed hungry lions. It provided a form of popular entertainment. Likewise, hangings in Elizabethan England served as an occasion for family outings. In 18th-century England, the hangings in Tyburn Park were a daily occurrence, and still crime continued at a furious pace. Public hangings, like the present attempt to reinstitute the death penalty, served as a sensational diversion from the real sources of crime: poverty and lumpenization—the dehumanizing effects of the capitalist factory system, inequality and social injustice—the gulf between those who have and those who have not.

Americans have good reason to fear the increase in crime, but the capitalist system has no solution. Rather than less crime, the government offers instead more punishment, hoping thereby to hoodwink the American public into believing that severe and violent crime is due not to the deteriorating social conditions and violence of capitalist society but to permissive laws and lenient punishments.

The present media campaign to trivialize and confuse the issue of capital punishment must not divert the class-conscious workers from the task of uprooting the entire fabric of capitalist social relations which produce this savage cycle of crime and punishment. Stop the executions! Abolish capital punishment! Smash the Bourgeois State! For Working-Class Justice!


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life and the right to form tendencies, the restructured CC.OO. began by expelling leaders of the PTE in Sevilla. In response, rather than fighting this purge, the PTE and ORT walked out of the CC.OO., proclaiming the formation of "red unions."

What should be the response of a Trotskyist tendency to this rampant sectarianism? Despite the Spanish Trotskyists' implacable opposition to the popular front and their struggle in defense of working-class unity during the 1930's, the fake-Trotskyist groups in Spain today have failed to present a program for uniting the working class in revolutionary struggle for its class interests.

During the last four years there have been two organizations in Spain claiming adherence to the "United" Secretariat (USec) of Ernest Mandel, the Liga Comunista Revolucionaria (LCR—associated with the centrist Mandelite international majority) and the Liga Comunista de España (LCE—associated with the reformist international minority led by the American SWP). The LCE since its inception had a policy of a "strategic united front" around the workers commissions, pledging itself to submit to the discipline of the CC.OO. and occasionally attributing to these Stalinist-dominated bodies qualities of embryonic soviets. The second congress of the LCE referred to the "vocation [of the CC.OO.] as democratic forms of united front of the broad vanguard of the proletariat" ("Hacia la república socialista—Por el partido de la IV Internacional," 1974).

Earlier this year the LCE was calling for participation in the campaign to reinforce the CC.OO. and posed the conquest of trade-union liberty in terms of "the affirmation of the CC.OO. as a free and unitary trade union" (*Combate* [LCE], 16 June 1976). However, with the Stalinists cracking down inside the CC.OO., and after the departure from the LCE of a faction backed by the Argentine PST to form yet another Spanish USec sympathizing group, the LCE decided to opt for "strategic unity" *with the social democrats*. Speaking for several hundred workers commission members who split to join the UGT, the Liga Comunista stated:

> "We accept the statutes and decisions of the UGT congress and we are not going to struggle to destroy it. Rather we will strengthen the UGT and be a sector of its left wing which fights for unity and for the socialist society."
> —*Cambio 16*, 18 October

Cambio 16

**Communist-led workers commissions.**

It's the same tailist policy as before—the LCE is just tailing after a new master. The switchover to the social democrats is doubtless part of the increasing homogenization of the LCE around the SWP line. Where this will lead them can be seen in the SWP's slavish propaganda for the virulently anti-Communist Portuguese Socialist Party of Mário Soares.

The LCR, on the other hand, shares the Mandelite majority's policy of constantly searching for "new mass vanguards" in which it can immerse itself, thereby gaining influence while bypassing (instead of struggling to defeat) the traditional misleaders of the working class. While the LCE refused, almost as a matter of principle, to undertake labor activity outside the framework of the CC.OO., the LCR for a long time sought to simply go around the workers commissions wherever they were dominated by the Stalinists.

Currently the LCR calls abstractly for a "constituent trade-union congress," then adds significantly, "where one could join with revolutionary Marxists, members of MC [Movimiento Comunista, Maoist syndicalists], Bandera Roja [remnants of a 1960's PSUC split toward militant syndicalism] and other currents" (*Rouge*, 24 October 1976). In other words, what the LCR wants is a Spanish equivalent of the Portuguese Revolutionary United Front (FUR), which enabled the Mandelite LCI to "unite" with similar currents ... around a program of support to the popular front!

As for the megalomaniacal Partido Obrero Revolucionario de España (PORE—Revolutionary Workers Party of Spain), which is linked internationally to the Vargaite LIRQI and claims to be second only to the Communist Party in influence among the Spanish workers (!), they are now seeking salvation in the CNT—the decrepit vestige of the Anarchist trade union: "... the problem of independent class trade unions as well as that of trade-union unity will be resolved by clearly putting forward the perspective of a constituent congress of the CNT, whose immediate task can be nothing other than demolishing fascism and its CNS" (*Quatrième Internationale* [LIRQI], 8 July 1976). The CNT, however, largely liquidated into the corporatist CNS some years ago, so that all the PORE can appeal to are the magic initials and the treacherous role played by the CNT leadership in the Civil War.

Cambio 16

**Social-democratic labor federation (USO).**

### Which Way Forward?

The destruction of the *verticalista* CNS, as the result of powerful independent struggles waged by the Spanish workers, is an important step toward proletarian independence and unity. But today the Spanish working class is increasingly divided into numerous competing union formations, each dominated by a particular political tendency. Trotskyists seek to overcome this division by posing the formation of a unitary organization of the working class, whose leadership is recallable at any time and which is governed by the fullest workers democracy, including the right to form tendencies. Thus rather than calling for a negotiated arrangement between the bureaucratic misleaders of the existing trade-union formations, Trotskyists pose the need for a democratic congress based on elections at the base and in delegated bodies, such as the elected strike committees which have sprung up during several struggles.

Trotskyists are supporters of trade-union unity, but in the current turbulent pre-revolutionary conditions of Spain to focus agitation on forming a labor federation—a body which, like unions generally, limits itself to "guerrilla warfare against the effects of the existing system" (Marx)—is to accept the reformists' perspective of a peaceful transition from Francoist dictatorship to bourgeois democracy. Rather what is needed is the unification of the existing clandestine workers organizations (and new forms—strike committees, factory councils) into a framework that can become an organ of dual power, i.e., a workers soviet, and vehicle for revolutionary struggle.

In pre-revolutionary periods in countries where bourgeois-democratic conditions have been prevalent, soviets will rarely arise on the organizational foundations of the existing trade unions, which are dominated by an entrenched trade-union bureaucracy firmly committed to maintaining capitalist rule. But under conditions of decades-long corporatist dictatorship in Spain the clandestine "unions" have been unable to consolidate a powerful bureaucracy, much as the Stalinists would have liked to do so. Even though the PCE dominates the leadership of the workers commissions, these bodies are so fluid that it would not be impossible for the CC.OO. to become transformed into soviets under the impact of a revolutionary mass upsurge. But for revolutionaries to call for the CC.OO. to transform themselves instead into a full-fledged trade union is to stand in the way of this historical possibility.

— No to the popular front—For working-class unity through soviets!

— For a Spanish Trotskyist party, section of the reborn Fourth International!

— For a workers republic in Spain—For a soviet federation of the Iberian peninsula in a socialist united states of Europe!

# Ethiopia...

*(continued from page 9)*

peasantry, it is the working class which must lead if the power of the feudalists and capitalists is to be overthrown. But the working class in power, with the support of the peasantry, cannot limit itself to purely "democratic" tasks. In the epoch of capitalist decay the bourgeoisies of the semi-colonial countries are so closely bound to the imperialists and feudalists that they must—as they have in Ethiopia—oppose such urgent democratic tasks as an agrarian revolution to wipe out feudal conditions in the countryside. The victorious workers must set up their own class dictatorship, "which would inevitably place on the order of the day not only democratic but socialistic tasks as well, and would at the same time give a powerful impetus to the international socialist revolution" (L.D. Trotsky, "Three Concepts of the Russian Revolution," 1939).

No doubt a revolutionary Trotskyist party in Ethiopia would find many committed militants in the EPRP. But to come over to the position of permanent revolution they would have to break shaprly with *all* forms of Stalinism; rather than seeing their struggle within narrow national limits of one of the most economically backward countries of the world, they would have to fight to build a *world* party of socialist revolution, a reforged Fourth International. ■

# Poland...

*(continued from page 7)*

purchased. So far there is only one known case in which there was an arrest for looting on the basis of a denunciation.

In the cases about which information is available, defendants accused of robbery were sentenced to one or one-and-a-half jail terms and 5,000-10,000 zloty [$200-400] fines. The sentences were handed down in the second half of August. Those prisoners who had been listed as belonging to a group of particularly active "agitators" were also dealt with exclusively by the courts. These people, approximately 20 to 30 in number, were sentenced to three to ten years in prison. (One of these trials was reported in the Warsaw papers on July 20.)

The treatment of persons arrested for attacking or insulting policemen was more complicated. These defendants, arrested during June 25-28, were in most cases let go after 48 hours, only to be rearrested the next day or often several days later. Brought before an "Administrative Judicial Panel," they were sentenced to two to three months imprisonment, and in many cases an additional fine of 2,000-3,000 zlotys [$80-120]. However, beginning in the middle of August the same persons were brought before the Radom Regional Court for the same accusations; this time they received sentences of two to four years' imprisonment, and often additional fines of up to 5,000 zlotys [$200]....

All those imprisoned were brutally treated when arrested or during the course of interrogation by the militia. As a result of the tortures during the questioning, one of the workers died. At some point after June 25, Father Roman Kotlarz was beaten to death by unknown assailants; he was the hospital priest at the psychiatric hospital and head of the Pelgow priory near Radom. As the blood was flowing during the workers demonstration he had granted absolutions to those in danger of dying. For this he was later questioned on the accusation of having blessed the demonstrators. Some time thereafter, the cleaning woman found the door to his apartment broken in, the room demolished and the priest unconscious, with clear evidence that he had been beaten. Shortly after being admitted to the hospital he died without ever regaining consciousness.... ■

# SL/MEC Exchange...

*(continued from page 2)*

the party, nor do we consider work among women to be simply "women's work." You must have realized when you addressed your letter to us that the men and women who make up this special body of the SL could only be repelled by the politics of an exclusivist defense of women-only victims of political repression, and by your "dear sisters" letter's references to "all of us," and "our united self-defense" when what is meant is only the women, while our class brothers as well as sisters are being hounded, imprisoned, maimed and murdered. We must say frankly that our sympathies are not with your "event" but with all of those working-class militants who face the truncheon and the electrode, who sit in filthy prison cells listening for the approach of the sadistic torturers who beat and rape, "interrogate" and kill. It is symptomatic of the pitiful weakness of the U.S. left in general, and the self-indulgent parochialism of U.S. feminism in particular, that a suicidal strategy such as yours can deflect the urgent need for a united defense of all victims of right-wing terror.

Fraternally,
SL Central Committee Commission for Work Among Women

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**NEW YORK**

WORKERS VANGUARD

**Jail the Killer Cop!**

## Point-Blank Racist Murder in NYC

The brutal point-blank killing of a 15-year-old black youth by a cop Thanksgiving evening sparked a series of protest demonstrations in New York City. The youth, Randolph Evans, was standing outside his Brooklyn apartment building talking with neighbors when five policemen who had been investigating a family dispute passed him on their way out of the housing project. When Evans asked one of them, Robert Torsney, if he had come from the apartment on the second floor, Torsney reportedly replied, "That's right," and then pulled his revolver and shot the boy in the head. The *New York Post* reported November 26 that sources heard Torsney say, "I just shot him...I don't know why."

Witnesses say that Evans' mother, Annie Brannon, was thrown out of the front seat of the patrol car by one policeman when she tried to accompany her son to the hospital. Glen Brannon, Evans' stepfather, was kicked in the groin, forced out of the patrol car and told to follow along in his own car.

Had it been the other way around, the youth would be in jail now with an impossible bail, facing "murder one" charges and a probable death sentence. But the cop was back on the streets the next day on $20,000 bail and charged only with second-degree murder. Chief Patrolmen's Benevolent Association counsel Edward Rappaport argued at the bail hearing that Torsney "used proper police procedure" in the shooting incident (*New York Times*, November 27).

Assistant District Attorney Farkas declared: "This is the most tragic and senseless killing I've seen in almost five years that I've been handling homicides." But it is not so senseless from the point of view of the cops. Torsney is a fatigued member in the front lines of the cops' race war on New York's black population. That he, upon seeing a young black face, found himself apparently compelled to shoot it is the result of long conditioning of capitalism's hired thugs—racism transformed into reflex. The authorities are simply embarrassed that Torsney deviated from the standard practice of shooting down blacks while they are "attempting to escape," and murdered Evans head on and in front of witnesses.

The Spartacist League protests this outrage—a typical example of the murderous cop "justice" being dispensed in cities throughout the U.S. Killer cop Robert Torsney must be jailed immediately and prosecuted for this wanton murder! The trigger-happy police must be disarmed before their racist disregard for the lives of black people leads to still more vile killings.

## Bread, Circuses and the Death Penalty

# Stop the Legal Murder of Gary Gilmore!

"Death Wish" blares the cover of *Newsweek*. And staring up from nearly every newsstand in America is a picture of Gary Mark Gilmore, a convicted murderer who claims that he wants to die. His pitch is painfully simple: "I've been sentenced to die, I accept that. Let's do it."

The mass media have titillated the public for weeks with detailed accounts of the case: Gilmore's proposed death-house marriage to Nicole Barrett; their apparent attempt at simultaneous suicide; his poetry anticipating his death with artless morbidity and Platonic delight: his "soul," he writes, "is screaming to vacate this ugly house." The sensationalism of the Gilmore case obscures what is actually at stake in the controversy over capital punishment: punitive legal *murder* by the bourgeois state.

On July 2 the United States Supreme Court ruled that capital punishment does not violate the Constitution's prohibition of "cruel and unusual punishment." This decision unblocks the execution of the nearly 600 prisoners, most of them black and poor, confined to death rows across the country. For these and untold numbers of others not yet sentenced, Gilmore's execution would be a fatal precedent in the application of the death penalty.

Execution in Mississippi, 1940 AP

The problem for the proponents of capital punishment is that somebody has to be first. Between the judges' legal arguments, the criminologists' specious statistics, the philosophers' moralizing, somebody has to get it first. And when the state actually straps its first victim into the chair, places the electrodes on the head and left leg and shoots 18,000 volts into a spasmodic body, a large portion of the American public is likely to be nauseated. Those who are anxious to get the gas chambers, hangings and firing squads going again must welcome such a willing victim as Gary Gilmore and the media's fascination with what it calls his "rage to die." But the executioners, governors and wardens are still haunted by the ghost of Caryl Chessman, and they do not want to see the protesting abolitionists at their doorstep. (Nowhere to be found among those protestors are the hypocritical "right-to-life" reactionaries who scream so loudly for the unborn fetus' "right" to live, at the expense of pregnant women, but seemingly have no qualms about the state's "right" to kill.)

### Capital Punishment Is Not Euthanasia

From the time of his conviction, Gilmore has demanded the death penalty. When his lawyers managed to get a stay of execution for him, he fired them and replaced them with Dennis Boaz, an unpublished writer, who agrees with Gilmore that to *delay* his execution is a "cruel and unusual punishment."

Despite Boaz's best efforts to get his client killed, however, the execution was postponed pending a decision by the State Board of Pardons, headed by George W. Latimer, the organizer of the campaign to save the life of mass murderer Lt. Calley.

Gilmore's demands have led to a rush to judgment by much of the liberal press: Gilmore wants to die; he is better off dead; let him die. The media's cynical sensationalism helps to confuse Gilmore's wish for suicide at the government's hands with the question of *capital punishment*; to view his execution as a kind of euthanasia administered by a benign force. Thus, Cold War liberals Max Lerner and James Wechsler have written pages of drivel defending Gilmore's right to "die like a man." Notorious red-baiter Lerner (*New York Post*, 15 November) notes that Gilmore believes in the Mormon doctrine of "blood atonement" and reincarnation. With a "logic" that Lewis Carroll's Red Queen would understand, Lerner argues that "I see no reason why we shouldn't respect his plea for carrying out the processes of justice when we accede to so many pleas to postpone them." Finally, Lerner waxes philosophical: "A feeling for the creativeness and affirmation of life can go along with a feeling that death is inevitably part of it. If we come to terms with death we have a better chance for celebrating life." In other words, Gilmore should be executed so that Lerner can "celebrate" life.

But legal murder at the hands of the capitalist state has nothing to do with euthanasia or suicide or whether or not Gary Gilmore really wants to die. Unleashing the death apparatus of the bourgeois state on Gilmore and untold others is the issue.

The argument that it would be "more humane" to kill Gilmore than to keep him in jail also misses the point. It is certainly true that life in prison is agonizing (Gilmore has spent 18 years in jail) and also that once the death sentence seems assured many condemned prisoners beg to get it over with. The last convict executed in the U.S., Luis Jose Monge, told a judge in 1963, "I want to get it over with as soon as I can." He died in a Colorado gas chamber four years later. But far from being an argument for the "humaneness" of the death penalty, this is a comment on the cruelty and barbarity of U.S. prison "justice."

In the fifteenth century, English penal codes were reformed to permit the substitution of "pressing" for starvation as the punishment for those who refused to plead either guilty or not guilty. Pressing consisted of heaping weights upon the prisoner until he was crushed to death. In the middle of the seventeenth century a further reform allowed a man who was pressed to death to have his friends jump up and down on him, adding their weight to the iron and stones bearing down on him and thus hastening his death. Within that context, this was undoubtedly a humane act of sorts.

Whether or not Gary Gilmore kills *himself* is not a problem for socialists. But whether or not the capitalist state kills a prisoner is. The fact that Gilmore would apparently rather die than go on living in prison under the threat of death is not an argument for the relative kindness of the death penalty. It is a powerful argument against this barbaric form of torture.

### Mad Killers Not All on Death Row

Gary Gilmore's warden describes him as "a sick chicken," and much of the media coverage has been directed at Gilmore the "sociopath." His poetry and drawings are analyzed for hidden and not-so-hidden symbols of death and destruction. In general, the impact of all the speculation is that Gilmore has

*continued on page 10*

WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

No. 137 10 December 1976

## Carter Will Continue Anti-Labor Policies of Nixon/Ford

# Layoffs Hit U.S. Workers... AGAIN!

Job-seekers line up in Chicago. UPI

### Big Steel Hikes Prices

DECEMBER 6—The Bureau of Labor Statistics announced Friday that the U.S. unemployment rate, already the highest among industrialized nations, continues to soar. It rose in November to 8.1 percent, not far below the depression-level peak of last year. Moreover, most of the newly unemployed are adult males, pointing to the fact that layoffs (rather than new entrants into the labor force) are the key factor in the current increase in joblessness. Official government statistics don't even include those who have given up looking for work and involuntary part-time workers. The AFL-CIO index, which includes these factors, shows that the actual level of unemployment is much higher: 10.9 percent of the labor force, or 10.5 million workers presently without jobs.

With the unemployment statistics showing that there will be over *11 million* out of work by New Year's Day, all other indices of the U.S. economy also point toward crisis. While the inflation rate on consumer goods and services has remained steady at about 5 percent annually, wholesale prices (a good indicator of future cost-of-living changes) are rising rapidly, running at a 10 percent annual rate last month. November was also the third month in a row that the Department of Commerce composite index of leading economic indicators failed to rise.

Less than a year after the halting upturn in the greatest depression of the post-war period, the advanced capitalist world is again heading into an economic crisis. During the last three months industrial production has fallen in Japan, West Germany and Italy, as well as the U.S. (*Economist*, 4 December). Unemployment is on the rise virtually everywhere.

This new downturn demonstrates that the 1974-75 depression was not, as bourgeois economists claimed, a fluke resulting from the price explosion of Arab oil. Rather, it was the product of a fall in the rate of profit (to which the rising price of raw materials contributed) and demonstrates the fundamental incapacity of world capitalism to generate rapid or steady economic growth.

### Steel Cartel Raises Prices

In the midst of this emerging economic crisis, the giant American steel corporations dropped a bombshell, announcing on November 24 a price hike of 6 percent for sheet and strip products. This is an open challenge to the incoming Democratic administration to protect big business profits in the face of declining production.

Steel manufacturing is concentrated in a handful of major producers who can have considerable impact on the market by agreeing to act in concert. The monopolistic character of the industry acts as a partial buffer to sharp falls in price and profit levels during periods of economic decline. Thus prices continued to rise during the 1974-75 depression.

This announced price hike, also, is an attempt to offset falling output. Since last May steel production has declined about 20 percent and plant utilization in the industry has dipped from 91 percent of capacity to only 68 percent. In October the steel corporations announced a price hike, but retracted it when demand proved too weak to support it. This time around industry executives claim the increase is geared to expanding orders. However, steel mills across the country continue layoffs and short worktime. Just last week Bethlehem Steel, the second largest U.S. producer, laid off 2,800 employees at its Sparrows Point, Maryland, mill.

A major political goal of the steel corporations (in concert with the national-chauvinist leadership of the United Steelworkers of America) is to obtain government protection through higher tariff barriers against imports. After World War II, the steel industries of rival imperialist powers like Japan and West Germany were rebuilt almost from scratch, and therefore incorporated the most modern technology. In 1972, 80 percent of Japan's steel was made by the superior basic oxygen process as compared to only 56 percent of U.S. production.

The existence of more efficient foreign competitors undercuts the monopoly position of the U.S. steel cartel in the American market, and therefore its ability to rig high prices. Right now, while announcing their price hike, the steel cartel is campaigning to extend the quota on special steels (e.g., stainless and tool steel) which President Ford granted them last June. Far from benefitting working people or "providing jobs," protectionist laws fuel inflation as well as inflaming national divisions within the international working class.

### Big Steel Maneuvers Carter

Steel executives are not simply concerned with keeping prices up. The

*continued on page 10*

Wide World

AFL-CIO chief George Meany (left) with president-elect Carter.

## The Short-Lived USec/OCI Treaty

Editor's Note: *The USec and OCRFI versions of the now-aborted deal are not identical in every respect. LCR internal bulletin No. 50 [November] prints both the USec text and the OCRFI's response. We are reprinting the latter. We have italicized the passages where there is a significant difference and have put the USec version in brackets immediately following.*

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The International Bureau delegation, mandated by the Organizing Committee for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International, after meeting with the United Secretariat of the Fourth International, notes the resolution adopted by the USec:

> "We propose that the United Secretariat of the Fourth International and the Organizing Committee for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International prepare parallel statements for publication in *Rouge*, *Informations Ouvrières* and other publications of the Fourth International and the Organizing Committee for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International.
>
> "1. That the goal of discussions is to strengthen the Fourth International as sole international organization based on the Trotskyist program, which includes *acceptance of* [reference to] democratic centralism.
>
> "2. That the United Secretariat and the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire, even though they have deep-going differences with some of the positions of the Organizing Committee for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International and the OCI, consider them to be revolutionary organizations.
>
> "3. That the Organizing Committee for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International and the OCI also affirm that the Fourth International and its French section, the LCR, are revolutionary organizations despite the deep-going differences which the former organizations have with some of the positions of the latter.
>
> "Starting from an agreement on these points, the United Secretariat will open an organized discussion with the Organizing Committee based on a commonly agreed on *agenda* [timetable. If the OCRFI rejects any resolution on the proposed points, the USec will consider that an organized political discussion cannot for the moment take place]."

The delegation of the International Bureau of the Organizing Committee for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International repeats its proposal for opening discussions without restrictions or preconditions between the two international organizations, with a view to reconstructing the Fourth International, reunified on the basis of the founding program; so as to attempt to overcome the differences which are at the origin of a split which has lasted nearly a quarter century.

That the goal of the discussions is to strengthen the Fourth International as a single international organization based on the Trotskyist program, which includes acceptance of democratic centralism.

The delegation of the Organizing Committee feels that the link to the Fourth International, the affirmation of the validity of its program, characterize an organization as revolutionary. Both the USec and its sections and the Organizing Committee and its organizations uphold the necessity of the Fourth International; both affirm the validity of its program; this characterizes them as revolutionary organizations.

# USec/OCI Deal Falls Through

# No Tango in Paris

When leaders of the United Secretariat (USec) and representatives of the French Organisation Communiste Internationaliste (OCI) met in Brussels six weeks ago to sign a pro-fusion statement, it seemed that a 25-year estrangement might be coming to an end. The political core of the diplomatic three-point document, which provides for discussions "to strengthen the Fourth International as sole international organization based on the Trotskyist program," is that each side characterizes the other as "revolutionary...despite deep-going differences." On leaving the October 19 meeting, Ernest Mandel, leading light of the centrist USec, was heard to pronounce it a "historic meeting"; Pierre Frank, gray eminence of the USec's French section, the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR), proclaimed it a "miracle."

Mandel/Frank's grandiose expectations to the contrary, it did not take the fractious LCR very long to puncture the new fusion balloon. Ten days after the peace treaty was signed, the LCR Central Committee passed a motion declaring the agreement "inadequate" and suspending any bilateral relations with the OCI. Two weeks later, the USec knuckled under and wrote to the OCI retracting the deal. Thus a national section of this purportedly "democratic-centralist" fake-Trotskyist fake-International dictated international policy to its supposedly higher body. The LCR laid down the law and suddenly the USec's "historic" enterprise was just a piece of paper.

The United Secretariat's pretext for backing out of the engagement was the OCI's long-standing characterization of the USec as having "revisionist positions contrary both to the principles and the program of the Fourth International." So what else is new? This formally correct statement is as true of the USec now as it was 25 years ago when the USec's political progenitors, led by Michel Pablo, first locked onto the liquidationism which sent the majority of the French section of the Fourth International (from which the OCI is lineally descended) into opposition. Mandel and Frank, Pablo's lieutenants, presumably liked this characterization as little at the time as they do today. But the OCI's formally orthodox anti-Pabloist disclaimers did not deter the USec honchos from undertaking the secret treaty on October 19.

### LCR Throws Wrench in the Works

There was no more unity in the LCR Central Committee on November 1 than there is in the faction-ridden "United" Secretariat. The LCR majority's demand that the USec "adopt at an international level an attitude which corresponds to the one we have taken toward the OCI" was opposed by LCR leaders whose softness toward the OCI flows from their sympathies with the USec reformist minority tendency, brain-trusted by the American Socialist Workers Party (SWP). In addition, pro-SWP/OCI LCR "left" oppositionist Matti refused to vote at all on the motion.

For several years, the OCI and SWP have been on intersecting courses, defined particularly by a convergence of appetites toward accommodation to international social democracy. Accordingly, the SWP has been negotiating on its own behalf with the OCI (see "SWP-OCI Discussions," *WV* No. 57, 22 November 1974) and has also been a most diligent marriage-broker between the USec and the OCI's own international conglomeration, the Organizing Committee for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International (OCRFI). Appropriately, the SWP's Joseph Hansen was one of the signatories of the October 19 pact.

The LCR has demonstrated that it has no intention of permitting Mandelite diplomacy—neither the present rotten bloc with the SWP nor the aborted non-aggression pact with the OCI—to interfere with "main chance" opportunism in France. The LCR majority's primary orientation is toward explicitly anti-Trotskyist currents such as the Parti Socialiste Unifié (PSU) and "non-sectarians" such as Lutte Ouvrière (LO). Thus the Central Committee motion unfavorably contrasted the possibility of bilateral relations with the OCI to "the type we may entertain with the PSU, Lutte Ouvrière or Révolution."

The LCR's number one priority is fusing with the Pablo-led left wing of the left social-democratic PSU. The Pablo tendency broke to the right from the USec in the mid-1960's and in 1972 explicitly renounced Trotskyism and the need for the Fourth International. Always obliging, Mandel proclaimed his willingness to abandon these "labels" (see "Mandel Offers to Renounce Trotsky, Fourth International," *WV* No. 117, 9 July 1976) to facilitate the LCR's efforts to "regroup" with the "broad vanguard" represented by the PSU. Révolution originated as a petty-bourgeois, "Third Worldist" split from the LCR's forerunner in 1969, essentially over the question of affiliation with the USec. It is currently holding a fusion congress with a hardened pro-Peking Stalinist grouping, the Gauche Ouvrière et Populaire.

Lutte Ouvrière, an ostensibly Trotskyist group which opposed the formation of the Fourth International in 1938, is known mainly for its workerism, which makes an organization's social composition (*not* its program) the touchstone of its revolutionary integrity, and its naive predilection for sponsoring "non-sectarian" international gab-fests with sundry state-capitalists, Maoists and syndicalists. LO's long-time position favoring a lowest-common-denominator "unity" of the so-called "family of Trotskyism" has become increasingly attractive to the LCR as it impressionistically shifts from strident petty-bourgeois radicalism to exhortations to present a "credible alternative" (i.e., left cover) to the popular front.

Accustomed to being slapped down by its star section, the USec manfully took its medicine. At the same meeting at which it repudiated the October 19 agreement with the OCI, the USec and the LCR sought to sweep LO into their net by harking back to "non-sectarian" proposals made by LO in the wake of May 1968. At that time, LO had proposed that a loose regroupment of all "revolutionaries" should publish a common newspaper (if necessary with a given number of pages allotted each group) in an effort to be a "credible


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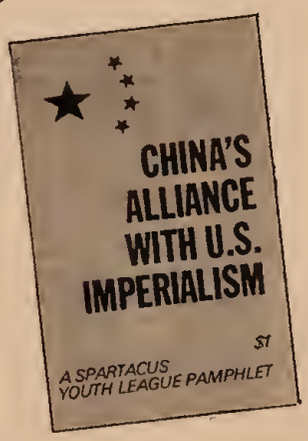


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## U.S. Prevents Transit to Canada

## PDC Protests Exclusion of Ernest Mandel

On November 24 Ernest Mandel was scheduled to give a forum in Montreal on "The World Economic Crisis and the Rise in Working Class Struggles." Mandel, one of the main leaders of the pseudo-Trotskyist "United Secretariat," is currently forbidden to enter the United States, West Germany, France and Switzerland.

He was scheduled to fly to Montreal from Colombia, changing planes in Miami. However, after initially agreeing to allow Mandel to spend sufficient time in the international transit waiting room in Miami to make his flight connection, at the last minute the State Department capriciously changed its mind and refused in effect to allow him transit through the United States. In consequence, Mandel's forum in Montreal had to be cancelled only two hours before it was scheduled to begin.

A statement of protest by the Trotskyist League of Canada and the international Spartacist tendency was read to a press conference in Montreal held shortly after it became known that Mandel would be unable to speak.

alternative." Now the USec has offered to edit jointly with LO a four-page weekly supplement to *Rouge* and *Lutte Ouvrière* and to allow LO to contribute articles to every fourth issue of *Inprecor*. Discussions are proposed as well with a view to presenting joint LCR/LO candidates in the 1977 French municipal elections and holding a joint trade-union conference in the summer of 1977.

### OCI Lusts for SWP

The OCI—which is usually dubbed "sectarian," for both good and bad reasons—recently opened the pages of *Informations Ouvrières* (24 November) to a former member to declare: "Trotskyism discredits itself by its divisions. Trotskyism must be made credible to the masses of workers if one wants to build the party.... The OCI must do everything to move toward the unity of Trotskyism...." Like its USec competitors, the OCI is also responding to the tantalizing prospect of an electoral victory for the "Union of the Left" popular front, but in its own fashion. Whereas the USec majority wants the radicalized petty bourgeoisie and "new mass vanguard" to pressure the popular front to the left, the OCI wants to reform the popular front through unity of the Stalinist and social-democratic apparatuses.

Over the past several years the OCI has consolidated a sharp rightward turn based on its long-standing tendency toward Stalinophobic capitulation to social democracy. The petty-bourgeois radicals of the LCR have always been able to score correct points against the OCI's shameless softness toward the bureaucracy of the Force Ouvrière labor federation. Outside France, many OCI-affiliated groups adopted the Pabloite practice of deep entrism into the social democracy a decade after the USec had generally abandoned this discredited strategy in favor of enthusing over third-world guerrillaism.

Thus in the recent October elections in Germany, the IAK, which is entrist in the SPD, raised the cold-war capitalist-restorationist slogan of "Free elections in all Germany"; in Canada the OCI affiliates call for a government based on the NDP, running on the NDP ticket whenever they can. Most notoriously, in Portugal the OCI group is buried inside Mário Soares' Socialist Party and actively supporting the trade-union-based "list B" of this CIA-funded "Socialist" party.

This sharp rightward motion is what is behind the OCI's courtship of the reformist SWP, which the OCI rebaptized "not centrist" and "Trotskyist" when it began its pro-SWP maneuvers three years ago. The OCI's explicit advocacy of a federated international structure, for example in Latin America (see "OCI Reconstructs the London Bureau," *WV* No. 95, 6 February 1976), is an additional point of convergence with the SWP.

The OCI hides behind its formal

*continued on page 11*

**WORKERS VANGUARD**

**Marxist Working-Class Weekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.**

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# SWP Electoralism Flops

Basking in the glow of left-liberal respectability and an unusual amount of publicity in the bourgeois press, the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) used the bicentennial presidential campaign to deepen its commitment to social-democratic reformism. Following the dissipation of the feminist and antiwar "mass movements" of the late 1960's, the SWP has become an electoral party on permanent campaign footing. It spent two solid years on the '76 presidential "race" and almost a quarter of a million dollars; it brought successful court suits against the media to allow it air time while pushing SWP apparachiks into an all-out effort for Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid. Yet despite widespread distrust of capitalist candidates Carter and Ford, and even with extensive media coverage of its "socialist Watersuit" against FBI harassment, the SWP failed to score the hoped-for big gains.

In fact, even though final tallies are not yet available, SWP figures show that their standard-bearers did little better than Linda Jenness in 1972. While SWP candidates polled higher in several states (such as Texas), and stayed the same in others, they *lost* votes in five states where comparative results are in (down *3,000* votes in Massachusetts, the only state to go for McGovern in 1972).

Although this electoral stagnation reflects the general rightward shift of U.S. politics over the last several years, the *Militant* will no doubt glibly announce that this year's totals represent a significant advance over the last time around. However, its higher overall vote total will only be because the SWP managed to get on the ballot in California (where they received 17,083 votes) and Ohio (with 5,346), both big college states where they were ruled off in 1972.

A number of liberal commentators, repelled by the dull Ford/Carter "contest," were pleasantly surprised to discover the SWP's mild-mannered "realism." British journalist Simon Winchester found Peter Camejo a "young and highly intelligent Marxist messiah...peddling ideas of a non-Marxist Socialist economy that will sound familiar to followers of Tony Benn" (*Guardian* [London], 29 October 1976). The SWP can hardly object to this unflattering comparison with the milktoast reform schemes of the "left" Labourite member of Callaghan's cabinet. Last year the *Militant* (14 November 1975) crowed when the staff director of the Democratic Party platform committee commented on the SWP's platform: "I think tomorrow I'll go down to [Democratic National Committee] Chairman [Robert] Strauss and suggest that we adopt this. It all looks perfectly reasonable. You may have saved me ten months' work."

The SWP's comrades in the French Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR) were not so complimentary, however. A reporter for the LCR's *Rouge* asked Camejo: "In most rallies, the general level of the speeches would be called elementary in France. What is more, there were no red flags and no revolutionary songs, to say nothing of the *Internationale*. Can you explain why?" (quoted in *Intercontinental Press*, 22 November 1976). After reporting Camejo's response, to the effect that the voters don't even recognize that the Democrats and Republicans are capitalist parties, *Rouge* concluded: "Whether they are students or workers, Americans are totally ignorant as regards politics."

Certainly the level of class consciousness among U.S. workers is far lower than in Europe, but two years of Camejo campaign speeches have done nothing to raise it. While on the face of it this open-ended escape clause lets the SWP off the hook (what can you expect with ignorant Americans?), in their internal bulletins the LCR will accuse its SWP factional enemies of bowing before American backwardness. (Of course, the trappings of "red flags and revolutionary songs" do not make a revolutionary program either. The LCR pursues its own more "sophisticated" class collaboration "under French colors" by acting as a left cover for the popular front.)

The SWP campaign was "elementary," all right—elementary reformism. The big SWP gimmick for '76 was a "Bill of Rights for Working People," a program to add a few utopian-liberal "democratic" demands to the U.S. Constitution. It includes points for a "right to an adequate income," a "right of oppressed national minorities to control their own affairs" and a "right to decide economic and political policy" but not a word about socialist revolution. In the days when the Socialist Workers Party represented revolutionary Trotskyism in the U.S., James P. Cannon had some harsh words for wiseacres who pushed such gimmickry:

> "He [Budenz] came to the National Committee of our party with a proposal that our whole program should be an amendment to the Constitution; that our revolutionary program should be whittled down to one parliamentary project. It was a terribly capitulatory, a philistine program of the crudest kind."
> —*History of American Trotskyism*, 1944

In one TV campaign interview Camejo claimed that after a majority of the American people were sufficiently exposed to the SWP's program, socialism (or at least Peter Camejo) could be voted into office. But the real appetites of these suit-and-tie reformists is to be a pressure group on the capitalist state. Camejo differs with veteran social democrat Michael Harrington only in preferring an "independent" stance rather than working directly through the Democratic Party. "I'll tell you what'll bring social change," said Camejo in a debate with Harrington the day before the election, "if millions of people in this country began to refuse to vote Democratic or Republican. That would put more pressure on the government to have to bend to the demands" (*Militant*, 26 November 1976).

This frank admission of a perspective of "pushing" the capitalist politicos into granting reforms underscored the fundamental identity of the SWP's campaign with that of the arch-reformist Communist Party (CP). Proclaiming that a vote for CP candidates Gus Hall and Jarvis Tyner was a "vote with clout," the Stalinists made the same pitch: "a big Communist vote in Detroit would become a serious concern for the executives of GM and Ford," and a good showing in New York would "make the banks come to the rescue of NYC" (*Daily World*, 3 April 1976).

The resemblance was more than skin-deep, with the twin parties of American reformism both pledging to "reduce" profits. The CP limited itself to a call for slashing the military budget by 80 percent (thereby leaving the Pentagon $24 billion to play around with), while the SWP ambiguously worded its demand to "cut" the "war budget," instead of the traditional Marxist position of refusing to support the capitalist repressive forces ("not a single penny, not one man to the bourgeois army"). No doubt Camejo/Reid want to demonstrate their "responsibility" by not calling for *eliminating* funding for "legitimate" police and army actions, like sending federal troops to Boston to enforce busing (a favorite SWP demand).

WV Photo

**Peter Camejo**

The SWP did find a way to distinguish itself from the CP and enhance its appeal to liberals, however. Camejo told reporters that the difference between him and the Communist Party was that, regarding the Soviet Union, "I feel there is a totalitarian regime there. They don't" (UPI dispatch, 28 October 1976). Furthermore, Camejo told the House Intelligence Committee on 18 November 1975: "We are opposed to totalitarianism everywhere in the world, whether in the USSR or in Spain." This blatantly anti-communist equation of the degenerated workers state in Russia with the most reactionary bourgeois butchers was a constant in the SWP campaign. In California, SWP senatorial candidate Omari Musa told the *San Francisco Chronicle* (6 August) that he opposed all dictatorships "whether in the Soviet Union, China, Spain, Chile" or "Iran and the Zionist state of Israel."

On NBC's "Meet the Press" (17 October 1976) Camejo was asked point blank by Nat Hentoff of the *Village Voice* what the SWP's position would be toward a Russian or Chinese invasion of the U.S.:

> "*Hentoff*: This is for Mr. Camejo. I notice that one of your key elements in the program is the elimination of $115 billion in military spending....in the context of the fact that most Americans...sincerely believe...that this is the kind of program that only a flaky party would endorse because, what do we do if you eliminate all this in terms of the USSR and maybe later China engulfing the world and eventually us? How do you get credibility with an electorate with this kind of program.
> "*Camejo*: ...I think that if the American people feel that there is any danger to our own existence in terms of somebody coming in here to invade and take us over, then I think the American people should have the type of defense that was originally intended when this nation was set up: Popular militia with elected officials so that an Army cannot be used against the people. When was the last time the National Guard was called out to make sure a strike succeeds? In fact, it is only called out to break strikes. I want an Army that can't kill four students at Kent."

Here Camejo has gone beyond his usual classless rhetoric against "totalitarianism" of the left or right and his consistent failure throughout the campaign to raise the Trotskyist position of unconditional military defense of the degenerated/deformed workers states against imperialism. Now the SWP has committed itself on nationwide TV to defending the "American people" *against an invasion by the USSR or China*!

At least it took the actual outbreak of World War I to induce the parties of the Second International to abandon their formally internationalist program and line up openly behind their "own" bourgeoisies. But the SWP throws away the Trotskyist program under the bright lights of a TV studio simply to win a few votes of anti-communist liberals. ■

## Stop Forced Sterilization!

# Over 3,000 Indian Women Sterilized by U.S. Government

Buried in the 23 November issue of the *New York Times* was the outrageous revelation that, according to the U.S. Congress' General Accounting Office (GAO), over 3,400 American Indian women have been permanently sterilized over the past four years by the Indian Health Service (IHS), many of them without their knowledge or consent. While Indian groups have long protested the government's campaign to sterilize Indian women, this is the first *official* confirmation of widespread illegalities and abuse.

The GAO reported that a close check of 113 "voluntary" sterilization cases in four health centers in the Southwest revealed that the majority of "voluntary consent forms" filed contained *no* statement that indicated that the women had the right to refuse sterilization, or that they had been informed of their rights at all. Most hospital records did not even contain the forms—only notations that the sterilizations had been performed for "medical reasons."

The full extent of forced sterilizations by the arrogant reservation administrators, who order the operations in self-righteous contempt for the poverty-striken Indians at their mercy, may never be known. Dr. Connie Uri, a Choctaw/Cherokee physician who investigated sterilization practices at the Indian Health Service hospital in Claremore, Oklahoma, in 1974, found that hospital records mysteriously disappeared as soon as she asked for them. According to *Akwesasne Notes* (Summer 1974), when she appealed to the IHS Board she was informed that poor Indian women were "better off" sterilized.

Despite official obstruction and contempt, however, Dr. Uri was able, through interviews with Indian women and workers at the hospital, to expose widespread abuses there in *all* aspects of medical care. Of 132 American Indians sterilized at the hospital in 1973, she found that 100 were given the operation for "non-therapeutic" reasons—i.e., simply to keep them from having more children. As Dr. Uri was conducting her investigation, sterilized Indian women came to her asking how they could have children, obviously unaware of what had been done to them.

The vicious practice of forced sterilization extends to many poor and minority women on welfare as well. Dr. Bernard Rosenfeld, who protested the forced sterilization of two black and one Chicana woman at a Los Angeles hospital in 1974, summed up the attitude of government administrators as, "The more tubes you tie, the fewer kids you have to support on welfare." As Aid to Dependent Children rolls have grown, various state and local agencies have advocated making sterilization mandatory for poor women on welfare after they have given birth to one or two children. In 1964 a law was passed in Mississippi which made having an

Dolores Neuman

"illegitimate" child a felony punishable by a maximum of three years in prison or forced sterilization. While this barbarous attack on women was rescinded after nationwide protest, it is *still* a misdemeanor to have an "illegitimate" child in Mississippi.

Poor and minority women must not remain helpless victims of government hospital butchers. The workers movement must demand that the grotesque practice of forced sterilizations be ended immediately! ■


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# Bernadette Devlin Evades Question of Troops to Boston

Bernadette Devlin McAliskey, self-proclaimed "revolutionary socialist" and a well-known leader of the Northern Ireland civil rights movement in the late 1960's, just completed a tour of the U.S. sponsored largely by Pathfinder Press. While her speeches before Socialist Workers Party (SWP) Militant Forums and the SWP-led National Student Committee Against Racism (NSCAR) meeting in Boston helped publicize the desperate plight of the Murrays, two anarchists condemned to be hanged in Dublin, she carefully evaded the hard political questions facing the American and Irish working classes.

Devlin, who spoke in San Francisco before a large banner proclaiming "British Troops Out of Ireland," and emphasized the oppressive role of the British imperialist army in every speech, consistently refused to take a position on the SWP's call for the American imperialist army to occupy Boston and other cities wracked by lynch-mob attacks on black people.

The most obvious lesson of the Northern Ireland civil rights movement, which in 1969 welcomed British troops into Ulster as a "peace-keeping" force, was that these troops are committed not to protecting democratic rights but only to maintaining the status quo. They mainly repressed the insurgent Catholic masses while locking up a few token Protestant paramilitary leaders. Devlin, however, refused to apply this lesson to the bitter struggles over busing that have erupted in the U.S.

Repeatedly asked by the Spartacist League why she did not draw this fundamental lesson for the American black struggle, Devlin refused to answer, pleading need to "study" the situation. We are forced to conclude that Devlin, an experienced politician and former Member of Parliament, preferred not to embarrass her SWP sponsors, whose main slogan in the pro-busing movement has been for "Federal Troops to Boston" to defend black rights.

It was clear, however, that Devlin's insistence on her ignorance of the "specifics" of the Boston busing struggles was an evasion of the principled nature of the question. Evidently, for Devlin the question of preaching confidence in the imperialist army to "protect" the oppressed simply depends on "the specific situation," i.e., is a purely tactical question.

This at least would be consistent with her past position of welcoming the British troops to Ulster when it was a widely held illusion by almost the entire civil rights movement, including her own group, People's Democracy (PD), that they would indeed "protect" the Catholic masses. But when presented with her past history by Spartacist League supporters, Devlin exploded into vehement denials that she had *ever* had any illusions in the army, despite well-documented evidence to the contrary.

The *New York Times* (22 August 1969) quoted Devlin as saying: "The British Army must remain. If withdrawn, the underlying problems will again raise their heads." Months later the Socialist Labour League's *Newsletter* (18 June 1970) quoted her as saying, "...you cannot simply say take the troops out because if you do the people will die...."

WV Photo

**Bernadette Devlin McAliskey**

She could only retort lamely that the *Times* is a "bourgeois press" and that the SLL prints slanders. But her proclamations of support for the British military presence in Northern Ireland were widely reported in a number of newspapers at the time and are a matter of common knowledge throughout the British and Irish left. During a fund-raising trip in the United States, she told a predominantly Irish-American audience that "They [British soldiers] are a necessity now because they have restored a semblance of order" (*New York Post*, 22 August 1969). The *Daily News*, which gave extensive and sympathetic coverage to her 1969 tour, quoted Devlin's remarks on the NBC-TV program, "Meet the Press": "The British troops have got to stay until the problem is solved. They can't go and leave us with the problem. How long that takes depends on Harold Wilson" (*Daily News*, 25 August 1969).

That Devlin's position was infamously soft on the question of British troops in Ulster is also attested to by a report in the *Irish Times* (20 August 1969): "In a broadcast last night for Radio Free Derry, Miss Bernadette Devlin MP said Wilson's statement was an assurance that things would be better for Northern Ireland. She welcomed the news that the security forces would be under the control of the GOC [General Officer in Command]. 'It shows that the British Army is not prepared to be used by the Stormont government'."

Devlin's angry interruptions that nothing made her madder than "Americans telling me what I did in Ireland 10 years ago" when the SL reminded her of her earlier position are simply an attempt at national-chauvinist, anti-internationalist demagogy. "Everywhere I go the Spartacist League asks me the same question," she complained on the last night of her tour in New York. But, if Devlin wishes to be taken seriously as a "revolutionary socialist," she has the political responsibility to take on the real questions facing the working class and not simply repeat platitudes about the workers and the bosses, as she did this time. The litmus test of revolutionary leadership is the ability to forthrightly account for one's political history and defend one's program both in the course of mass struggles and in open political combat with other tendencies in the workers movement. ■

## ISA Members in Houston Threatened with Deportation

# Drop Court Suit Against Iranian Students!

Several weeks ago the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran (CAIFI)—a civil-libertarian group dominated by the reformist Socialist Workers Party/Young Socialist Alliance (SWP/YSA)—announced its intention to prosecute several members of the Iranian Student Association (ISA, Iran House) who allegedly were involved in an attack on five supporters of CAIFI on November 1 at the University of Houston (see "Civil Libertarians Endanger Iranian Students," *Young Spartacus* No. 49, December 1976).

Yet CAIFI knows full well that, especially in Houston, U.S. authorities working in collaboration with the Iranian secret police (SAVAK) seek to use any legal entanglements involving Iranian dissidents to deport these "troublemakers." In Iran, these opponents of the Shah suffer torture by electrodes, whips, boiling water enemas and branding irons in the SAVAK dungeons.

In an attempt to cover its despicable treachery, CAIFI has smeared these ISA members as *agents provocateurs* for the Shah's Gestapo. The *Militant* (19 November) reports: "CAIFI views this incident as particularly alarming in light of recent revelations of activities in the United States by SAVAK, the Shah's secret police."

The Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League (SL/SYL) is opposed on principle to the use of violence, intimidation and slander within the left to suppress political views. We vigorously condemn the hooligan attack on CAIFI at the University of Houston and, despite our political differences with both CAIFI and its SWP/YSA sponsor, we would support efforts carried out within the framework and traditions of workers democracy to prevent such attacks. In this regard, we point to our defense of a meeting last year featuring Argentine "Trotskyist" Juan Carlos Coral which was organized in Chicago by the SWP/YSA-dominated USLA and which was threatened by right-wing Cubans.

*But in resorting to the capitalist courts to resolve differences within the left, CAIFI has crossed the class line.* While its grievances against rival Iranian activists in Houston may be real, CAIFI has trampled over workers democracy no less than the thugs who attacked the CAIFI supporters in Houston.

On December 6 the Partisan Defense Committee (PDC) contacted CAIFI headquarters in New York City to confirm the report given in the *Militant*. Questioned about the allegation that the accused Iranian students in Houston were somehow implicated in SAVAK disruption of the ISA, the CAIFI spokesman stated, "We have a very strong suspicion that if they are not actually on the payroll of the SAVAK, at least they play into the hands of the SAVAK with their violence within the Iranian student movement."

And what was given as the basis for this "suspicion"? First, the CAIFI spokesman pointed out that none of the accused Iranian students was among the 91 students arrested in Houston on November 8, when the cops launched an unprovoked attack on an ISA demonstration protesting the arrest and deportation of ISA members in Paris. When asked about the role of these accused Iranian students at this particular demonstration, the CAIFI spokesman admitted, "Well, we don't know whether they were at the demonstration or not"! Then he claimed that these accused Iranian students were no different from the Iranians who have disrupted CAIFI meetings in Houston in the past. But when the PDC asked if they had been identified as among the hecklers at any of these meetings, the CAIFI spokesman admitted that they were "not exactly the same individuals."

Stripped of excuses, the CAIFI spokesman could only resort to a naked appeal that the capitalist courts offered redress for the attacks against CAIFI: "In a way, such an inquiry could lead to really finding out who are these people who propagate these type of tactics among the students." But any "inquiry" conducted through the capitalist courts and the Immigration and Naturalization Service will have only one result—to victimize supporters of the ISA and all who oppose the butcher Shah. On more than one occasion Houston authorities have stated their desire to "rid" Houston of "outsiders" who "disturb the peace" with their militant protests. For "socialists" to legitimatize any intervention by the U.S. government in a milieu vulnerable to deportations—especially in the context of SAVAK's vicious vendetta against radical opponents of terror in Iran—is a despicable crime which can have truly murderous consequences.

The prosecution of ISA members by CAIFI threatens to open up the Iranian student movement in this country to state interference and cop surveillance. CAIFI's SAVAK-baiting of the ISA serves only to discredit the Iranian student movement and divide even further the opponents of the Shah's white terror.

The SL/SYL stand resolutely opposed to all gangsterism on the left, and we have demonstrated in practice our commitment to enforce workers democracy. We are equally proud of our anti-sectarian record of militant defense of all victims of reactionary repression. CAIFI's initiation of the legal persecution against ISA members is a scandal. We call upon left and labor organizations as well as all who oppose the Shah's repressive police-state regime to denounce the shameful and dangerous prosecution of Iranian students by CAIFI, and demand that the charges be dropped. Through its civil-libertarian legalism CAIFI is now jeopardizing the civil liberties and even the very lives of these anti-Shah militants.

Oppose gangsterism within the left! Demand that CAIFI drop the charges against the Iranian students and repudiate its court action! For the right of political asylum for opponents of the Shah's white terror!

### ILWU LOCAL 6 PROTESTS ARREST OF IRANIAN STUDENTS

*The following resolution was adopted by the General Executive Board of Local 6 of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) on November 23.*

"ILWU Local 6 demands that all charges against the 91 Iranian students arrested in Houston be dropped and deportation proceedings ended immediately. The union will notify the Iranian Students Association, the District Attorney in charge of the case and the U.S. Department of Immigration of its position."


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# 50,000 French Workers Protest Cop Attack on Parisien Libéré Strikers

The valiant 21-month strike and occupation of the *Parisien Libéré* newspaper printing plant fell victim to a sharp blow by the mailed fist of the French state December 5. Attacking on a Sunday night, when in the words of Prime Minister Barre the "risk of incidents" would be less, swarms of CRS paramilitary riot police equipped with bulldozers and blowtorches burst in and overwhelmed the 50 strikers guarding the facilities.

The *Parisien Libéré* strike—against a threatened plant closure and in defense of the closed shop—has been the focus of militant resistance by French printers and journalists to the wave of "rationalization" in the newspaper industry which threatens to wipe out thousands of jobs. The red flag flying over the occupied plant, the 1,200 pound rolls of newsprint and heavy metal plates barricading the entrances and the strikers' militant action against scab distributors had also become a symbol of working-class opposition to the austerity schemes of the Giscard government.

The attack on the strikers immediately provoked an outpouring of labor protest in Paris and across the south of France. Three thousand printers marched in Paris as news of the police assault spread. The next day an estimated 50,000 demonstrators responded to a call by the major trade-union federations and marched through the streets of the capital chanting, "*Parisien Libéré*, Solidarité!"

Large sectors of the city were blacked out by rotating one-hour power cut-offs, buses and subways were shut down by sitdown strikes and strike calls reportedly received wide followings in Marseilles, Toulouse and Nantes. In response to a call by the printers union for a 48-hour strike, no newspapers appeared...except for the scab *Parisien Libéré*.

The timing of the government attack was no doubt prompted by Sunday's mass meeting to found the "Assembly for the Republic" movement headed by former Gaullist prime minister Jacques Chirac. Chirac set out to attack the Giscard coalition government as being "soft" on the Communist Party (PCF) as the first step in building up an anti-Communist frenzy for the 1978 legislative elections. The protest against the police attack against the *Parisien Libéré* strikers and the predictable press shutdown in response had the effect of blacking out newspaper coverage of Chirac's right-wing spectacular.

Despite the anger of the printers, strike activity has been firmly in the hands of the reformist trade-union tops, principally the PCF-dominated CGT. The CGT has cynically allowed the *Parisien Libéré* strike to be dissipated and refused to mobilize the Paris workers in defense of the printers. The cop assault on the *Parisien Libéré* strikers must be met with a militant general strike to reinstate all the laid-off printers, to close down the scab newspaper plant and to smash the anti-working-class austerity scheme of the Giscard/Barre government!

## Protests Continue Against DDR Expulsion of Dissident

# East German Regime in Frenzy Over Biermann Affair

### Volkspolizei Searches for Singer's Tapes, Colleagues Arrested

The revocation of political protest singer Wolf Biermann's East German citizenship by the Stalinist bureaucracy continues to raise storms of denunciation in West Europe, including from the communist parties of both France and Italy. Meanwhile, in the German Democratic Republic (DDR), the ruling Stalinist apparatus of the Socialist Unity Party (SED) has been driven into a frenzy of repression, attacking protestors as "counterrevolutionaries" for daring to criticize the regime's arbitrary action. The hated Volkspolizei ("Vopos") have been sent into homes to seize private tapes of Biermann's songs, and have arrested several other well-known critics.

Wolf Biermann had unexpectedly been given an exit visa (his first in ten years) to travel to West Germany, where he was invited by the youth group of the West German metal workers union to give a concert in Köln (see East Germany Deprives Singer Wolf Biermann of Citizenship," *WV* No. 135, 26 November). The DDR bureaucrats had tried to stifle Biermann by banning him—for the last dozen years—from recording songs or performing in public.

Increasingly irritated by the wide "underground" circulation Biermann's music achieved in dissident circles in the DDR via private tape recordings passed from hand to hand, the Stalinists thus set a trap to rid themselves of a bothersome critic. Following the concert, on November 16 the SED tops stripped him of his citizenship, claiming he had launched "poisonous" attacks on "socialism" in the DDR from a capitalist country.

Although the initial announcement of Biermann's banishment was a laconic press release, the outburst of protest, which took the bureaucrats by surprise, forced them into a heavy-handed and vehement counterattack. Slogans defending Biermann appeared on East Berlin walls, and the West German weekly *Der Spiegel* (29 November) indicated that the case was being intensely discussed at Humboldt University in East Berlin. Reports that petitions supporting Biermann were being circulated on the Alexanderplatz—an almost unheard of degree of open protest—indicate the depth of internal opposition to the banning.

A correspondent of the Agence France-Presse in Berlin reported that there is deep discord within the SED itself over the measure. According to *Le Monde* (24 November), rumors are flying in East Berlin that representatives of the Soviet Union considered the punishment "mistaken" and complained of "inconsistency" in the SED's political line, and that the political bureaus of the Soviet and East German parties were to meet on November 23 to discuss the matter. *Newsweek* (16 December) reports, however, that the USSR gave the SED a "free hand" in dealing with Biermann.

The group of 12 artists and writers who initially wrote an "Open Letter" of protest to the Central Committee of the SED has now grown to over 33. Criticisms, albeit carefully formulated, have appeared even in official publications, such as the criticisms by Gisela May (a well-known singer of Bertoldt Brecht songs) in *Horizont*.

### Not Everyone is a "Mitdenker"

The East German bureaucrats, stung by strong adverse reaction, have cracked down hard on domestic dissent. Dr. Robert Havemann, a well-known physicist, socialist critic of the regime and defender of Biermann, has been under house arrest in a suburb of East Berlin since November 23, following the publication in *Der Spiegel* (29 November) of his letter of protest to his "dear colleague and comrade," DDR head of state Ernst Honecker. Havemann's tape recordings were seized, his phone line (and that of his wife in East Berlin) was cut, and the street he lives on has been sealed off to "strangers" by the Vopos, who have forbidden journalists any access to him. Also arrested were author Jürgen Fuchs, who had previously been expelled from the University, song writer Gerulf Pannach and musician Christian Kunert.

The SED tops have brought heavy pressure to bear on the protesting artists and writers, forcing several to publicly dissociate themselves from the protest statement they had signed *Neues Deutschland* (20-21 November), the official organ of the SED, devoted a full page to pro-government statements by East German artists under the title: "Wir sind es gewohnt, mitzudenken" ("We're accustomed to thinking along [together]").

Despite lengthy lists of "Mitdenkers" provided by the East German press agency, the SED bureaucracy has been unable to stifle the dissent. Even the pro-government statement in *Neues Deutschland* by Anna Seghers, a prominent writer and head of the East German writers union, had a peculiarly ambiguous tone. Her statement that "I want to live and work in the DDR," while it could be interpreted as expressing deep love of the state, could equally easily imply that you'd better "think along" with the bureaucrats or else you won't be *able* to "live and work" in East Germany. Which, of course, is exactly what Wolf Biermann wants—that is the whole point of the protests! *Newsweek* reports that the bureaucrats had assembled statements by over 70 prominent writers, but that the tone was either so ambiguous or ironic in most that they were forced to scrap the project.

Wolf Biermann at Köln concert. Klemm

Regime-Kritiker Havemann, Biermann*: Vorbereitung zum Hochverrat?

Wir sind es gewohnt, mitzudenken

Stellungnahmen und Erklärungen von Künstlern und Kulturschaffenden unserer Republik zur Aberkennung der DDR-Staatsbürgerschaft Biermanns

East German Stalinist organ "Neues Deutschland" ran dictated statements from intellectuals supporting revocation of Biermann's citizenship. Headline reads "We are accustomed to thinking along (together)."

The SED itself justified Biermann's banishment with a venomous statement in *Neues Deutschland* on 17 November:

> "The hate, slanders and insults that he [Biermann], as citizen of the DDR and in a capitalist country, has directed against our socialist state and its citizens make the cup run over. For years he has let loose his poison against the DDR to the applause of our enemies....
>
> "He is in a bloc with those who have escalated their psychological warfare against the DDR to a level approaching that at the time of the Cold War. In this bloc he is quite at home and virtually indistinguishable from many others. He disappears in the dark mass of anti-communist rowdies ..."

### Biermann's Defense of the DDR

But Biermann is no Solzhenitsyn, despite the SED's attempts to smear him by linking his name to that of the Great Russian chauvinist, tsar-loving religious obscurantist and rabid anti-communist. Thousands of DDR citizens saw him *defend* the DDR against bourgeois attack in a rehroadcast of the Köln concert on November 19 over West German television (which is received in East Germany), thus exposing the bureaucracy's slanders and prompting the SED to threaten to close down the West German TV station's offices in East Berlin.

One example of Biermann's defense of the DDR came in his reference to his friend Reiner Kunze, expelled from the DDR writers union last month. Referring to the "representatives of the bourgeois press here, who will try to use what I say for their own purposes," Biermann clearly defended Kunze, saying he "produced no fascist literature. He did not incite to war. Everything he wrote about the DDR is the truth." Biermann went on, "He did not lie, but we communist writers believe that it is also possible to use the sad truths about life in the DDR to lie about the sole hope of mankind...namely about socialism."

Biermann's defense of the DDR (as well as his illusions in reforming the bureaucracy) were clear in his attack on Maoists in the audience at Köln, who, following Peking, see the DDR as a "social-fascist" state:

> "I only hope that these people [the Maoists] will not arrive with tanks, since they would slaughter me and many of my comrades in the SED (although I am no longer a member), and would slaughter Comrade Dubček, in the name of Stalinism. And they would kill Comrade Honecker, in the name of I don't know what theory. With them I can have no agreement."

Biermann sings that he "live[s] in the better half" of Germany, and that "in the DDR socialism will arise, despite snotnoses and Stalinists." Yet despite his courageous and harsh criticisms of the bureaucracy, Biermann deeply believes in the possibility of the bureaucracy reforming itself, and accepts the Stalinist theory of "socialism in one country." Today he hails the reformist communist parties of France and Italy as models of "Eurocommunism," adding a special verse in Köln to his now-famous song "So oder so, die Erde wird Rot" ("One way or another, the earth will be red") "The West Germans need a

CP, growing and maturing as I see, in Italy's warm sunshine. So should it be...."

### Long Live East German Workers Revolt!

The fatal limitations of Biermann's liberal Stalinist outlook lead him to denounce the courageous 17 June 1953 uprising of the East German workers, which was crushed by Soviet tanks. In the Köln concert, Biermann characterized the uprising as "Janus-headed" with a strong fascist component, saying that:

> "Like my mentor Brecht, I would have despaired on that 17th of June and with tears in my eyes I would have taken off my cap and greeted the tanks."

Teary-eyed or not, Biermann accepts the official Stalinist version of the workers revolt. He must deny the anger and heroism of the German working class, which exploded in bloody street fighting in East Berlin as well as massive and well-organized strikes and the formation of factory committees in such old Communist Party strongholds as Leuna. Along with "Comrade Honecker" and the rest of the Stalinist bureaucracy, Biermann propagates the slander that it was all the work of a few agents of the West German SPD's notorious Ostbüro and the CIA.

While many East German workers had illusions that the West German Social Democratic Party bureaucracy would liberate them, this did not make the East German workers a counter-revolutionary force. The imperialist conquest of East Germany, abetted by the SPD, would have had to crush in blood the independent organs of the insurgent workers. Revolutionaries should have struggled against any illusions in the SPD, calling instead for

Robert Havemann — Der Spiegel

political revolution in the East to oust the Stalinists, and for social revolution in the West to reunite Germany on a revolutionary basis.

### Fake Leftists Favor "Free" West Germany Over DDR

The commotion over the Biermann affair in West Germany has thrown into stark relief the political positions of the German left. Various New Left and pseudo-Trotskyist groups have uncritically hailed Biermann while Maoist organizations used the banishment to further castigate the "imperialist" DDR.

The most hysterical and vehement attacks came from the Peking-line KPD. Making token references to the "fascist danger" in West Germany in the pages of *Rote Fahne*, they compared the situation there favorably to the DDR where there is already "foreign rule and fascist oppression." The KPD continually calls for unrestrained "freedom of movement" throughout Germany (as do the Social Democrats and reactionaries of all stripes) while equating political repression in both German states. The KPD also criticized the KBW (a West German Maoist group, which, unlike the Peking-loyal KPD, has not dared to call openly for "defense of the fatherland"), for its statement that at least the border prevents Western capital from subjugating East German means of production to its drive for profits. Thus the mouthpieces for the Chinese Stalinists give open support to the capitalist German state, which would like nothing better than to dismantle the proletarian property forms of the DDR through counterrevolution.

Another group which favorably contrasted West Germany to the DDR was the pseudo-Trotskyist International Workers Correspondence (IAK), connected with the French OCI. The OCI has been increasingly soft toward the social-democratic parties of West Europe, a position the IAK extends almost to the point of caricature. As we reported earlier, it played a leading role in setting up the "Initiative Committee for Freedom of Opinion in East and West" which invited Biermann to Bochum University. The Initiative repeatedly equates capitalism and the proletarian-based state of the DDR, opposing "all forms of political repression in East and West."

In a special section devoted to "freedom," the statement listed as the two enemies to be fought the "curtailment of freedom" represented by the West German conservative Christian Democratic (CDU) and Christian Social Union (CSU) party of reactionary Franz-Joseph Strauss, and the "elimination of freedom" by the DDR in the name of "real socialism." The complete silence on the betrayals of the SPD, while equating the CDU/CSU and SED as enemies of freedom, is no accident.

Despite the Initiative's claim that "no one can credibly oppose 'Berufsverbot' [the anti-red laws excluding radicals from government positions in West Germany]...without condemning conditions in the DDR," its list of signatures for the Biermann campaign includes prominent SPD officials, such as federal minister Egon Bahr and SPD mayor of West Berlin Klaus Schütz, who are responsible for and enforce the "Berufsverbot"! Thus the IAK's pretense of equally opposing repression in East and West is given the lie, as it capitulates to its own capitalist government, heavily dominated by the SPD, against which it utters not one word of direct criticism!

An IAK leaflet, "For Freedom of Return for Wolf Biermann," calls on the SPD and the West German trade-union federation to "mobilize all their power" (i.e., including the West German government presently dominated by the SPD!) against the DDR to let Biermann return. Reflecting the OCI's own equivocations, the IAK and the Initiative do not mention one word about the need to defend the East German deformed workers state against imperialist attack in their Biermann propaganda

### Popularity With the "Broad Vanguard" or Trotskyist Honesty?

Of all the left groups, the GIM (German section of the United Secretariat [USec]), has been the most uncritical of Biermann. A GIM Political Bureau statement of 19 November, frequently referring to Biermann uncritically as a "communist," calls him "a symbol of the continuity of Marxist opposition in the DDR." Its political support to Biermann, a culture hero to West Germany's youth, and refusal to call for the necessary construction of a revolutionary Trotskyist party in the DDR reflect the GIM's perennial tailing of petty-bourgeois radicalism.

But there is some genuine political identity between Biermann and the GIM. After all, one of Biermann's heroes is "Comrade Dubček," in whom the GIM had more than a few illusions. To the extent that it distinguishes itself politically from Biermann, it is on the question of the Berlin Wall, where the GIM comes out to the right of him.

The Berlin Wall, according to the GIM statement, is simply "a wall for the protection of the bureaucracy, for the prevention of any real construction of socialism in the DDR." While it is true that the bureaucracy's crimes (notably the vain attempt at "peaceful coexistence") made the wall's construction necessary, and that it would be torn down in a revolutionary reunification of Germany, nevertheless it represented a defense of East Germany's deformed collective economy. When it was constructed in 1961, the DDR was suffering a massive hemorrhage of its workforce,

Erich Honecker — Der Spiegel

particularly skilled workers, threatening the collectivized economy. The proletarian economic forms have to be defended through political revolution—and social revolution in the West. The GIM's social-democratic criticisms of the wall only feed open anti-communism.

Only the Trotzkistische Liga Deutschlands (TLD, German section of the international Spartacist tendency) both raised the demand that Biermann should have his citizenship immediately restored (protesting "in the sharpest manner against the measures of the East Berlin bureaucratic clique to rid itself of a troublesome critic"), and at the same time attacked the "anti-communist frenzy that aims at undermining the proletarian bases of the DDR deformed workers state."

The TLD presented a resolution at a student assembly meeting at the Free University of West Berlin putting forward the Trotskyist position:

> "Immediate restoration of citizenship to Wolf Biermann!
> "Immediate release of all writers and intellectuals imprisoned in the DDR for defending Biermann!
> "For unconditional defense of the DDR against imperialist attack!
> "For political revolution to overthrow the parasitic bureaucratic clique in the DDR and all the other deformed or degenerated workers states."

Yet GIM members at the meeting voted *against* this revolutionary defense of Biermann and the vital Trotskyist position of defense of the deformed workers states!

On November 24 a mass meeting, called by the West Berlin section of the German Writers Association and the spontaneist paper *Langer Marsch* (Long March), was held at the Free University's main meeting hall, which was filled to capacity with over 3,000 people to hear presentations by "respectable" anti-communist "friends" of Biermann.

The writer Gerhardt Zwerenz compared the rescinding of Biermann's citizenship to West Germany's refusal to allow USec spokesman Ernest Mandel into the Federal Republic, without bothering to mention the different class character of the two states. Former Free University vice president Uwe Wesel explained that oppression on both sides of the border was the result of the historic legacy of Prussian "Untertanengeist" (submission to authority), and equated the DDR to a feudal autocracy!

A leader of the West German teachers union, Übelgün, reflecting the views of the IAK, praised Mayor Schütz's support of the Initiative, which provoked an outburst of disapproving whistles. The crowning touch to his disgusting display of capitulation to the treacherous SPD bureaucracy was his concluding remark that "the division of the German working class in 1918 was tragic," thus condemning the formation of the German Communist Party of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg.

Following the presentations, the first speaker from the floor was a comrade from the TLD. Criticizing Übelgün's statements, he said that the vital task before revolutionaries was precisely "the polarization of the workers movement into those who would go the way of Noske and Scheidemann and those who follow the tradition of Liebknecht." He criticized the "anti-communist front wallowing in theories of totalitarianism," counterposing the TLD's principled position of demanding reinstatement of Biermann's DDR citizenship while denouncing his "confused liberal Stalinist" views, which amount to accepting the myth of "socialism in half a country." At this point the audience broke into a frenzy of hissing and booing, as their idol had been attacked.

The TLD spokesman ended with a call for the revolutionary reunification of Germany and the rebirth of the Fourth International. Audience reaction was so intense that after only one more speaker, discussion was cut short, despite protests by the TLD and others. The GIM was furious, since despite its putting out a leaflet sponsoring the meeting, it got neither a presentation nor speaking time from the floor.

Coming up to TLD comrades afterwards, GIM supporters fumed that Trotskyism had seldom been so discredited as by the TLD's criticisms of Biermann. On the contrary: it is not those who tell the revolutionary truth that discredit Trotskyism, but those like the GIM and the Spartacusbund (which put out a leaflet with very mild criticisms of Biermann), who mute their criticisms in order to better chase after the latest will-o'-the-wisp petty-bourgeois hero or reformist bureaucrat. ■


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## Taxi Fleet Owners Threaten Leasing

# NYC Cabbies Vote No Confidence in Van Arsdale

At the semi-annual general membership meeting of New York City Taxi Drivers Union Local 3036 on November 18, the 1,500 union members in attendance boisterously voted down a motion put forward by the bureaucrats giving Local officials authority to take "any appropriate action" for a "satisfactory contract." The cabbies knew from bitter experience what this wording meant: a similar motion passed in 1972 was later used to justify the union tops' acceptance of binding arbitration which ended up in a disastrous settlement for Local 3036.

But despite widespread dissatisfaction in the ranks with the sellout leadership of Harry Van Arsdale, the prospects for the drivers remain bleak in the present contract negotiations. The confused pandemonium in which the membership meeting ended—after the bureaucrats lost the vote of confidence, they simply walked out of the hall without even bothering to adjourn the meeting—showed that there is no class-struggle alternative to fill the present vacuum of leadership. Without this, the crucial factor for a successful defense against the management offensive is missing, and the bureaucrats retain control of negotiations.

The cabbies have already been working for three weeks without a contract. Although management had earlier rejected all 30 of the union's minimal demands and broken off negotiations, leaving its own list of demands as a "last offer," after the November union meeting bargaining was resumed with the Metropolitan Taxicab Board of Trade on December 1. But both the drivers and garage workers—who were forced to work without a membership-approved contract for almost three years, in 1970-73, before the worst settlement ever negotiated for NYC cabbies was forced down their throats—are wondering how long the impasse will continue this time.

### Taxi Fleets Breaking Up

Drivers in NYC's fleet taxi industry face conditions today that are worse than at any time since the Great Depression. Then, simply in order to keep their jobs cabbies would often "ride the ghost"—turning in money for imaginary fares out of their own pockets. During the last three years the fleet taxi industry has closed 24 garages, selling 3,000 cabs to non-unionized owner-operators. These cabs represented almost *half* the total number of fleet taxis, or more than 12,000 full- and part-time union jobs on all shifts.

At many garages the shape-up to get a cab now lasts three or four hours each day, while harassment, favoritism and arbitrary firings have grown apace. Veteran full-timers with regularly assigned cabs are harassed for higher meter bookings, and in many cases are being replaced with younger drivers who, on a part-time schedule, can put in longer and more "productive" days. Moreover, in the present negotiations management is pushing a "pilot" leasing program which will mean further speed-up, still longer hours and ultimately the destruction of the union. Yet the bosses themselves admit that they currently have "the highest income operating conditions ever available to the industry" (*Taxi News*, 1 December).

General insecurity in the NYC job market has made owning a cab seem an attractive prospect to many working people who can scrape together their life savings to make a down payment for a taxi medallion. Thus bids on medallions (saleable licenses to own yellow cabs) have recently risen to over $25,000 each. These same medallions were first issued by the city to owners of cabs in 1937 for a token price of $10 each! Prices of medallions rose constantly until 1964 when they reached an all-time high, but then began to decline with the racial tension of the mid- and late 1960's. By 1971, when non-medallioned gypsy drivers had taken over much of the business in black and Puerto Rican neighborhoods where yellow cab drivers refused to work, the price of a medallion had fallen to $12,500.

Now, with the recent (and probably temporary) rise in value, many owners are selling their medallions and moving their capital into other businesses. When the fleet bosses found a way to get around the 1937 Hass Act (which had frozen the number of owner-operator medallions and forbidden the sale of fleet medallions to individuals) by the establishment of "mini-fleets" of two owners with two cabs, the floodgates broke. Since then half of Local 3036 has been swept away and now the union must fight for its very existence.

But the Van Arsdale leadership is neither willing nor able to fight the bosses. At last May's general membership meeting, for example, the bureaucrats voted against a motion which merely called for a union demonstration against sales to "minis," on the grounds that medallions were the owners' property with which they could legally do whatever they pleased! Their strategy of reliance on the "basically decent, reasonable men on the other side" (as one Local 3036 vice president described the fleet owners to *WV*), on the Taxi and Limousine Commission and on the bourgeois courts has reduced the union to its present desperate straits.

### Taxi Rank and File Coalition: Syndicalist Hodgepodge

The November 22 meeting, with its militant vote of no confidence in the bureaucrats' contract motion, could have become a decisive turning point in the union's history—if a disciplined class-struggle caucus had been there to lead the fight. But the opportunity was lost in the hands of the inept New Left Taxi Rank and File Coalition, a five-year-old opposition group in the Local which played the most prominent role in the "no" vote. After the bureaucrats' motion was defeated, Taxi Rank and File had none of its own to present in its place. Instead of putting Van Arsdale's cronies on the spot, with hardly a word of protest Taxi Rank and File meekly allowed them to withdraw.

The Coalition preferred instead to try (with notable lack of success) to hold together a rump meeting of the 500 or so members who remained behind. The group did manage to push through a motion calling for an adventurist wildcat strike in one week's time if the union officials did not bring back a better offer from the bosses. But nothing was done to try to win the backing of the whole local for a strike vote, or for the creation of an elected strike committee which is key to taking control of the bargaining out of the bureaucracy's hands. All that ensued from what could have been a significant defeat for the bureaucrats was a few planning meetings for a demonstration outside the site of the contract negotiations on December 9.

Taxi Rank and File is a grab bag of petty-bourgeois radicals that has at one time or another contained supporters of virtually every ostensibly revolutionary organization in the U.S., with the exception of the Spartacist League. Making a fetish out of its lack of discipline ("we have no leaders," Coalition members proudly proclaim), the group's ineffectiveness has led it to doubt the need for socialists to work in the trade unions at all. Thus the Coalition's newspaper, *Hot Seat*, wrote in its October-November 1976 issue:

> "...former Rank and File Coalition members who were on [union shop] committees felt handicapped by being identified as 'the union' and therefore not trusted by other workers. These views are not unanimously held in the Coalition... But, we are frankly unsure if it is possible to work within the framework of unions as they now stand...."

While Rank and File claims its doubts about the unions flow from the bureaucrats' opportunism, what could be more opportunist than its own impotent call for a wildcat strike *which the Coalition had no intention of carrying out*? Immediately after the rump meeting, prominent Rank and File members admitted to *WV* that they were not committed, and felt no obligation, to carry out such an action. It is the bureaucrats' stock-in-trade to demagogically push through votes they never intend to implement. The Rank and File also claims to oppose Van Arsdale's collaboration with the fleet owners. But what could be more class-collaborationist than the Coalition's own policy of calling on the bosses to intervene in union affairs? After having brought a suit against the union over the last contract, the Rank and File is now appealing to the NLRB against the union's "harassment" of its members.

While many Rank and File sympathizers are personally disgusted with the out-of-office bureaucrats in another Local 3036 opposition group, the Watchdog Committee, there is little difference between the program of the two groups. Both say they are against leasing and mini-fleets (which even the union leadership claims to oppose), but neither has any strategy to stop them. Nor do they have any program to recoup the 10,000 jobs already lost, or to create more jobs for the unemployed. Rather than the Rank and File program of minimal reform demands for today and maximal calls for socialism in the distant future, what is needed is a program of class-struggle demands which could lead the union ranks to militant battle with the capitalist system.

The Spartacist League has called for just such a transitional program including such demands as: a city-wide union strike against leasing and sales to mini-fleets; for municipalization of the taxi industry—expropriate the fleets—no compensation to fleet owners; the city must buy back the medallions of owner-operators—cancel debts on operator-mortgaged medallions; abolition of the meter commission system—for a straight hourly wage; unionize the gypsy cabs—for a joint union contract fight with city transit workers; oust the bureaucrats—build a workers party based on the trade unions—forward to a workers government! ■

UPI

# Free Wendy Yoshimura!

OAKLAND, December 6—Wendy Yoshimura went on trial here last month on charges of possessing explosives and a machine gun. A victim of bourgeois hysteria surrounding the crazed, killer-cult Symbionese Liberation Army (SLA) since she was arrested last September along with millionaire heiress Patricia Hearst, Yoshimura faces no charges in connection with possible association with the SLA. In the trial, the government is charging that she is linked to an attempt to blow up an ROTC building at the Berkeley campus of the University of California.

The prosecution has attempted to paint a lurid picture of her as part of a terrorist gang which planned to wage "an all out war against society" (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 5 December). The government claims that besides the abortive attempt on the ROTC building, the group also made a "target" of Berkeley's Naval Building and Space Science Laboratory and attempted to assemble a dossier on then-Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara, including photographs of his vacation home in Aspen, Colorado.

In the words of her lawyer James Larson, the government's legal case against Yoshimura is nothing but "innuendos and disconnected facts." While Yoshimura has readily admitted that she rented the garage where the police found the explosives, press reports indicate that her fingerprints have been found only on artists supplies, a copy of *Quotations from Chairman Mao* and a postcard placing an order for brochures on guerrilla warfare.

The government's real purpose in prosecuting Yoshimura is to strike a belated but vicious blow at all who struggled against U.S. imperialism's war on the Vietnamese workers and peasants. This case is an excellent example of bourgeois "justice": the saturation bombing of millions of Vietnamese is defended vengefully against those suspected of threatening a building symbolic of imperialism's vicious war. Those who are clearly guilty of tapping phones, spying illegally on the left, labor, black, women's, radical—and even not so radical—movements are, in the words of the prosecuting attorney, "truly horrified" at the possible existence of a dossier on mass murderer McNamara

Although the case against Yoshimura is flimsy, the effort to railroad her into jail is substantial. Unlike the prodigal daughter returned home to Randolph and Katherine Hearst, Yoshimura has been persecuted by the government from the beginning. "Patty," now out of jail on $1.5 million in bail easily raised by her super-rich family, lives in a plush hotel suite. But when Yoshimura was picked up in September, she was held on $100,000 bail, prohibitive for the daugh-

ter of a Fresno, California gardener.

While her rich companion saw her parents every day, Yoshimura was held behind the wire barriers of Santa Rita prison farm. But the plight of Yoshimura, who was born in a "relocation" concentration camp during World War II, evoked bitter memories among Japanese-Americans of their own racist victimization, and they responded with a flood of defense contributions, making it possible for Yoshimura to be released on bail.

Our defense of Yoshimura is in sharp contrast with our condemnation of the degenerate, irrational, cultist gang of the SLA, whose first public act was the pointless, vindictive murder of a black school superintendent. The SLA was never part of the left, but Wendy Yoshimura in 1972 was. Marxists oppose individual terror as a generally ineffective and self-defeating tactic, but—unlike the indiscriminate terror of the SLA—attacks on the symbols of imperialist oppression are not crimes from the standpoint of the working class. That is why we defend not only Yoshimura but also her three companions, who pleaded guilty after their arrest in 1972. *Drop the charges against Willie Brandt, Paul Rubenstein and Michael Bortin! Free Wendy Yoshimura!*

# Marine Brass Covers for Klan

LOS ANGELES, December 6—In the last week the press has reported an attempt by the military brass to cover up the surfacing of the fascist Ku Klux Klan on Camp Pendleton Marine Base near San Diego. Pendleton, home port for the U.S. Marine Corps on the Pacific Coast, houses 32,000 Marines, 6,000 of them black.

The Klan has apparently been pushing its race-hate filth for some time, unhindered by Marine authorities. But what triggered the publicity was an incident on November 13 when, according to published reports, 14 black Marines, armed with clubs and screwdrivers, broke into a barracks room where a group of white Marines, alleged to be Klan members, were meeting. Six of the whites ended up in the hospital.

The black soldiers are now in prison

Burk Uzzle

where they are being held virtually incommunicado, on charges of assault and conspiracy to commit assault. In an interview with *WV*, San Diego Urban League director Clarence Pendleton said that the arrested blacks were being defended by Marine Corps-appointed lawyers.

The first hearing, equivalent to a grand jury proceeding, was held today for three of the black Marines. All three were granted continuances for one week.

Camp Pendleton authorities have claimed the whites were not Klan members. But only hours after the November 13 incident, a search by Navy security of an adjoining room to where the whites were meeting revealed Klan literature, various weapons, including a .357 Magnum revolver, and a local KKK membership list with the names of 16 Marines.

For almost three weeks, Marine Corps brass had been stonewalling any suggestion of Klan activity on the base, even with evidence of mounting activity by several fascist groups in the area. This included distribution of racist propaganda on the base, public announcements of KKK meetings and the attempted firebombing of Urban League offices in nearby Oceanside. Even while the Marine Corps transferred the 16 Marines on the list to other bases, camp officials tried to hush up the incident.

They admitted the KKK presence

*continued on pag 10*

## Workers Democracy Defended in Los Angeles

# WL Goon Assault Backfires

LOS ANGELES, December 4—Spartacist League reporters and salesmen were wantonly attacked today by club-wielding Workers Leaguers outside the WL's poorly attended "Fifth Anniversary Conference and Disco" held at the Twilight Zone Bar in the Inglewood section of Los Angeles. The WL's Healyite goons were courageously repulsed by defenders of workers democracy. Finally the frustrated WLers took refuge behind the "protecting" mantle of the racist L.A. cops.

The incident began as SL supporters outside the bar were selling *WV* and

WV Photo

WL goon screams, "We don't want your cameras here."

*Australasian Spartacist* detailing Healyite thug attacks on Spartacists and other leftists in Australia (see *WV* No. 134, 19 November). Anticipating possible trouble from the notorious political bandits of the WL, who have repeatedly provoked similar confrontations in L.A. and elsewhere, the *WV* salesmen were accompanied by SLers and others who support the right of working-class tendencies to distribute their literature and who oppose thug violence within the workers movement.

Shouting "We don't want your cameras here," a frenzied WL goon lunged at a *WV* photographer. Then a gang of WL thugs brandishing wooden clubs and jagged broken pool cues attempted unsuccessfully to assault the photographer. After a brief scuffle during which a plate glass door was broken, the Healyite goons were repulsed and retreated into the bar. The SL supporters resumed selling their literature. Then "somebody" called the cops. Four squad cars arrived, accompanied by a police helicopter overhead. Recent WL congressional candidate Sheila Leburg brazenly accused the SL of attempting to "disrupt" the meeting.

Not even by hiding behind the cops can the WL shield itself from the revolutionary criticism of the Spartacist League. Working-class militants must continue to instruct the WL hooligans in the principle of workers democracy. Stalin-style gangsterism and attempts to suppress the expression of political views must be expunged from the workers movement!

WV Photo

Healyite thugs attack WV salesmen in L.A. December 4.

## BOYCOTT THE FRANCOIST REFERENDUM!

The article "Massive Strikes in Spain Say No to Francoist Monarchy" in our last issue (*WV* No. 136, 3 December) contained a political confusion between calls for *boycotting* and *abstaining* in the phony Juan Carlos referendum on parliamentary reform. While the headline and text correctly called for a boycott (refusing to go to the polls), the text also uses the term abstention (in this case casting blank ballots).

Faced with the Spanish working masses' burning desire for democratic liberties, the referendum is simply an attempt to give the aura of popular legitimization to a scheme for modifying the bonapartist regime. Thereby its authors hope to head off the threat of a proletarian revolution which would destroy the dictatorship root and branch. Moreover, the Spanish workers have no loyalty to the Francoist regime nor illusions in the efficacy of its "elections" or "referenda."

Therefore, the proper demand for revolutionaries to raise is to *boycott* the sham referendum; to call for abstention already goes part way toward acceptance of the "reformed" Francoist regime. Instead Trotskyists call for linking up the tempestuous strike struggles into a revolutionary offensive to topple the reactionary dictatorship; raise the demand for a democratically elected constituent assembly against the various schemes for a "reformed" Cortes (parliament); and struggle to build the soviets which can detonate the proletarian revolution and become the basis of a workers republic which will sweep away the filth and stench of 40 years of Francoist rule once and for all.


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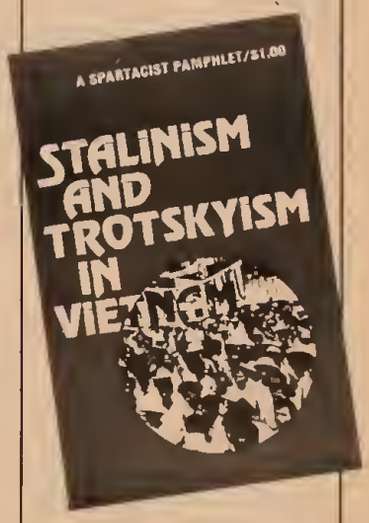


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# 11 Million Out of Work...

*(continued from page 1)*

price hike was also a deliberate challenge to president-elect Carter. In fact one of the first actions of the steel makers after announcing the increase was to volunteer a delegation to discuss the matter with Carter.

Business leaders, weighing the Democrats' heavy support from organized labor during the election, want to force the new administration into taking an early firm stand against the union. Steel executives, in particular, are concerned about contracts in their own industry which expire next year. With the leadership of the Steelworkers (USWA) being contested between I.W. Abel-loyalist Lloyd McBride and challenger Ed Sadlowski, the steel barons are not certain that the union bureaucracy is solid enough to control the rank and file.

Steel makers want Carter to play an interventionist role in the contract negotiations. The price hike is in part a warning to the Democratic president-elect that big capital will not cooperate with his economic policies unless he exercises a strong restraining hand on labor.

There is a precedent for steel price hikes as a means of putting pressure on a Democratic administration. In 1962 there was a celebrated confrontation between U.S. president Kennedy and Roger Blough, then chairman of U.S. Steel, over an announced price hike. This confrontation took place shortly after a USWA contract had been negotiated in accord with Kennedy's informal "wage guidelines." The union accepted no wage increase at all, and only modest improvements in fringe benefits. When the steel cartel subsequently announced its price increase, a wave of resentment swept through the Steelworkers ranks.

Kennedy eventually "jawboned" Blough & Co. into retracting the price increase, an accomplishment which won him an undeserved reputation as an opponent of monopolistic business practices. In exchange, Kennedy gave the steel corporations his support for an investment tax credit, accelerated depreciation allowances and other profit-boosting tax dodges.

More importantly, Kennedy emerged from the confrontation with increased authority to enforce his wage guidelines on labor. As liberal journalist Murray Kempton noted: "The most significant comment on U.S. Steel's capitulation was made by Labor Secretary Goldberg, who said that now he had an example with which to hold the unions in line" (*New York Post*, 17 April 1962). And, in fact, Kennedy was largely successful in imposing his wage guidelines.

### Carter, Meany and Wage Controls

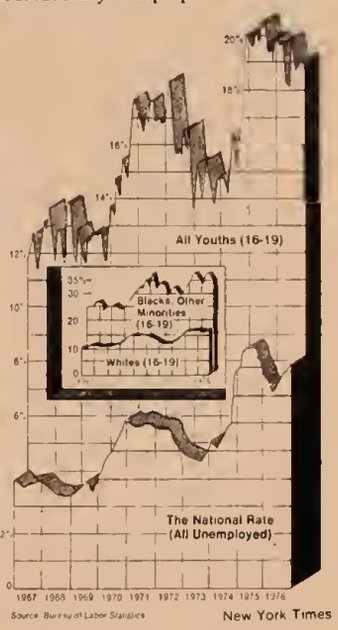
The steel price hike has provoked a new round of discussion about instituting wage/price controls. While Carter criticized the steel price hike, he insisted that he had no intention of seeking mandatory controls. Such controls are unpopular now with most of the ruling class as well as the labor bureaucracy following their total ineffectiveness in curbing inflation under Nixon. Carter would prefer to rely on informal, preferably secret, agreements with union leaders to hold down wage demands.

AFL-CIO president George Meany is certainly willing to participate in discussions with the White House over wage/price guidelines or controls. At a press conference shortly after the election, Meany said that if such discussions were held, "We will be here" (*New York Times*, 11 November). He also went out of his way to stress that he was making no demands on Carter.

Under a Republican administration, labor bigwigs like Meany, Woodcock and Fitzsimmons all participated on Nixon's Pay Board. While Meany eventually walked off and issued some blustering denunciations of Nixon "unfairness," neither he nor any other labor leader ever led a concerted struggle against wage controls. The core of the bureaucracy remains equally willing today to subordinate the interests of the working class to the bosses through the mediation of the capitalist state. In fact, wage guidelines or even mandatory controls remain a distinct fallback alternative under Carter if the labor bureaucracy is unable to keep the lid on its ranks.

### Steelworkers Elections

The issue of government intervention in the labor movement is very much on the order of the day, and nowhere more sharply than in the important upcoming elections for USWA president. "Rebel" Ed Sadlowski and the ossified Abel bureaucracy both perpetuate illusions in




New York Times

the capitalist government. Not only did Sadlowski support Carter, but he has consistently based his campaigns on using the bourgeois government against his opponents.

His election as head of the Chicago-area Steelworkers District 31 was effected through a Labor Department-ordered rerun election. Recently Sadlowski won a suit against the USWA leadership, obtaining the right for both himself and McBride to one mailing to the membership at union expense. The ruling also cited *Steel Labor*, the USWA newspaper, for being a factional tool of the Abel bureaucracy and gave the state a role in determining what the union newspaper can or cannot print.

Steelworker militants must ask themselves how Sadlowski, if elected, would act toward the capitalist politicians and government officials he supports and works closely with today. If today Sadlowski works hand-in-glove with the Labor Department against Abel, then tomorrow he will collaborate with the government of big business in suppressing the steelworkers' struggles. This was precisely the course followed by Arnold Miller of the Mine Workers, who began by utilizing the Labor Department to get himself elected and subsequently joined with the state in enforcing court injunctions against wildcatting miners. Even on the issue of Abel's notorious no-strike Experimental Negotiating Agreement (ENA), which he claims to oppose, Sadlowski has argued that it is "legal" and must be enforced until 1980!

Unemployment, inflation and imperialist war cannot be ended by supporting pro-capitalist union bureaucrats—whether reactionaries like Meany or "reformers" like Sadlowski—who all endorse nationalist protectionism and "friend of labor" capitalist politicians like Carter. Militants must reject these misleaders and instead regroup themselves around a program of working-class independence. Capitalist government must be kept out of the unions! No to wage controls and guidelines!■

# Protest Nobel Prize for Junta Braintruster!

WV Photo

**As Chicago's glittering "elite" stepped out of limousines in front of the Conrad Hilton Hotel December 3 to attend a dinner honoring Nobel economics prize winner Milton Friedman, they were met by a militant demonstration initiated by the Spartacus Youth League (SYL). Chanting "Friedman's 'Achievement': Starvation in Chile" and carrying banners proclaiming "Down With Milton Friedman—Apartheid's Apologist, Pinochet's Braintruster!" approximately 20 protesters, including members of the Labor Struggle Caucus of UAW Local 6 and the Red Rose Bookstore collective, picketed this "establishment" gala.**

**For the past year the SYL has campaigned against Friedman, both at the University of Chicago and throughout the country, publicly exposing his direct collaboration with the bloodthirsty Chilean junta. Along with his former students, known in Chile as the "Chicago Boys," he has been the brains behind the junta's economic "shock treatment" which has thrown tens of thousands of Chilean workers on the streets and caused mass starvation in the shantytowns around Santiago. Friedman has also praised the racist apartheid regimes in South Africa and Rhodesia as bulwarks against Communism in Africa.**

**In an incredibly sectarian move, the Stalinist-dominated Chicago Committee to Save Lives in Chile held a smaller demonstration down the sidewalk from the main gathering and ignored repeated appeals from the SYL for a joint demonstration. When asked why the group wouldn't join the others, one Committee member suggested they would if the SYL took down its "awful" signs!**

**The liberals and Stalinists objected to the slogans "Smash Apartheid—for Proletarian Revolution in South Africa!" and "For a Workers Revolution to Crush the Chilean Junta!" In a leaflet passed out that night, they whined that Friedman "has brought dishonor to the University of Chicago and to the meaning of the Nobel Prize"! In contrast, the SYL denounced the award of the imperialist prize to this collaborator of the jackals of the Chilean junta as an affront and a provocation to the international working class.**

# Marine Brass...

*(continued from page 9)*

only after David Duke, a national Klan leader, and Marine corporal Dan Bailey, the KKK's local "exalted cyclops," began publicizing the group's activity at the base. Klan leaders claim many more "secret" members among the Marines. Bailey, who says he wears "robes and hood just like the Klan always has," boasts that the Klansmen at Pendleton are armed and organized. "We don't have any jets or bombers or tanks, but we do have all the weapons we need; we're all armed and we're very capable of using our weapons."

For public relations' sake, Bailey has since been transferred to North Carolina. Major General Carl Hoffman said in an interview that membership in the Klan is "not contrary to the laws of our land, but we say it was desirable to transfer some of the members in the interest of furthering our human relations effort...."

It is not merely because the Marine Corps tolerates the presence of these fascist scum that the Klan has surfaced at Camp Pendleton; notorious for the brutality of its training, the whole Marine "esprit de corps" as an elite unit of marauding imperialist killers fosters such racist reactionaries. But with the Marine Corps now roughly 20 percent black (the highest percentage of any of the armed forces), open activity by the Klan becomes a public relations embarrassment and a problem for troop morale.

At today's hearing in San Diego, the Progressive Labor Party-led Committee Against Racism (CAR) set up a picket line of about 15 people outside base headquarters. When fascist demagogue David Duke arrived at the building, he was recognized and one woman from the CAR picket line reportedly attacked him with her picket sign while other picketers chanted "Death to the Klan." No one was arrested but the demonstrators were forced to disperse by the Military Police, who thus defended Duke's small group of fascists.

Unlike reformists and liberal civil libertarians (such as the ACLU, to whom the KKK is appealing) Marxists do not defend the supposed "rights" of fascists. On the contrary, we demand that the 14 black Marines accused of the "crime" of reacting against racist terrorists be immediately released and all charges against them dropped!■

## NOTICE

*Workers Vanguard* is published bi-weekly in December. The next issue will be dated 24 December 1976.

# Japan...

*(continued from page 12)*

the fact that he is a "self-made man." But this status is common to most LDP leaders, who are *nouveaux riches*. Before the war the handful of ruling families—most notably, Mitsuhishi, Mitsui, Sumitomo, Yasuda—ran the country as *zaibatsu* (familial trust houses). As noted by the *New York Times*: "Before the war Japanese politicians usually were wealthy men for whom bribes were unnecessary" (22 August). The *zaibatsu* have given way to control through banking; but Japanese capital is no less concentrated, the economic grip of the ruling families no less tight, and their rule through the LDP no less effective. The style has changed.

Today in the absence of competing bourgeois parties, particular capitalist interests are normally expressed through Liberal Democratic factions built by leading politicians. Traditional patterns of client-patron fealty have been grafted onto the parliamentary system through these permanent factions. In a public rebuke of Miki, party elder Shigeru Hori reminded the prime minister that the LDP "is not based on ideology or logic. Rather, it is founded upon human relationships and love of the party" (*Los Angeles Times*, 7 September).

The peasantry, which is the LDP's securest political base, believe, not without reason, that the slightest wavering in support for their regular MP's will lead to a cut in government services and/or the loss of seasonal jobs controlled by LDP-loyal businessmen and contractors. Political aspirants and officeholders attach themselves to one faction or another in order to receive funds to run their campaigns and to spread among their local party workers.

Political bribery is virtually indistinguishable from ordinary corporate contributions, particularly since the bulk of it is poured into favored factions rather than the central party coffers. Moreover, many forms of corporate kick-backs are not even illegal. In 1972, the Ministry of International Trade and Industry compiled a 70-page booklet entitled *Rebate Systems in Japan* containing virtually all the information needed by a foreign businessman eager to buy his way into the Japanese market with a few well-placed gifts.

While the scandal is the immediate cause of the LDP's electoral losses, the erosion of the party's support was well underway long before the revelations. In fact, the re-election of Tanaka along with a second indicted MP and a number of the so-called "gray officials" indicates that even the Lockheed affair has not seriously disturbed many of the party's absolutely safe rural constituencies. Nevertheless, as in Italy (where another Lockheed scandal played a major role in weakening the grip of the entrenched Christian Democrats), when the ruling party has been built around its control of political patronage, prospects of electoral or parliamentary defeat could lead to a disintegration of the LDP as the "families" jockey to save their factional fortunes.

### The Opposition Jockies for Position

The LDP's declining fortunes can be traced fundamentally to the economic growth of the 1960's and early 1970's which speeded the urbanization and proletarianization of the population. Collectively, the opposition parties are far stronger than the ruling party in the cities. In capturing municipal governments, the opposition parties have made important inroads into the patronage system on which LDP support depends.

Increasingly the newly uprooted peasantry has flocked to the Komeito, a party formed in the mid-1960's by the Buddhist sect Soka Gakkai. The Komeito is built less on lines of personal loyalty than on attempts to mobilize the poorer urban petty-bourgeoisie around a vague program of government and tax reform. The reformist workers parties hold the allegiance of urban workers with their particular bases connected to structural divisions within the proletariat. The right-wing Democratic Socialist Party (DSP) is influential among workers in private industry (represented by the Domei labor federation) with its strong paternalist traditions, while the JSP and JCP have their strength among more militant public sector workers (in the JSP-led Sohyo labor federation).

The steady electoral decline of the ruling party has buoyed the reformists' hopes of creating a niche for themselves in a bourgeois coalition government. The JSP's "National Unification Program" and the JCP's "Platform for a Democratic Coalition Government" represent attempts (of several years' standing) to create a popular front roughly modeled on the French Union of the Left.

The greatest obstacle to an inclusive opposition bloc is the rigorous anti-communism of the Komeito and DSP and those parties' hopes of a parliamentary alliance with the shaky LDP. In recent years the Komeito and DSP have blocked with the LDP in a number of municipal contests against joint JSP/JCP candidates. In the complex pre-election maneuvering, the JCP evidenced particular fear of being frozen out of an opposition bloc through the alliance of the right-wing (Eda faction) of the JSP with the DSP and Komeito. This fluid line-up was formalized to a degree in the Forum to Study a New Japan, which has been keenly eyeing for months the possibility that Miki would lead his significant minority out of the LDP and join with a liberal-leftist bloc.

Last week, Tomomi Narita, chairman of the somewhat leftist JSP, told reporters:

> "A dispute is going on over whether the Socialists should join forces with the Communist Party or with the Komeito party and the Democratic Socialist Party. But now is the time for all opposition parties to iron out minor differences of opinion for their best common interests."
>
> —*Daily Yomuri*, 2 December

Narita proposed a post-election meeting of all opposition parties, indicating that participation even by the New Liberal Club, which merely wants to "revitalize" the conservative LDP with younger politicians, "is considered desirable." But even while calling for unity with the JCP, Narita ensured that the Stalinists' parliamentary strength would be curtailed when the JSP and Komeito concluded an electoral no-contest agreement on November 28.

To boost its respectablility and placate the DSP and Komeito, the JCP (which has an "independent" parliamentarist outlook similar to the "Eurocommunist" parties) has backed away from principled opposition to the U.S.-Japan security treaty and gone all-out in aiding the social democrats to restrain the restive proletariat on the economic front. On the eve of the election, JCP chairman Kenji Miyamoto proposed establishment of a "stopgap" government of all forces united around three common goals—full disclosure of the truth about the Lockheed affair, the "struggle against fascism" and "improvement of the people's living conditions."

According to the English-language *Daily Yomiuri* (2 December), "In listing the objectives of the proposed stopgap government, Miyamoto said that he removed the abrogation of the Japan-U.S. security treaty from the objectives in order to make it easier to rally forces for the establishment of such a government." The worried Miyamoto also said that his party was ready to back Narita for prime minister.

In dropping the issue of the U.S.-Japan treaty altogether, the JCP actually placed itself to the right of the JSP-Komeito agreement, which included a proposal to "abrogate" the treaty "through diplomatic negotiations after obtaining the understanding and agreement of the people." While denouncing the "intrusion" of Lockheed funds as an "attempt to revive militarism" through promoting big sales of military aircraft, the Stalinists sidestep the most important expression of the integration of Japanese imperialism into the worldwide U.S.-led military alliances against the Soviet bloc.

The heightened class struggle in recent years added to the reformists' optimistic expectations that even the hidebound Japanese bourgeoisie would perceive the necessity of making concessions to the workers parties in return for maintenance of labor discipline. The economic downturn of 1974-75, following on the heels of the 1973 oil crisis, sent shock waves through Japanese society. Sky-rocketing inflation ate at the vitals of the export-oriented economy. For the first time layoffs hit industries which traditionally maintain their workers' loyalties with guaranteed lifetime employment.

In 1974 the JCP helped defuse the massive "Spring struggle campaign," waged each year when national trade union agreements simultaneously expire, by appealing to striking teachers to return to work because of their "sacred duty" to "maintain order in the schools." Last winter the social-democratic and Stalinist trade-union leaders of the Sohyo federation buckled under a government hard-line and called off an eight-day-old strike of government workers that had crippled much of the nations' transport and communications.

Collapse on the key issue of that struggle—recognition of government workers' right to strike—paved the way for further capitulation in this spring's massive strike of unions representing 8.7 million members. The government and private railway workers unions spearheaded the joint union campaign by launching a projected three-day strike in late April. Left-talking bureaucrats vowed to break the 10-percent limit on wage increases announced by the employers federation. But after only two days, the private railway unions accepted a 9.2 percent mediation offer. A few hours later, the National Enterprise Labor Relations Commission invoked its powers of compulsory arbitration and forced the national railway and public corporation employees to accept an average 8.8 percent increase. Leaders of the public workers unions caved in rather than wage an illegal strike.

Not only did the Stalinists and social democrats betray the union members in the spring strikes, at no time did they attempt to utilize the massive class confrontation to bring down the corrupt and crisis-ridden government. Such timid economism in the labor movement is the obverse side of the parliamentary cretinism of the reformist workers parties.

The decline of the LDP has brought the issue of the popular front to the fore in the workers movement. Only the most intransigent struggle against this class collaborationism can politically arm the working class to fight for power in its own name. Thus the principled position for a revolutionary party in the elections was refusal to extend the slightest support to the reformist workers parties so long as they maintain the perspective of bourgeois coalitionism.

Japan is ripe today for the intervention of revolutionary Trotskyists. Just as the LDP's political hammerlock on national government is being pried loose by deep-going societal changes in conjunction with economic crisis and the Lockheed and other scandals, conditions which favored reformist hegemony among the proletariat are being rapidly undermined. As the opportunist policies of the reformist union leaders prove impotent to defend the workers' living standards and JCP/JSP leaders abandon the struggle against militarism and U.S. imperialism in the hopes of a deal with the Komeito, the Japanese proletariat will be increasingly receptive to the revolutionary program of Trotskyism.■


**Just Out!**

**WOMEN AND REVOLUTION**

**No. 13**

*Contents:*

- Before "Socialist Realism" in the Soviet Union
- On "Gay Liberation": A Marxist Analysis
- Seattle Radical Women
- Women Scapegoated for Rising Unemployment
- DEFEND: — Susan Saxe — Johnny Ross — Yvonne Wanrow

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# USec/OCI...

*(continued from page 3)*

posture of anti-Pabloism to pursue the SWP (which stood with the anti-revisionists until its 1963 reunification with Mandel, Frank & Co. to form the USec). Under this formally orthodox cover, the OCI solidarizes with the SWP in its opposition to the USec majority *from the right*. Thus OCI head Lambert wrote to the SWP on 23 July 1976 that:

> "there is a revisionist current in the ranks of the Fourth International, which we noted and characterized together ever since 1950-53; that this revisionist current has not been disarmed can be noted from the struggle that you, the SWP, have been waging since 1969 in the ranks of the United Secretariat and from the struggle which, on our side, the OCI has been waging...."

Orthodox phraseology notwithstanding, the OCI appears to be rushing down the path to reformism taken by the SWP some 15 years ago.

The French LCR has for now succeeded in blocking an expansion of its scotch-tape international to include the OCI and its friends, whose weight combined with that of the SWP wing might shift the balance of power within the USec. The LCR majority in effect demands that the OCI openly renounce even a verbal anti-Pabloist orthodoxy in order to get back into the zoo.

It is anybody's guess whether the OCI will accede to this ultimatum. But by signing a declaration which accepted the USec's claim to be the Fourth International and characterized USec sections as "revolutionary" organizations, the OCI has already all but signed away its years of struggle against Pabloism.

These pitiful attempts at forming a new London Bureau only highlight the principled struggle of the international Spartacist tendency to reforge the Fourth International as a politically homogeneous, democratic-centralist body based on the program of authentic Trotskyism. We are proud of our principled struggle against revisionism and we solidarize with the anti-Pabloist French majority of 25 years ago which addressed these words to Ernest Mandel:

> "Playing tricks with ideas, consciously making unprincipled blocs by renouncing any defense of one's ideas, putting organizational 'combinations' before clarification, this is a very serious disorder, which calls for the most explicit reservations concerning the 'leader' who shows symptoms of it... for us the International is not built by maneuvers, and especially not by your ridiculous maneuvers."■

WORKERS VANGUARD

## Clean-Government Buddhists Campaign with SP

# Lockheed Elections in Japan

DECEMBER 6—Yesterday's parliamentary elections in Japan marked a signal defeat for the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP). Despite the expansion of the lower house of the Diet by 20 new seats, the conservative ruling party dropped from 265 to 248 members of parliament (MP's). For the first time in its 21-year history, the LDP has lost its absolute parliamentary majority.

The largest workers party, the Socialist Party (JSP), gained a few seats, as did the right-wing Democratic Socialist Party (DSP). The advances by the two social-democratic parties came largely at the expense of the Communist Party (JCP), which lost more than half its parliamentary strength despite pre-election hopes that its tame reformism would lead to a big boost in seats and possibly even a role in a new coalition government. The biggest advances, however, were made by the bourgeois opposition parties, the Buddhist-affiliated Komeito (Clean Government Party) and the New Liberal Club (NLC), formed by six dissident young Liberal Democratic MP's only this summer.

While the LDP will most likely remain in power with the support of a number of conservative independents and possibly the NLC, the party's setback will intensify its open factional warfare, perhaps heralding a major political realignment and the end of perennial one-party dominance of Japanese politics. A protracted governmental crisis in the midst of the Japanese bourgeoisie's drive to overcome the economic downturn by extracting greater surplus from the working masses could open the road to major class battles in the industrial powerhouse of Asia.

Asahi Shimbun

**Former prime minister Tanaka on way to jail in July.**

### The Lockheed Affair

The election took place against the backdrop of the ten-month-old Lockheed scandal. On February 4, a U.S. Senate subcommittee investigation disclosed that from 1958 to 1975 the giant American aircraft corporation had paid $12.6 million in bribes to various Japanese government officials as part of a free-spending campaign to boost its arms sales in a number of major countries. This revelation sparked the sharpest government crisis in 16 years, since the massive 1960 student and labor upheaval against the U.S. security treaty.

On one hand, Prime Minister Takeo Miki faced a parliamentary boycott by opposition parties along with left and labor demonstrations demanding a thorough investigation. On the other hand, party bosses expected him to shelter implicated LDP members just as timely intervention by past prime ministers had saved the careers of numerous politicians. But Miki's faltering attempts to placate the mass protests while containing the scandal have only resulted in greater erosion of the LDP's popular support and intensification of intra-party struggles. During the election campaign, separate campaign headquarters were maintained by Miki's supporters and several factions loosely joined in the Council for Party Unity behind his major LDP rival, Takeo Fukada.

To date, 18 prominent businessmen and politicians, including former prime minister Kakuei Tanaka and ultra-rightist millionaire power broker Yoshio Kodama, have been arrested. The government, however, has sought to limit the scope of the investigation and disclosures in a number of ways. Miki has resisted demands to release all the names of the so-called "gray officials," office holders who took Lockheed money but are safe from prosecution. Investigation of the links between Kodama, Lockheed's main financial conduit in Japan, and the CIA were also summarily ruled out of order.

Although Miki's precarious balancing act for several months staved off a coup by more powerful factions in the party, the magnitude of the LDP electoral setback will almost certainly lead to his ouster as prime minister. Already in late August Miki came within a hair's breadth of being deposed by a special LDP assembly. Two-thirds of the party's MP's and 15 of 20 cabinet members voted for a motion calling for new leadership. Only by allowing his opponents to take over key party posts and by threatening to dissolve the Diet and call early elections did the isolated prime minister force his critics to temporarily back down.

Miki's factional opponents, many of whom have weathered past scandals, openly expressed their outrage as the prosecutors' nets began to catch bigger fish. Naka Funada, a former speaker of the lower house, complained: "No other advanced industrial nation than Japan has devoted itself to the Lockheed affair for such a long period.... political considerations should be taken into account and the investigation should be concluded when it reaches a level people can accept" (*New York Times*, 25 August).

Despite his 40-year career as a conservative politician, Miki is regarded as a troublemaker by such hoary party bosses as Funada. He was installed as prime minister two years ago after Tanaka resigned in the midst of another financial scandal. Chosen not on the basis of his faction's strength but because of his reputation for personal honesty, Miki was expected to go through the motions of cleaning up the government without making any real changes. However, his tepid proposals for reforming traditional methods of political fund raising and tightening anti-monopoly laws brought howls of protest and a sharp drop in donations from the LDP's corporate backers.

AP

**Tokyo unionists demonstrate demanding investigation of Lockheed scandal last February.**

### Japan, Inc.

Miki's enemies in the party resolved to unseat him after Tanaka was clapped behind bars on July 27. While some bourgeois commentators have sought to portray Tanaka as a corrupter of Japanese politics—bringing in "dirty money" and foreign influence—he is only the most blatant example of the mutual greasing of palms that is the lifeblood of post-war Japanese politics under the LDP.

Kawabata/Black Star

**Prime Minister Miki**

To charges that he had accepted $1.7 million in Lockheed bribes, members of Tanaka's following replied that this was only a minuscule fraction of his total wealth. "The prize carp in his pond in Tokyo are worth twice that much," said one supporter. Against allegations that their mentor was unusually zealous in enriching himself through rake-offs on construction jobs, export licenses, land reclamation schemes and the like, Tanaka defenders claim his earnings were negligible compared to those of post-war prime ministers on reparations deals with the Philippines and trade commissions with Korea (*Guardian* [London], 17 August 1976).

**Seats Won in Elections to the Lower House of the Japanese Diet**

| | 1972 | 1976 |
|---|---|---|
| Liberal Democratic Party | 271 | 249 |
| Socialist Party | 118 | 123 |
| Communist Party | 38 | 17 |
| Komeito | 29 | 55 |
| Democratic Socialist Party | 19 | 29 |
| New Liberal Club | — | 17 |
| Independents | 16 | 21 |

Tanaka's main asset in the factional intrigue in the LDP has been his facility in raising the hefty amounts needed to ensure the loyalties of his political supporters in the party and the Diet. His major fund raiser was Henji Osano, a large shareholder in All Nippon Airways and other airlines. Acting on behalf of the rightist Kodama, Osano arranged a meeting in 1972 between Tanaka and A. C. Kotchian, president of Lockheed. This contact eventually resulted in a major sale of Lockheed's Tri Star jets to the All Nippon Airways. Richard Nixon also reportedly urged the deal in his October 1972 meeting with Tanaka in Hawaii (*New York Times*, 29 February; *Far Eastern Economic Review*, 6 August).

Tanaka's avarice is often ascribed to

*continued on page 11*

WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

No. 138 24 December 1976

## Stand-Off in Municipal Elections

# Portugal: Rightist Danger Behind the Calm

Portuguese president Eanes

Gamma

DECEMBER 15—Preparing for the third nationwide elections in a year (held last Sunday), Portuguese prime minister Mário Soares lauded the "stability" and "democracy" of his minority Socialist Party (PS) government as right-wing plotters stepped up their activities and workers protested the severe austerity measures. But Soares' anti-labor policies have not had the effect of restoring tranquility or shoring up "constitutional government." On the contrary, they have only whetted the appetite of the increasingly vocal extreme right, which is demanding the *saneamento* (purge) of leftists from all spheres of public activity. And although the test of strength between right and left in the elections ended in a standoff, the apparent calm at present is the shaky equilibrium of powerful forces at loggerheads with each other.

Despite the subsiding of mass struggles since the successful power grab by center and right-wing forces in the army last November 25, the protracted pre-revolutionary situation in Portugal continues. The "military left" is no longer a force to be reckoned with, but the workers (urban and rural) have not been dealt a sharp defeat. Cautious government attempts to restore occupied landed estates to their former owners and to break the Communist Party (PCP) hold on the Intersindical trade-union federation have been contained or rebuffed.

During October teachers, students and industrial workers demonstrated against the crackdown on university autonomy by the hated PS minister of education, Mário Sottomayor Cardio. In November tens of thousands of workers responded to calls by the PCP to protest price hikes, wage controls and cutbacks in government employment ordered by the Soares cabinet. Yet during the same period right-wing bomb attacks were launched at several Lisbon sites, including the home of the former minister of agriculture, a leader of the left wing of the PS.

In September, one gang of reactionary bombers (responsible for more than 200 attacks in the previous 17 months) was captured. Among those arrested was the police chief of Porto, Major Mota Freitas. Freitas is closely associated with the northern regional military commander, General Antonio Pires Veloso, and appeared with the latter at the reviewing stand during ceremonies celebrating the anniversary of November 25 (*Expresso*, 26 November). Pires Veloso, in turn, has been repeatedly linked to rumored coup plots. In early October 50 lower-level officers were arrested at a clandestine meeting allegedly sparked by complaints over lack of advancement (a cause championed by Pires, who has sought to arouse sentiment among former non-coms against the professional officers who led the Armed Forces Movement [MFA] which overthrew Caetano).

In the civilian right, the Social Democratic Center (CDS) and Social Democratic Party (PSD—formerly the Popular Democrats) have been calling for a government of the "presidential majority"—those parties that supported former armed forces chief of staff Ramalho Eanes in the June elections (PS, PSD and CDS). In the wake of polarization within the Socialist Party, the PSD and CDS have become more boisterous and are now calling for a military prime minister and a split in the PS. Eanes, for his part, has so far supported the Soares cabinet, but at a November 25 celebration warned that "the armed forces must stop being an excuse for inefficiency and indecision." Rumors circulated in Lisbon that if the Socialist vote dropped sharply in the December 12 municipal elections, Eanes might depose the prime minister and install a "non-party" government of technicians and military men.

### Electoral Impasse

Much to the chagrin of the Portuguese right, the elections for municipal councils indicated no significant movement in the political balance of forces during the last six months. The governing Socialists lost ground, although not significantly, and remained the largest party with 33 percent of the vote. The PCP-dominated "Povo Unido" (People United) electoral front showed an incremental gain in receiving slightly under 18 percent, while the PSD (with 24 percent) and the CDS (17 percent) were roughly stable. In contrast to the earlier elections, which attracted a heavy turnout, more than a third of the voters stayed away from the polls.

That the election results do not indicate political stabilization is demonstrated by the sharp divisions within the PS between the Soares majority and a strong left-wing minority based on the white collar unions (teachers and clerical workers). At the late October Socialist Party congress the minority was able to muster 25 percent of the delegate votes. Dissension centered around Soares' government program which called for restricting the right to strike, facilitating the firing of workers and removing the legal monopoly of the Intersindical labor federation.

Soares' commitment to "democracy" immediately found its expression in a cabinet reshuffling following the PS congress. The only "left-winger" in the government, minister of agriculture António Lopes Cardoso, was removed from all party bodies (whereupon he resigned from the cabinet) and five prominent party leaders (two parliamentary deputies and three trade unionists) were suspended. In the words of a key Soares supporter, Manuel Alegre, "What we need is a November 25 in our party."

The PCP went into the municipal elections hoping to re-establish a base for entry into the government. Following the April 1974 coup, the PCP managed to capture most of the old municipal councils and clean out Salazarist officials. In December, hoping to capitalize on residual authority they had maintained in the councils, the Stalinists "united" with their earlier petty-bourgeois "democratic" electoral front and a split-off from the Socialists (the FSP) in the municipal elections.

The program of the "Povo Unido"

*continued on page 9*

## How Maoists "Restore Capitalism" in the Soviet Union . . . . . 6

A review of Martin Nicolaus' *Restoration of Capitalism in the USSR*

# 41 Come to Trial in January

# Defend Victimized ILWU Strike Militants!

WV Photo

**ILWU Local 6 pickets outside Automatic Plastic Molding June 15. Cops later charged line arresting 11 strikers.**

## Break the Anti-Union Offensive—Drop the Charges Now!

SAN FRANCISCO, December 20—Forty-one members of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) Locals 6 and 10 face trial next month on charges stemming from last June's master contract strike and related Bay Area walkouts. The various charges—ranging from misdemeanors to major felonies—threaten jail terms from several weeks up to life imprisonment in one case, and among those facing trial are Local 6 president Curtis McClain as well as rank-and-file militants including supporters of the Militant Caucus. Coming on the heels of the recent passage of a San Francisco city charter amendment outlawing public employees strikes and the murder of an ILWU picketer in the Handyman strike, the trials are clearly designed to extend the bourgeoisie's anti-strike offensive.

According to the latest issue of "Warehouse Militant" (16 December), published by the Militant Caucus, the pressing of charges goes directly against the amnesty which ILWU secretary treasurer Goldblatt had reported as part of the contract settlement last June. The employers are clearly violating the agreement in order to intimidate all potential strikers and picketers. For instance, 34 of the defendants, including McClain and business agent Al Lannon, are facing a possible year or more of jail on misdemeanor charges stemming from the strike action at Folger's, where picketers sat down in front of a scab truck convoy in the June strike. The "Warehouse Militant" reports that "In a deliberate slap at the union, five of these brothers were arrested *two months after the strike*, after already having been suspended without pay for up to four weeks" (emphasis in original).

WV Photo

**Stan Gow**

WV Photo

**John Dow**

Other cases reported by the Militant Caucus newsletter give a picture of the broad sweep of the employer attack: "Andy Sutter, chief steward at CPC, faces a possible six months to life sentence on a charge of 'assault with a deadly weapon'.... Jim Allen, Chief Steward at MJB, and Scott Craig, a red book member, who put himself on the line for the union, have each recently had three additional charges added to the original charges. Both face the possibility of a year or more on misdemeanor charges resulting from the events on the Golden Grain picket line.... Already two brothers from Haas Liquors in Union City have done jail time after the cops arrested them *on the job*! Several Teamsters have lost their jobs outright" (emphasis in original).

At Automatic Plastic Molding, where a three-month ILWU organizing drive was destroyed with the help of scabherding Berkeley police, many union members face charges stemming from a vicious unprovoked cop assault. Almost a dozen were forced to plead guilty to misdemeanors, resulting in fines and suspended sentences hanging over their heads. Newly elected general executive board member Tony Wilkinson was "offered" 45 days in jail.

Among the strike militants facing frame-up charges designed to cover up the police brutality at Automatic Plastic are John Dow, a member of the Militant Caucus in Local 6, and Stan Gow, publisher of "Longshore Militant," who have been charged with "assaulting a police officer." Gow is additionally charged with "attempted grand theft" on grounds he allegedly seized a cop's club because the cop was strangling Dow with it!

Gow is a member of the Local 10 executive board and had joined the Local 6 picket line after the board adopted his motion not to handle struck warehouse cargo and to mobilize longshoremen to help out on the warehouse picket line—a motion not enforced by the union bureaucracy. Dow is an 18-year member of the ILWU and a steward at Carnation. At present, both militants have been "offered" 15 days in jail and one year probation.

The "Warehouse Militant" reports that "One of the officers involved in the Dow/Gow case, Greg Dvorak was subsequently suspended from the Police Department for three days for sticking a gun to the head of an innocent black school employee after bursting into the UC [University of California] Child Care Center and threatening to blow his head off in front of a group of terrified children."

Clearly the ILWU defendants must wage a strong defense in the name of the right to strike and against the vicious armed thugs of the capitalist state, the cops whom the union bureaucrats have paraded as part of the labor movement. Expel the police from all unions!

### Bureaucratic Silence

But predictably, the bureaucracies of the ILWU and Teamsters, along with the city/county labor councils in the Bay Area, have remained silent. They prefer to let the union defendants be victimized in private rather than wage a vigorous public defense which might jeopardize the friendly relations between the labor fakers and the capitalist politicians. Thus McClain, whose own head is on the chopping block, has chosen to bank everything on capitalist "justice"—even though it was precisely such reliance on the bosses' courts, cops and politicians which set up the union for victimization in the first place.

According to "Warehouse Militant," which had pushed for vigorous defense of the picket lines last June, McClain defeated the following motion put forward by Militant Caucus member Bob Mandel at the November 23 General Executive Board meeting:

> "1) Local 6 will wage a vigorous public defense of the union members facing charges from Folger's. The Local will organize a mass demonstration in support of these members at their next court appearance, January 12.
> "2) We stand ready to take action to force the employers to honor their pledge of amnesty, including, if necessary, shutting down Folger's while preparing the rest of the union to defend such a move."

The International leadership similarly has stuck its head in the sand. The official union paper, the *Dispatcher*, has virtually ignored the defense cases—a tiny article on page 3 of the November 5 issue moaned in helpless despair, "Folger's Strikers Face Long Trial." The article ended with the empty "threat," "The union is charging violation of the negotiated amnesty." In contrast, the *Dispatcher* ran front-page coverage of the new master contract, trumpeting it as a "victory" last June.

Clearly the International does not wish to advertise the defense cases since that would be an admission that the union suffered a stinging *defeat* in June—a defeat produced by the bureaucracy's deliberate failure to mobilize the membership for the strike (e.g., cancellation of membership meetings and joint ILWU-Teamster stewards council meetings, abandoning the picket lines to well-organized scabs and police, etc.). The Stalinists (who closely follow the wishes of the ILWU leadership) have singled out the Sutter case, forming a defense committee endorsed by Angela Davis, but the Communist Party and its friends in the union have said nothing about the other 40 frame-up victims, just as they failed to denounce the master contract settlement.

The criminal silence of the top Bay Area labor leadership contrasts sharply with their behavior when their buddy Joe Mazzola of the Plumbers Union was put on trial by the S.F. Board of Supervisors in September for having been one of the "leaders" of the April-May city workers strike. ILWU president Harry Bridges and vice-president Bill Chester testified for Mazzola, while an expensive lawyer was hired for the case. The S.F. Central Labor Council (CLC) made clear its backing of Mazzola—to the disgusting point of voting thanks to anti-labor supervisor Barbagelata simply because the latter voted against Mazzola's removal from the Airports Commission!

The reason these labor traitors came to Mazzola's defense was precisely because he is a fellow traitor: his lawyer boasted that the Plumbers Union chief was instrumental in keeping the airport *open* during the city workers strike. Bridges testified that the CLC and other labor leaders like himself did everything possible to avoid a strike, including offering to allow an arbitrator to institute the disputed wage cut! Needless to say, these labor traitors would not want to launch a campaign for *real* class-struggle victims like the ILWU defendants who were beaten and arrested on the picket lines!

Such a campaign is urgently necessary, despite the wishes of the bureaucracy, simply to insure the success of future labor struggles. The Militant Caucus is correctly calling for such a campaign: "The union must reach out to the rest of the labor and socialist movement, to prominent individuals, student organizations, community groups—all those who are opposed to anti-working-class cop violence and willing to defend the right to strike."

While expert legal help must be obtained, clearly the success of such a campaign will depend on what the labor movement can mobilize outside the courtroom—demonstrations, protest strikes, etc. In every Bay Area union, class-conscious militants must attempt to mobilize their unions in defense of the 41 ILWU defendants, despite the sabotage of the bureaucrats who try to isolate all of those struggles.

Like the vicious prosecution of the *Washington Post* pressmen, the attempt by the state to jail 41 militants of the Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union is part of a broader attack on the entire labor movement. Just as the capitalist class is seeking to "teach a lesson" to unionists whose "crime" was to defend their picket line, the labor movement must mobilize to turn back this attempted mass victimization and block the ruling-class offensive against Bay Area labor. Defend the right to strike! Enforce the amnesty—Drop All Charges Against ILWU/IBT Strikers!


**WORKERS VANGUARD**

**Marxist Working-Class Weekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.**

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## Renounces Trotskyist Position

# OCI Says East Europe Not Deformed Workers States

Speaking before several thousand people in Paris at a two-day educational on Eastern Europe sponsored by the Organisation Communiste Internationaliste (OCI), on November 14 OCI head Pierre Lambert explicitly disavowed the Trotskyist analysis of the deformed workers states:

> "I think that we, the OCI, have made some mistakes in defining the countries of Eastern Europe. Although I think that the USSR is a degenerated workers state, I believe that we have called the other countries deformed workers states. This is an error, because there is no Polish state; it is a state imported by the Soviet bureaucracy. There is no Czechoslovak state; it is a state imported by the Soviet bureaucracy."

Despite their offhand tone, Lambert's remarks signalled that the OCI—which has historically prided itself on verbal fidelity to formal Trotskyist "orthodoxy"—is toying with a basic revision of the Marxist analysis of the Eastern European deformed workers states, clearly heading in the direction of "state capitalism."

Lambert was speaking in response to an intervention by the Ligue Trotskyste de France (LTF), French sympathizing section of the international Spartacist tendency (iSt). The LTF spokesman had sharply criticized the OCI's liberal orientation toward defense of dissidents persecuted by the Stalinist bureaucracies. As a case in point, the social-democratic milieu to which the OCI has oriented squeezed the OCI out of an October 21 rally in defense of six political prisoners in the USSR, Eastern Europe and Latin America and turned the event into an anti-communist mobilization in the service of popular frontism (see "French CP Backs Liberal Anti-Soviet Meeting," *WV* No. 133, 12 November). The LTF speaker pointed out that the OCI's long-standing failure to place at the center of its defense work "the question of the unconditional military defense of the deformed workers states and of the Russian degenerated workers state" helped pave the way for the social democrats and Stalinists to turn the October 21 meeting into "a tribune of anti-communism."

At the last minute, the OCI—which had played a leading role in a similar meeting to free Russian dissident Leonid Plyushch a year ago—refused to participate in the October 21 meeting on the grounds it was a publicity stunt engineered by Laurent Schwartz in favor of the popular-front Union of the Left electoral bloc. From June through October Schwartz had maneuvered to exclude the OCI, because in order to turn the event into an anti-Soviet rally those who lay claim to Trotsky's heritage had to be neutralized. During that period, the OCI had had an opportunity to fight against this perversion of defense work, but instead buried its head in the sand and wound up both appearing to sanction the meeting and without any speakers.

### Defend the Gains of October!

In the aftermath of this debacle, leaders of the OCI apparently felt compelled to reply at length to the trenchant criticisms raised by the LTF, whose second speaker counterposed to the OCI's opportunism the principled Leninist orientation toward defense of victimized dissidents in the deformed workers states:

> "I want to raise three basic principles which seem to me essential for Trotskyists in waging this struggle—I am speaking of the Trotskyists of the international Spartacist tendency. Namely: (1) the main condition, the unconditional defense of deformed and degenerated workers states against imperialism; (2) the struggle for political revolution in these states; (3) political differentiation among the various opponents of the bureaucracy in these countries."

The LTF speaker went on to point out that the OCI's refusal to base its opposition to Stalinist repression on these inextricably linked principles for drawing the class line flows from the OCI's capitulation to social democracy and desire to curry favor with dissidents as diverse as Jiri Pelikan and Plyushch.

Informations Ouvrieres

**November OCI conference at the Mutualité in Paris.**

A special issue of the LTF's *Le Bolchévik* distributed at the meeting pointed out that "in the capitalist countries, there is no lack of 'defenders of freedom' who like nothing better than to denounce the crimes of Stalinism." The iSt has consistently criticized the OCI's congenital refusal to separate itself from pro-imperialist "anti-Stalinists." *Le Bolchévik* quoted from a 16 January 1973 letter by the Spartacist League/U.S. to an OCI-backed committee to defend political prisoners in Eastern Europe:

> "Jiri Pelikan's open letter to Angela Davis was widely reproduced by the liberal anti-communist press in the U.S. with clearly anti-communist commentaries. Thus, the slogan 'Free the political prisoners' does not separate itself sufficiently from directly anti-communist campaigns such as 'Free Soviet Jewry' or from support for Hungarian 'freedom fighters' such as Cardinal Mindszenty.... This is the framework within which we see, for example, the 'Call on Czechoslovakia,' initiated by the League for the Rights of Man, and signed by the Committee and the OCI, in which the signatories commit themselves to oppose repression 'whatever the opinion of the victims of the repression may be'."

With the OCI's default, the October 21 meeting became a pure and simple vehicle for the anti-Soviet policies of liberals and social democrats, now tacitly sanctioned by the French Communist Party. The PCF has been eagerly distancing itself from Moscow as part of its "Eurocommunism" bid for liberal respectability and a prominent role in a Union of the Left government. The PCF's Pierre Juquin was the only speaker at the "defense" rally to even hint at a class difference between the deformed workers states and the Latin American dictatorships. At the OCI educational, OCI leader Stéphane Just devoted part of his summary remarks to attacking the Trotskyist position of the LTF as "a modified version of Juquin's intervention, with Trotskyist dressing." He termed the LTF "Juquin's petty accomplices."

### OCI Stalinophobia

In escalating its long-standing Stalinophobic impulses into an explicit abandonment of the Trotskyist analysis of the deformed workers states formed in Eastern Europe in the late 1940's and in China, Southeast Asia and Cuba, the OCI must attack those who uphold the Trotskyist position of unconditional defense of these states against imperialism as part of the struggle for political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucracies. The OCI's newest revision of Marxism marks a further step on its path toward outright reformism expressed through systematic capitulations to the social democrats. There is a fundamental reformist logic which ties together the OCI's tailism of CIA-backed social democrats like Soares' Socialist Party in Portugal and Berger-on's Force Ouvrière in France, and the OCI's courtship of self-described "left liberals" like Plyushch, many of whom hold a state capitalist position on the USSR and the deformed workers states of Eastern Europe.

The sharp rightward motion of the OCI in recent years builds upon the inherited theoretical weaknesses of the orthodox Trotskyist movement of the post-war period. The OCI's precursors who in 1950-51 led a limited and empirical fight against Pabloist revisionism shared with the Pabloists the view that any break with the Kremlin bureaucracy meant a break with Stalinism. Thus the OCI's forerunners held that "the birth of the Chinese revolution was the beginning of the end of the Chinese CP's 'Stalinism'..." and explicitly attacked "absurdities 'proving' the 'Stalinist' character of the Yugoslav CP, which petty-bourgeois idealists do not hesitate to define as *Stalinism without Stalin*" ("Where Is Pablo Going," 1951 [emphasis in original]).

In 1972 a founding document of the OCI's international conglomeration was categorical: "Stalinism is defined by its subordination to the Kremlin bureaucracy. Historically, Stalinism is nothing but the defense of the interests of the Kremlin." Yet by its very nature, as the rationale for a nationalistic petty-bourgeois bureaucratic caste committed to "socialism in one country," Stalinism outside the Soviet Union implies possible conflicts with the Kremlin bureaucracy, as each Stalinist party in power pursues its narrow nationalistic policies of "socialism" in *its own* country.

The OCI has now placed its theoretical inadequacies in the service of opportunist orientation toward Russian and East European dissidents. Its willingness to tinker with the Leninist understanding of the class nature of the state, characterizing the Eastern European countries simply as "states which have escaped from the control of imperialism," is very convenient. In flirting with a "state capitalist" position on Eastern Europe and slandering those who insist on revolutionary defensism of the deformed workers states against imperialism as "Juquin's accomplices," the OCI appeals to the anti-Marxists who oppose Stalinism *from the right*, in the direction of a bloc with the "democratic" bourgeoisie.

### How the OCI "Resolves" a Contradiction

The "virtue" of the OCI's line that the East European countries are not deformed workers states and the only Stalinists are in the Kremlin is that it enables the OCI to bloc simultaneously with "state capitalists" like Plyushch, whose "anti-Stalinism" merges into State Department social democracy, and Stalinist reformers like Pelikan, the exiled Czechoslovak bureaucrat whose program is liberalization along the lines of the ill-fated "Prague Spring." Both Plyushch and Pelikan, for instance, could easily agree with Lambert that the East European states "can be defined only in relation to the domination by the Soviet bureaucracy," which blocks their "free development."

The OCI "resolves" the class contradictions between "dissidents" by declaring that there is *no* state power in countries run by indigenous Stalinist parties (an "analysis" which it has held for 15 years with regard to Cuba.) With its time-worn protestations of "orthodoxy," the OCI is obviously reluctant to overtly pronounce itself in favor of state capitalism. But what is the class content of what Lambert termed "a bourgeois state without a bourgeoisie"? How does the OCI characterize states which have "escaped from the control of imperialism" but are not deformed workers states?

### "Dissidents" vs. the Class Line

Having earlier apparently been drawn into Jiri Pelikan's orbit, the OCI is evidently setting its cap for Plyushch as well. At the educational, OCI leader Jean-Jacques Marie took the floor to defend Plyushch after an LTF speaker attacked Plyushch's participation in an election rally for U.S. senator Henry Jackson, where Plyushch solidarized with Jackson's demand for governmental economic sanctions against the USSR—such blackmail by the imperialists presumably being an accept-

*continued on page 11*

# Chicago Teachers Union Bureaucrat Named as Red Squad Informer

CHICAGO—In late November, the Alliance to End Repression named Sheli Lulkin, long-time radical activist and high-ranking Chicago Teachers Union (CTU) official, as police informer No. 436. She was named a co-defendant in a court suit brought against the city police "red squad" by the Alliance, an amalgam of community and church groups that conducts federally-funded police, court and prison reform projects.

The Alliance is one of some 150 local organizations and as many as 20,000 individuals whose opposition to the late Mayor Richard Daley's political machine has subjected them to surveillance by a small army of undercover cops and paid informants. Daley's hate list runs the gamut from the left and labor movement to innocuous liberals such as the Alliance.

Sheli Lulkin, a familiar figure in the antiwar and labor movements since the mid-1960's, was prominent in several "rad-lib" groupings within the CTU in addition to holding offices in organizations like Women for Peace and Vietnam Veterans Against the War. She was a national coordinator of the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice and an organizer of demonstrations at the 1972 Democratic convention in Miami. As the antiwar movement dissipated she became active in the women's movement, representing the CTU in the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW), and was selected as a delegate to the 1975 International Women's Year in Mexico City.

Lulkin was a protegee of CTU president Robert Healy and a personal friend and almost constant companion of the Chicago Peace Council's executive director, veteran Stalinist Sylvia Kushner. When suspicions about Lulkin's activities first surfaced last summer, Healy refused to investigate. However, public exposure of her spy role forced the CTU president to demand her resignation from the union's executive board ([Chicago] *Reader*, 3 December).

In 1975 Illinois state attorney Bernard Carey—himself a target of police spying—filed for a grand jury investigation of red squad activities. Predictably the final report of the investigation counseled the cops to get on with their real business of infiltrating the left, labor and black organizations, and quit harassing civic-minded liberals and their innocuous organizations.

Despite massive evidence of cop invasion of privacy, the jury returned no indictments against the Chicago police, arguing that since the real culprits were higher-ranking officers, "this serious threat to our democratic form of government must not be allowed to depend on the convictions of a few" (*Reader*, 28 November 1975). The jury chastised the cops for not arresting student radicals prior to the 1969 "days of rage" demonstrations, even though the red squad had infiltrated the Weatherman organization.

Despite last year's long muckraking campaign by the *Chicago Daily News* and the showcase grand jury, the police spy unit's scurrilous activities continue unabated. The federal judge hearing charges against the police intelligence unit had to enjoin Daley's Gestapo from spying on the attorneys who brought the suit on behalf of the Alliance! The police even snoop on themselves: the activities of Agent 436 were partly uncovered through files retrieved in another suit initiated by the Afro-American Policemen's League, which incurred The Boss's wrath by attacking the routine brutality of white cops in the ghetto and by supporting black Democrat Ralph Metcalf for re-election as congressman after his break from the Daley machine.

### Red Squad Everywhere

The Chicago police red squad was founded in the late 1920's, and over the next two decades the city's combative labor movement was repeatedly victimized by this organized ring of labor spies and police agents. The red squad's first director fancied himself the nation's foremost "communist hunter," boasting that his files were even bigger than J. Edgar Hoover's. Although the unions today remain generally quiescent due to their bureaucratic misleadership, police spying continues in the labor movement. In August 1974 UAW Local 6 at the International Harvester plant in nearby Melrose Park disclosed the presence of twelve police agents in the workforce.

Moreover, according to the attorney for the Alliance to End Repression, "hundreds of reports" by Confidential Informant 436 were found in files relinquished by the police. The *Reader* (3 December) reports that "the Alliance has given copies of many of these reports to the Chicago Teachers' Union. Since the files can only be shown to organizations that were intelligence division targets, it can be assumed that Lulkin spied upon the CTU."

What is notable about the red squad is the size and scope of its attacks on suspected "enemies." Police infiltration, aided by a vast civilian network, is so omnipresent that police have received reports from three to four informers on meetings attended by less than a dozen persons. Agent 436 and another fink in the Chicago Peace Council, alleged to be Joyce Stover, were bitter personal enemies and turned in derogatory reports on one another. Undercover agent Marcus Sloane served as president of a West Side community group for two years, and another cop agent, Geno Addams, was active in the Alliance's task force when its impending lawsuit was planned (*Reader*, 3 December).

### Ties to Fascists

The red squad's ties to fascist and right-wing groups are notorious. Its informers include super-patriotic volunteers and at least one known member of the Illinois Nazi Party. The fascistic Legion of Justice operated for several years as a virtual red squad auxiliary, burglarizing left-wing offices while cops stood lookout. The Legion's formidable armory was stocked by the 113th Military Intelligence unit based in Evanston.

In 1969 and 1970 these government-paid vermin staged several violent raids on Chicago offices of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), the New Leftist Newsreel Collective, a Vietnam War Crimes Tribunal meeting and other left-wing targets. In an "official" terror raid on 4 December 1969, Chicago cops working closely with FBI agents and army intelligence ruthlessly gunned down Black Panthers Mark Clark and Fred Hampton as they slept in their West Side apartment. The raid was set up with the key assistance of an FBI informant who served as Hampton's personal bodyguard.

Assassination, wiretapping, common criminal acts and daily harassment of black militants, the left and the labor movement are standard operating procedure for American imperialism whose spy network is an integral component of its class rule. The investigations of whitewashing grand juries, high-level Congressional committees and liberal handwringers flow from a common desire to shore up the authority of a widely discredited government and ensure that police surveillance not infringe upon respectable and harmless bourgeois critics. Moreover, all return the same verdict: the needs of "national security" demand "legitimate" spying against "subversives." The flurry of cosmetic reforms in the post-Watergate era is largely for the consumption of the credulous and, unfortunately, the fake-socialist outfits who take as good coin the bourgeois courts' pretense of meting out justice to the government's hired thugs.

Militant

**In alliance with Chicago cops, Sutton led the Legion of Justice in determined effort to crush antiwar, black and left organizations.**

### Fake-Left Civil Libertarians

In response to the Legion of Justice attacks, the reformist SWP joined hands with the reformist Communist Party (CP) and assorted Chicago-area liberals in a Committee for Defense Against Terrorist Attacks. This committee made no effort to organize joint defense of the organizations' meetings and offices. Instead it confined itself to pressuring the police, city hall and state attorney Carey to indict a number of Legion members. A few indictments followed, but with one exception the thugs were acquitted or the cases dismissed. When Carey (a Republican with his own reasons for discrediting the Daley machine) called a grand jury to investigate the red squad and its minions, the SWP hopefully opined: "Public pressure may force the grand jury to indict at least some of those responsible for the Legion crimes" (*Militant*, 26 September 1975). No such indictments were forthcoming.

On the national level the SWP—which is notorious for its defense of "democratic rights for fascists" and calls for "federal troops to Boston"—claims to have forced the government into a "stunning retreat" by inducing FBI director Clarence Kelley to order informers out of the SWP and its youth group, the Young Socialist Alliance. The *Militant* (17 December) now promises an all-out effort to win "a *permanent* injunction against the use of government informers" (emphasis in original). Nowhere do these pallid civil libertarians warn that the bourgeoisie will continue infiltration, spying and provocations until its class rule is overthrown.

The left must tread carefully on the issue of police infiltration, avoiding the cop-baiting hysteria of groups like the Healyite Workers League, which sees an agent behind every political difference, and the legalist passivity of the SWP. No group in the workers movement is impervious to police penetration. But in contrast to various fake-revolutionary groups which routinely sign up unknown individuals on the basis of "I want to join" coupons, a Bolshevik organization relies on programmatic recruitment and adherence to high standards of organizational discipline. By thus testing its cadres it minimizes the opportunities for and damage done by infiltrators and provocateurs.

Like the Bolsheviks, the Spartacist League understands that the ultimate weapon against police agents is a revolutionary party which prepares the proletariat for its historic mission of smashing the bourgeois state and ending capitalist class rule. While revolutionaries legitimately employ the available legal means in an effort to defend against the class enemy's machinery of repression, a strategy based on reliance upon the democratic pretensions of the capitalist courts can only lead the working class to defeat ■

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## Courts, Cops, Stalinist Misleadership Defeat Cambion Strike

# UE Official Gets Five Years for Defending Picket Line

CAMBRIDGE, December 16—In a brazen provocation against the entire Boston-area labor movement, the leader of the recently defeated strike at the Cambion-Thermionic Corporation was hit with a frame-up jail sentence for up to five years. Sandi Polaski, shop chairman of United Electrical Workers (UE) Local 262 at Cambion, was found guilty last week of "assault with a deadly weapon"—for allegedly throwing a rock at the windshield of a scab's car. Mike Brier, a strike supporter from the Revolutionary Student Brigade, was given a two-year term for allegedly assaulting a cop, and five other picketers were fined. This outrageous kangaroo court "justice" is the culmination of a seven-month-long vendetta by the company, Cambridge cops and a supposedly "pro-labor" city council against the UE strikers.

On strike since April, the workers faced repeated brutal assaults and numerous arrests by a special detail of police scab-herders rented to Cambion on a round-the-clock basis. In contrast to the harsh sentences meted out to Polaski and Brier, not a single cop was prosecuted for harassing and beating picketers (attacks which resulted in some 20 injuries including one woman striker permanently disabled by a back injury). In response to well-documented evidence of what it chose to term police "improprieties," the city merely gave brief suspensions to four policemen.

Cop attacks, isolation and the financial hardships of the long struggle (with the UE International contributing a paltry $1,000 a week to 250 workers) wore down the militant strikers (see "Support the Cambion Strike!" *WV* No. 128, 8 October). By early November, 100 strikers had taken other jobs and 35 had begun scabbing. On November 8, in what Polaski described as a "tactical move," the strikers returned to work without a settlement. Five strike leaders were fired, and many lower-seniority workers found that their jobs had been turned over to scabs.

On November 17, the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) was scheduled to begin prosecution of the company for refusal to bargain in good faith. Union officials told the *Harvard Crimson* (13 November) that they hoped NLRB sanctions would give them "bargaining leverage" when the rest of the contract expires next April (this strike was fought when a one-year wage re-opener came due). Instead, the NLRB postponed the trial to January 5. Subsequently the company reiterated its nine-month-old wage offer of 20 cents an hour increase for unskilled hourly workers and 13.8 cents for piece-rate workers. In a clear attempt to divide the workforce, the company threw in up to an extra 20 cents an hour for the top three pay grades, many of whom had not supported the strike.

In return for promised reinstatement of the five fired unionists, the shop leaders agreed to accept this insulting "settlement." The membership met to consider the offer December 8, the day on which the seven strikers went to court. Despite an agreement between the district attorney and the union counsel to jointly request a continuance, the prosecutor recommended a guilty finding and Judge Lawrence Feloney threw the book at Polaski and Brier. This knife in the back is just one more in a long string of blatantly anti-union actions by the supposedly "neutral" politicians and government bodies on which the union leaders had relied.

Instead of fighting to mobilize massive labor support from the UE International and Boston-area unions to prevent scabbing, stop the company from moving production to its non-union New Hampshire plant and, more recently, win reinstatement of the fired workers and dismissal of the court charges, union leaders concentrated on wooing the NLRB, the city council and congressman Thomas O'Neill. All to no avail.

Union members told *WV* that the December 8 meeting abruptly adjourned when news of Polaski's sentence reached the body and rumors of a sympathy walkout ran through the plant. The adjournment prevented a vote on ratification of the rotten wage deal, but opposition was clearly evident. Two of the five fired militants reportedly opposed the sellout, and one union grouping, the Committee for a Democratic Union offered a motion against the settlement and to prevent scabs from voting on the contract. However, the shop leadership, including Polaski, opposed the CDU's motion. Yesterday the contract was approved on a secret ballot in the shop.

That a beaten and demoralized membership would approve such a rotten settlement after their earlier determination and militancy is testimony to the burning need for a class-struggle leadership, one which dares to fight the International bureaucracy and to hew a course independent of reliance on capitalist courts and politicians. The pitfalls of labor reformism can be avoided only by a program which links the immediate economic struggle to the fight for working-class rule. ■

WV Photo

**Boston cops attacked UE pickets at Cambion plant September 24.**

WV Photo

**Sandi Polaski**

**NOTICE**

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# MEC Feminist Fête Defends Women Only

Not even the presence of a Chilean rock and roll band and "Third World" heroine Laura Allende could rescue the spiritless "Night of Solidarity with Revolutionary Women" jointly sponsored by the Marxist Education Collective (MEC) and Action for Women in Chile (AFWIC) on December 11.

The sponsors used the event to revel in late 1960's-style feminist exclusivism. Thus, chairman Annette Rubinstein asked the 250 women in the audience to send Christmas cards to Puerto Rican nationalist prisoner Lolita Lebrón, while her male comrades—Oscar Collazo, Rafael Cancel Miranda, Andrés Figueroa Cordero and Irving Flores—who have languished in jail with Lebrón for more than 20 years went virtually unmentioned. The MEC's "respected teacher" Myra Tanner Weiss hailed Chilean women prisoners as "the most oppressed women in the world" because not only had they been seized by the class enemy, but they were now being held in male-dominated jails"! Taking a swipe at the Spartacist League, which had declined an invitation to co-sponsor the event, she bitterly complained about "mixed groups" which are always "asking women's meetings to apologize for addressing themselves as women."

Not to be outdone by Rubinstein's "feminist Christmas card" strategy, AFWIC put forward its "Letter to Chile" campaign—a project which manages to be both ridiculous and dangerous. The "campaign" involves sending a "massive mailing of literature, brochures and pamphlets" to names chosen at random from the Santiago telephone directory. According to AFWIC, this scheme is designed to "put tremendous strain on Chile's postal and censor system." But while the names are picked at random, actual opponents of the junta who accidentally wind up on the mailing list of a U.S. left-wing organization may face serious danger—a fact overlooked by the unserious "campaigners" of AFWIC.

The MEC claims that it cannot understand why the SL vehemently opposes holding an evening focused solely on defense of *female* political prisoners. Yet even the featured speaker, Laura Allende, sister of the late president of Chile and herself an official in the Chilean Unidad Popular (UP) popular-front government, understood the implications and took pains to draw a sharp line between herself and the feminists. She began her remarks by pointedly greeting "compañeras... and compañeros, because I do see men here" and went on to point out that many women who participated in Chilean left-wing politics did so because their *class* instincts dominated over their *sex* instincts. The UP, she said, had lost many elections "because of the feminine vote" which was controlled by the Catholic Church. Without doubt, Allende would have been hissed off the stage for such statements had she been a member of a "mixed" Yankee party instead of a "Third World" luminary.

The MEC consistently refuses to come out in the open with an *explicit*

*continued on page 11*

# How Maoists "Restore Capitalism" in the Soviet Union

## PART 1 OF 2

by Joseph Seymour

# The Myth of Stalin's "Workers Paradise"

Except for the Maoists, everybody in the world, it seems, recognizes the essential continuity of the Soviet economic system from Stalin through Khrushchev to Brezhnev. In fact, the Maoist dogma that the USSR became capitalist after Stalin's death is so incredible that no two Maoist groups can agree when, why and how this event of momentous historic proportions occurred. The only clue supplied by the Peking bureaucracy is that Khrushchev's secret speech to the 20th party congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) was a key benchmark.

In the U.S., the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP—formerly the Revolutionary Union), wrote in its *Red Papers 7* (1975) that capitalism was restored in the USSR with Khrushchev's accession to power. Soviet "capitalism," they go on, underwent a two-stage evolution: Khrushchev restored "private, competitive capitalism," while Brezhnev established "state monopoly capitalism." (For a Marxist analysis of this curious version of the "restoration" thesis, see "Revolutionary Union's 'United Front' with NATO," *Young Spartacus* No. 32, May 1975.)

The RCP's main rival, the more slavishly Peking-loyal October League (OL), has preferred the wisdom of silence. To date the OL has not presented any but the most cursory "explanation" of "capitalist restoration" in the USSR, no doubt out of fear that it would later be contradicted by official Peking propaganda. But the Klonsky gang did paddle a bit in these uncharted waters. Under the pressure of domestic competition from the RCP and the "critical Maoists" grouped around the New Leftish *Guardian*, the OL's Liberator Press published a collection of articles by Martin Nicolaus, entitled *Restoration of Capitalism in the USSR*.

Review of *Restoration of Capitalism in the USSR* by Martin Nicolaus

The hapless fate of Nicolaus demonstrates the impossibility of giving even a semblance of intellectual plausibility to the Maoist "analysis" of post-Stalin Russia. As a prominent New Left academic he had generalized petty-bourgeois vanguardism into the theory of a "new working class"; upon becoming a hard-line Maoist, he attempted a definitive analysis of "capitalist restoration" in the Soviet Union. This was first published in a 1975 series in the trendy *Guardian*, then sympathetic to Peking. The editors neither endorsed nor rejected Nicolaus' thesis, although the paper's leading light, Irwin Silber, contended it wasn't very convincing.

When the *Guardian* criticized China's openly counterrevolutionary role in Angola last winter, Nicolaus joined the Peking-loyal October League. However, only nine months later the OL has now expelled Nicolaus as a "rightwing revisionist" and "lover of bourgeoisie." Naturally, they denounced *Restoration of Capitalism in the USSR* as "revisionist" like its author (though neglecting to mention their own role in publishing it):

> "The book was an attack on the dictatorship of the proletariat, claiming that for more than a decade under the rule of the Khrushchev revisionists, there were no 'profound changes in the actual relations of production operative in the economic base of the society'."
> —*Call*, November 29

The *Call* goes on to assert that the book "covered over the threat of restoration of capitalism and mystified its causes."

Not only is Nicolaus' work denounced by every American Maoist group, but it certainly would not be well-received in Peking today, either. Its Chapter 7 is devoted to lengthy excerpts from "On the Social Basis of the Lin Piao Clique" by Yao Wen-yuan. Yao is one of the "Gang of Four," now imprisoned and denounced by China's new rulers as a "double-dealing capitalist roader."

We have no particular concern for the political travails of this shameless, arrogant intellectual dilettante. However, a discussion of his book is useful as an object lesson in the utter bankruptcy of Maoist theories of a "capitalist restoration" in the Soviet Union. Despite its theoretical shallowness and thoroughgoing intellectual dishonesty, Nicolaus' work has the virtue of giving an empirically verifiable economic content to the "capitalism" purported to exist in the USSR.

He distinguishes between the "bourgeoisie's capture of state power" by Khrushchev in 1956-57 and the later "restoration" of capitalist economic relations through the Kosygin or so-called Liberman reforms in 1965. Unlike some Maoist ideologues—for example, Charles Bettelheim—Nicolaus does not maintain that the Soviet Union represents a new, historically unique form of "state capitalism." Rather, he maintains that new-fangled "Soviet capitalism" is little different from the old-time capitalism of the West.

Nicolaus' effort to prove that capitalism has been restored in the USSR actually succeeds in proving just the opposite: that the Soviet Union is not capitalist as this term has been understood by Marxists or in the experience of the working masses. Moreover, most of Nicolaus' arguments and criteria for why the present-day USSR is capitalist are far more applicable to Stalin's Russia and Maoist China!

### Factory Managers as an Embryonic Bourgeoisie?

One of the most obvious difficulties for any ostensible Marxist who claims that capitalism was restored in the Soviet Union is to explain how a new bourgeois class was generated under Stalin's regime, how it organized itself and captured state power. The overthrow of the feudal order by the European bourgeoisie involved centuries of civil wars, revolutions and counterrevolutions; likewise, the struggle of the proletariat against the capitalist class has wracked bourgeois society for over a century. Yet the Maoists would have us believe that a

Auto workers in factory mess hall, 1931. Wide World

Stalin inspecting new limousine outside Stalin Auto Works near Moscow.

Sovfoto

Alexei Stakhanov (right). Under Stalin, "Stakhanovites" were privileged workers who fostered speed-up by breaking piece-work norms.

development of world-historic significance—the restoration of capitalism in the USSR—took place through a bloodless palace coup, and was not even noticed as such by *anyone*, not even Mao himself, until several years later!

The invisibility of the Soviet "bourgeois counterrevolution" obviously troubles the "Marxist-Leninist" Nicolaus, as it should:

> "There is some sketchy data available to indicate the common economic situation, the material foundation, by which the bourgeoisie that later took power was engendered. But the process by which it gradually organized itself as a class, shaped its own associations and acquired collective self-consciousness prior to its bid for power are almost entirely unknown....
>
> "Behind this solid exterior [of Stalin's Russia], however, there were processes in motion that allowed this bastion of socialism...to be taken over rather painlessly [sic], as historical changes go, by a group of leaders with an anti-Marxist, anti-Leninist counterrevolutionary program."

Nicolaus' Maoist view of bourgeois counterrevolution in the Soviet Union strangely parallels the late J. Edgar Hoover's view of communist revolution: nothing but conspiratorial subversion of the existing government.

*Restoration of Capitalism in the USSR* attempts to locate the embryo of the "new bourgeoisie" in the enterprise managers of Stalin's time. According to Nicolaus' mythology, the managers' position was onerous because they had great responsibility while lacking the power to discipline the workers, whose interests were scrupulously defended by Stalin! This, believe it or not, is Nicolaus' sociological explanation for the growth of bourgeois counterrevolutionary forces in Stalin's Russia:

> "At the same time as they were charged with heavy and strict responsibilities, the Soviet managers as a rule had considerably less power than their capitalist counterparts over the workers.... they did not have the most vital of the powers possessed by their capitalist counterparts, namely the power to fire a worker at will. They could not threaten a worker with unemployment and hunger....
>
> "Except during wartime, workers were free to quit; but managers could not fire them except by proving some criminal offense against them. Thus, lacking the whip hand, the managers were weak."

So, according to Nicolaus, the Soviet managers sought to overcome their "weakness" by restoring capitalism:

> "On the one hand they [the managers] arrogated to themselves more of the powers held by the workers, and at the same time chipped away at the responsibilities imposed on them by the plan. Both these tendencies on the director's part, stemming from an identical capitalist impulse, were kept in check and suppressed during Stalin's lifetime."

We will shortly confront the unbelievable assertion that Stalin's managers "lacked the whip hand" over their workers. However, even if one knows very little about the history of Soviet economic policy, Nicolaus' thesis is obviously contrary to elementary Marxist sociology.

Soviet enterprise managers are not a distinct, organic social group with a basis for unity against the higher administrative strata. Enterprise management is simply a division of labor within the administrative bureaucracy. Real success for an enterprise manager is not the expansion of "his" factory,

Sovfoto

Khrushchev visiting collective farm, 1963.

farm or mine—which is technically quite limited in any case—but promotion up the administrative hierarchy.

Most of the Gosplan (central planning organization) and industrial ministry top officials were enterprise managers at the beginning of their careers. And in Stalin's Russia, as well as today, the personal income of bureaucrats is closely correlated with their positions in the administrative hierarchy. The conflicts of interest between managers and higher planning authorities can no more generate a new capitalist class than can the conflicts between lieutenants and generals in the Soviet army.

### Stalin's Militarization of the Working Class

Josef Stalin is reported to have said that paper will take anything that is written on it. Nicolaus writes in the true spirit of his master. If an older Russian worker read that in Stalin's time managers "lacked the whip hand" over the workers, he would probably first be struck dumb with disbelief that anyone could utter such stupidities, then burst out in bitter laughter. It is here that the author's dishonesty is so flagrant that he must hope that no reader will check his "facts." Had Dr. Nicolaus submitted *Restoration of Capitalism in the USSR* as a graduate school dissertation, he would be lucky to avoid expulsion for falsification of sources.

For example, as evidence of supposed workers power in Stalin's Russia, he cites the existence of special courts "to hear industrial disputes to which only workers had access" and in which "managerial personnel could appear ... only as defendants and were barred from initiating cases." He also cites production conferences where workers could freely criticize management. To begin with, this evidence is immediately suspect since Nicolaus gives as sources works dealing with *post*-Stalin Russia. Mary McAuley's *Labour Disputes in Soviet Russia, 1957-1965* (1969), and David Granick's *The Red Executive* (1960).

If a worker could bring charges against his superiors in a court made up exclusively of his fellow workers, this would indeed be a powerful bastion of proletarian control. Such a court exists only in Nicolaus' Maoist propaganda, however, never in the Soviet Union. According to McAuley's book on labor disputes, there existed special courts established in 1922—the RKK—where workers could only *appeal* unfavorable management actions; management could not be charged with malfeasance. According to McAuley, these courts were "joint management-trade union commissions...composed of an equal number of representatives from the two sides."

As for production conferences, these were instituted in the early 1920's as the main form of workers control. They were virtually eliminated with the beginning of the first five year plan. Khrushchev reinstituted production conferences in 1958 (for all enterprises with over 100 employees), though they were impotent, aside from embarrassing a particularly abusive or incompetent manager. The best that could be said for this measure was that, in contrast to Stalin, Khrushchev at least felt a need to create the appearance (though not the substance) of workers control of production.

The Leninist Bolshevik party had recognized that there would be immediate conflicts of interest between the workers and economic administrators under the workers state. Therefore the 1922 Soviet Labor Code stipulated that wages and working conditions be negotiated between the trade union and management. But under Stalin the conditions of labor became more oppressive in every conceivable way. Negotiations with the unions over wages and working conditions were abolished in 1933. After that, Russian trade unions became little more than social welfare agencies and propaganda mills for greater labor discipline.

The Bolshevik party of the early 1920's also understood that a rational allocation of labor involved voluntary job changes, sometimes entailing periods of unemployment. A July 1923 decree established labor exchanges and unemployment insurance to facilitate labor mobility and protect the workers. In 1932 Stalin abolished both. Thereafter unemployed workers were forced to take any job offered, even unskilled and unrelated work at a big cut in pay. Stalin "eliminated unemployment" by methods not unlike those advocated by bourgeois reactionaries in the U.S. who want to eliminate welfare recipients.

Stalin's claim to have eliminated unemployment in the 1930's is totally fraudulent in any case. In Stalin's Russia, as in China today, the peasants were *legally* bound to the collective farm *from birth*. Peasants who migrated to the cities but could not find work were rounded up and shipped back to their villages. Those who resisted were sent to Siberian labor camps.

Nicolaus to the contrary, factory managers in Stalin's Russia could fire workers as a means of enforcing labor discipline... and that's putting it mildly. The Leninist Labor Code of 1922 stated that employees with six unexcused absences in a month could be dismissed. In 1927 this was reduced to three unexcused absences, and in 1932 managers *had to* dismiss any worker who had *one* day's unexcused absence. Workers could also be dismissed for consistently failing to fulfill the output norm. Dismissal meant immediate confiscation of the worker's food ration card and eviction from his or her dwelling if, as was usual, it was furnished by the enterprise. Yet Martin Nicolaus has the gall to say that Soviet managers in Stalin's time could not "threaten a worker with unemployment and hunger"! This "Marxist-Leninist" is nothing but a deceitful Stalinist hack.

As severe as the Stalinist bureaucracy's labor practices were in the 1930's, they pale before the decree of June 1940,

*continued on page 10*

# Populist Demagogue Re-Elected in Jamaica

The ruling Peoples' National Party (PNP) scored a landslide victory in widely publicized elections December 15 over the opposition Jamaican Labor Party (JLP) of Edward Seaga, winning 44 of the 60 seats in the House of Representatives. The election, seen as a referendum on Prime Minister Michael Manley's "Jamaican socialism"—a variety of capitalist populism—took place amid an atmosphere of violence in which an estimated dozen PNP activists and five Labor Party members were killed in the last three weeks of the campaign alone.

The JLP, which despite its name bluntly speaks for the most nakedly reactionary pro-imperialist sectors of the ruling class, ran a scare campaign around the issue of alleged subversion represented by Manley's friendship with Cuba. The pro-American party distributed thousands of bumper stickers and buttons around the island saying "Vote PNP—Vote Communist." The charismatic Manley's resounding victory, achieved in spite of the most virulent redbaiting, is an indication of his popularity among the thousands of unemployed and lumpen youth of the cities.

Peter Simon/NYT Magazine

**The state imposes life sentences in Gun Court prison for possession of guns.**

Gang warfare, always a part of Jamaican political life, intensified in the final weeks of the campaign. PNP candidate Ferdie Neita was shot in the stomach and seriously wounded a few days before the election, leading the government to impose press censorship for the duration as well as to ban all public demonstrations. Earlier in the month the prime minister flew to the bedside of famed reggae singer Bob Marley, who was shot and seriously wounded days before he was scheduled to perform at a Manley rally.

Many of the JLP candidates campaigned from jail, having been imprisoned by Manley under a new emergency law allowing for the indefinite detention of anyone deemed dangerous to the government. The law is part of the state of emergency which is still in effect after being declared last June when the government discovered an arms cache in the Trench Town slum district of Kingston. Manley charged the JLP with participation in a CIA-backed scheme to "destabilize" the government and provoke a Chilean-style coup against the bourgeois populist regime.

The government's draconian repressive measures began long before last June. In March 1974, in response to a series of drug-related murders and an escalating crime rate that was cutting into the tourist trade, the government passed the drastic Suppression of Crime Act which established a special "Gun Court" empowered to conduct secret trials and mete out indefinite sentences for firearms law violations. When the Privy Council ruled indefinite detention unconstitutional, the law was simply changed to provide a mandatory life sentence!

The upsurge of violence since the beginning of this year has so far led to over 200 deaths. Last January, for example, a gang of gunmen set fire to a tenement block in West Kingston and cut down fleeing tenants in a hail of bullets in order to embarrass the government as it was hosting a meeting of the International Monetary Fund. Firemen were also shot at. Eleven died in the massacre and many were seriously injured.

As a garden-variety Caribbean populist, politically somewhere between Guyana's Cheddi Jagan on the left and Panamanian strongman Omar Torrijos on the right, Manley is no socialist. His program of social reform, which includes construction of low-income housing, long-term leasing of unused land to the peasants and mild nationalization schemes, in no way challenges private property and capitalist relations of production. As for the "Cuba connection" which the JLP and the U.S. government find so scandalous, it consists of cooperative exchange programs.

But the geographic proximity of the two countries plus the seething social unrest in a population suffering colossal unemployment, illiteracy and wretched living conditions, plus the threat of explosive workers struggles like those convulsing the bauxite industry this year, make the capitalists nervous. Not only is the Jamaican ruling class exporting hard currency earnings at a devastating rate, but it is fleeing the country en masse.

The Jamaican bourgeoisie and petty-bourgeois property owners are hysterical in the face of the precipitous decline of the key bauxite, sugar and tourism industries. Bauxite shipments have declined rapidly since the 1974 recession, and this year's shipments are only 70 percent of last year's. Even the multimillion dollar ganja (marijuana) export trade is serving primarily to arm the street gangs, as guns are now the preferred medium of exchange in the drug trade with the U.S.

Stability is certainly beyond the reach of the Manley government, and the "destabilization" campaign was enough of a threat to force Manley to tone down his "socialist" rhetoric and back off from some of the measures that annoyed the U.S. government and aluminum companies. By this fall he had stopped demanding Jamaican ownership of 51 percent of the bauxite operations. He has also made at least a temporary peace with the major imperialist concern, Alcoa Aluminum, by agreeing to a mere 6 percent interest. Manley wound up his campaign loudly reaffirming his desire to maintain good relations with the U.S.

Michael Manley — Prela

Alex Webb/Magnum

**Demonstration in Jamaica supporting Manley's foreign policy.**

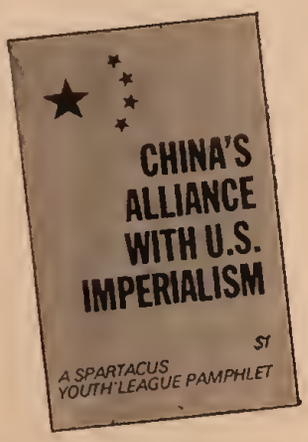
During the last year, many groups on the U.S. left have touted the claims of the bourgeois PNP. The rationales offered for such criminal folly range from simple-minded endorsement of Manley's "socialist" pretensions (à la the *Guardian*) to the pseudo-Marxist sophistry of the Revolutionary Socialist League (RSL). This Shachtmanite minisect has sought to stem its advanced organizational disintegration by joining the train of "Third World" camp followers on a series of political issues.

Qualitatively smaller but more sophisticated than the motley Stalinists and nationalists who hail Manley, the RSL has consistently argued not for outright electoral support but rather for a military bloc with the PNP against the JLP. The RSL has attempted to make this line convincing through luridly sensational coverage of the gang warfare between the two bourgeois parties, claiming that the JLP's violence foreshadows an imminent CIA coup.

The RSL's position is not based on a concrete threat of a CIA-manipulated coup necessitating military defense of bourgeois democracy and the workers movement against impending reactionary assault, but simply on a desire to ingratiate itself with "Third Worldists." This requires it to pretend that a JLP regime would from a proletarian standpoint be fundamentally worse than the existing government. This is analogous to the RSL's call for military defense of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola against its petty-bourgeois nationalist rivals *prior to* the decisive subordination of one side to direct imperialist intervention (the U.S.-backed South African invasion in October 1975). Masquerading as military support, in both cases this is political support to one bourgeois force against others which are not qualitatively different.

Along with the British International Socialists, the RSL has eagerly extolled the virtues of the Revolutionary Marxist League (RML) of Jamaica, which took the same position on the political violence. Unfortunately for the RSL's transparently opportunist con game, the RML drew the obvious conclusion from choosing the PNP over the JLP in the squalid organizational rumbles that have convulsed the Kingston slums. In the general elections, the RML called for a vote to the PNP, an embarrassing confirmation of the real political logic behind the RSL's position. While lecturing its Jamaican friends against crossing the class line to vote PNP, the RSL's *Torch* (15 December) reiterates the same opportunist position at the root of the RML's betrayal: "In taking joint action with revolutionaries to suppress the JLP gangs, the pro-PNP workers can learn from their own experience how to use their power as a class to defend themselves."

Revolutionaries in Jamaica would not capitulate to Manley's attempt to drum up votes through dire warnings of CIA/JLP coup plots. Rather they would fight to win the working masses from both bourgeois parties, exposing Manley's "democratic socialism" as a dangerous fraud. This requires construction of a Trotskyist party fighting for a workers and peasants government in Jamaica (as part of a socialist federation of the Caribbean), and in close conjunction with the vanguard of the North American proletariat. ■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# Portugal...

*(continued from page 1)*

bloc indicates that the PCP is continuing to seek an alliance with "progressive" military leaders, the touchstone of CP strategy ever since the 1974 "revolution of the carnations." However, reflecting its weakened position, the PCP now has two alternative proposals for governmental alignments:

> "...the first is the formation of a left majority with Communist participation.... The second would be the formation of a government, preferably presided over by a well-known personality (military or civilian), with the participation of a military personnel and independents which at least has the support of the PS and PCP."
>
> —quoted in *Rouge*, 30 November

The biggest losers in the municipal elections were the various Maoist and syndicalist groups who had hitched their wagons to the presidential campaign of Major Otelo Saraiva de Carvalho. The Maoist GDUP coalition, which had programatically and organizationally crystallized around support to this *bourgeois* candidacy (see "CP in Deep Trouble in Portuguese Elections," *WV* No. 116, 2 July), fell on hard times following the June elections and the imprisonment of Carvalho for several weeks this fall on charges of "improper" political activity.

After a convention in November—the FSP, the Proletarian Revolutionary Party (PRP) and independents having left the coalition—the rump GDUP transformed themselves into a Popular Unity Movement (MUP) based on Carvalho's campaign program. But without the presence of the charismatic major the MUP was little more than a front for the Maoist UDP and left social-democratic MES, receiving only 2.5 percent of the vote on December 12.

### Showdown Over Agrarian Reform

Portugal's political instability has been further fueled by continuing deterioration of the economic situation. Unemployment is estimated at 16 percent and inflation at 20-30 percent or higher. Even more than until now, salvaging the economy rests firmly in the hands of West European and American capital: fully one-third of the country's gold stocks are mortgaged as collateral for hard-currency loans from Common Market countries. But further aid, such as the $300 million promised by U.S. president Ford in November, is predicated on additional austerity measures which the government will be hard put to enforce.

The focal point of direct conflict between the Soares regime and the working class has been on land reform. The seizures of large estates by the PCP-led agricultural proletariat early last year, particularly in the southern region of "red Alentejo," was the most extensive attack on capitalist property relations in the post-Caetano period. The Communist-influenced popular-front "Fifth Government" in 1974-75 voted post-facto legalization of land seizures on estates south of the Tejo River.

As the right wing gained ground, largely due to conciliation by the PCP (inherent in its policy of collaboration with the leaders of the MFA), the land takeovers were increasingly restricted. Earlier this fall, Soares tested the waters for an attack upon the "collective farms" established on the expropriated estates. He hoped to thereby placate the vocal Portuguese Farmers Federation (CAP), which was demanding annulment of the agrarian reform. However, the PS leader feared a confrontation with the 25,000-strong Stalinist-led agricultural workers.

The "land return" program, undertaken by "leftist" agricultural minister Lopes Cardoso, embraced only 101 small farms totalling 2 percent of the 2.6 million acres so far expropriated. While attempting to further appease the CAP and the parliamentary right wing by forcing the resignation of Lopes Cardoso, Soares is not yet prepared to face the agricultural workers commissions in a frontal assault. To do so would require a long-term and most likely very bloody military occupation, by a faction-ridden army which is needed to control the volatile urban working class.

In the national assembly the PSD and CDS have decided on the agrarian reform question as the key for determining whether to actively oppose the minority Socialist government or to attempt to force a coalition, either by splitting the PS or joining with military ministers. On November 19 the CDS introduced a bill into parliament removing the legal right to expropriate the remaining land covered under the 1975 land reform bill. The PS united with the PCP and a Maoist deputy to defeat this bill. Subsequently, the bourgeois parties stiffened their attitude toward the government.

The agrarian situation in southern Portugal (which voted heavily "red" in the municipal elections) is still in the air. As we go to press, agricultural workers commissions have threatened to fight against government troops if the army attempts to take back occupied land. While the PCP induced the unions to tolerate the early "recuperation" of small farms, there is no guarantee that they could force acceptance of a more substantial attack.

### Need for Revolutionary Leadership

Portugal is overripe for the intervention of a revolutionary Trotskyist party fighting for a program of irreconcilable opposition to the class collaboration which has characterized both the Stalinists and social democrats. Despite their continual hostilities, both the PS and PCP have made blocs with sectors of the army, coalesced with civilian reactionaries and opposed the workers' strikes with armed force. Soares' proposed anti-strike law is only a copy of an earlier decree dating from August 1974, passed when the PCP was in a government presided over by right-wing general António de Spínola. As for the Maoists, they sought their "people's alliance" with the wing of the MFA around Major Carvalho—who, incidentally, was the first to enforce the 1974 anti-strike law (against TAP airline mechanics)!

However, the leading self-proclaimed Trotskyists in Portugal, supporters of the revisionist "United Secretariat," have repeatedly proved to be nothing but popular-frontists of the second mobilization. Still smarting from their fiasco in the presidential elections (when they first proposed a joint candidate, then had to withdraw her when it was discovered that she had lied about her past and covered up a record as a convicted petty criminal), the Liga Comunista Internacionalista (LCI) and the Partido Revolucionário dos Trabalhadores (PRT) ran a common slate calling for a PCP/PS government.

Of course, the Communists called for the same thing. Where the LCI/PRT called for making the municipal councils a "lever for popular struggles," the PCP called for turning them into launching pads for "people's power." And just in case anyone might get the idea that these fake-Trotskyists were adopting the "sectarian" posture of running independent candidates in opposition to the two reformist parties of class collaboration, the LCI/PRT joint program called on the workers to "vote PS and 'Povo Unido' in most cases as a way to block the path of advance for the right" (*Luta Proletária*, 26 October).

As we stated at the time of the April parliamentary elections and the June presidential elections, when the two leading reformist workers parties are actively engaged in popular-frontist maneuvers, allying (or attempting to ally) with the bourgeois officer caste and promising a program of repressing the workers struggles, to call for a PCP/PS government is to call for unity of the Portuguese Eberts, Scheidemanns and Noskes.

The unsupportable candidacies of the LCI/PRT and their refusal to learn from the bankruptcy of their various flirtations with Carvalho, the PS, the PCP and any other "left"-talking demagogue underlines their complete lack of a revolutionary program. Once again this brings to the fore the burning need for a Portuguese Trotskyist party, built in the struggle to reforge the Fourth International. ■

## Faces FBI Frame-up Charges

# American Indian Militant Deported by Canada

DECEMBER 18—Leonard Peltier, an activist of the American Indian Movement (AIM), was extradited from Canada today. He was flown by helicopter and plane from Oakalla prison near Vancouver, where he has been in solitary confinement since February, to South Dakota. There Peltier will face trial on frame-up murder charges stemming from the shooting of two FBI agents on Pine Ridge reservation in 1975 (see "Stop Deportation of AIM Militant from Canada," *WV* No. 112, 4 June 1976).

Also this week, the Canadian government secretly deported Toshio Omura, allegedly a member of the Japanese Red Army. In Japan he is accused of involvement in the bombing of a Kyoto police station after the brutal suppression of the 1969 student rebellion. The highhanded expulsion of these two refugees from reactionary persecution reveals the repressive reality behind Ottawa's false claims of "concern for human rights."

Both deportations were carried out under provisions of Canada's reactionary immigration laws. Omura was deported under the "Temporary Immigration Act" passed in February as part of the repressive machinery that was geared up in preparation for the Montreal Olympic Games. Under this act, the immigration minister may immediately deport anyone "who in his opinion is likely to engage in acts of violence that would or might endanger the lives or safety of persons in Canada or engage in other violent criminal activity if admitted to Canada or permitted to remain therein." Once the minister has formed his "opinion" of what someone is "likely" to do that "might endanger" anyone, there need be no formal charges, no hearings, no evidence, no right to counsel, no appeal nor any other legal recourse; and, indeed, in Omura's case there was none.

The Temporary Immigration Act is scheduled to expire on December 31, and the government authorities who designed this draconian legislation want parliament to codify it on a more permanent basis. The summary deportation of Omura was a demonstration of how "expediently" left-wing militants can be removed. Following the secret expulsion, immigration minister Ronald Basford simply dismissed out of hand the norms of bourgeois legality:

> "In immigration you sometimes have to weigh the interests of national security against those of civil rights. When it comes to terrorism, Canadians seem able to realize that when national security is involved you can't always be too concerned about civil rights."
>
> —*Globe and Mail* [Toronto], 18 December

The Temporary Immigration Act dispenses with the legal formalities of the Immigration Act of 1952, Canada's version of the anti-communist McCarran-Walter Act in the U.S. The 1952 act purports to offer protections in the form of hearings, appeal and right to counsel. However, in the case of Leonard Peltier the court appeals were quickly denied and a promise by the immigration minister that he would not sign extradition orders before carefully considering the arguments for political asylum was broken.

Canada has done its job for the FBI, sending Peltier into the hands of the U.S. government. But even in the highly prejudiced atmosphere of South Dakota courts, prosecutors have had difficulty convicting AIM militants on obvious frame-up charges. Since juries have been releasing Indian defendants, the FBI and Bureau of Indian Affairs have taken the law into their own hands. Following the 1973 occupation of Wounded Knee there have been 270 deaths on the Pine Ridge reservation resulting from assassinations and shootouts.

Marxists reject the utopian-reactionary politics of AIM, which advocates reservation "independence," and the petty-bourgeois despair of the Japanese Red Army. But Peltier and Omura are victims of reactionary bourgeois persecution and should be defended by the entire workers movement. Unfortunately, Peltier's defense was marred by the sectarianism of the AIM leadership, which demanded political support for itself and sought to exclude supporters of the Trotskyist League of Canada who were among the first to take up Peltier's cause. During the crucial final weeks before Peltier's deportation there has been almost no public protest and the defense was restricted almost entirely to the courtroom and appeals to Basford's "social conscience."

The left and labor movement and all those who defend democratic rights against reactionary repression must demand that the charges against Omura and Peltier be dropped, and that they be freed immediately! ■

## CORRECTIONS

In *WV* No. 129 (15 October), an article on United Steelworkers presidential candidate Sadlowski referred to a leaflet by militants of Local 1014 in Lorain, Ohio. The Lorain local is 1104.

In the article "Quebec Nationalists Win Provincial Elections" in *WV* No. 135 (26 November), due to a transcription error the Parti Québécois was described as resulting from a fusion of nationalist splits from the populist Créditiste party; it should have read from the Liberal and Créditiste parties. In the same article Jacques Parizeau was listed as Quebec premier from 1961 to 1969 rather than as financial adviser to the premiers. Finally, the article erroneously refers to the Quebec Federation of Labour's "Gompersite tradition." While the QFL is allied with the American AFL-CIO, in the early 1960's it attempted to implant the New Democratic Party, Canada's right-wing social democracy, in the province.

In our last issue (*WV* No. 137, 10 December) a headline read "PDC Telegram Protests Exclusion of Ernest Mandel." Actually, the article referred to a statement by the Trotskyist League of Canada and the international Spartacist tendency.

# Stalin's "Workers Paradise"...

*(continued from page 7)*

which could well have been (and possibly was) copied from Nazi Germany. This decree punished violations of labor discipline with naked state terror. Changing jobs without permission of management was punishable by two to four months' imprisonment. A worker guilty of a single instance of "truancy" (one day's unexcused absence or *20 minutes'* lateness) *had to be* punished by up to six months' corrective labor at the workplace, at up to 25 percent reduction in pay. This savage anti-worker law was so unpopular that managers were prosecuted for covering up for errant employees!

The 1940 decree was no mere wartime emergency measure, either. It remained in force until 1956, and its underlying principle was officially declared to be the norm in a "socialist society." The Stalinist attitude toward labor in this bogus "workers paradise" was well summed up in a 1949 Soviet work, Dogadov's *History of Development of Soviet Labor Law*:

> "In the socialist society there is *no difference* in principle and quality between *drafted labor* and labor performed by voluntarily entering into labor relations by taking employment...." [our emphasis]
>
> —quoted in *Monthly Labor Review*, March 1951

### Stalin's Extreme Anti-Egalitarianism

In contrast to the Big Lie technique of Nicolaus, some apologists for Stalin admit that he eliminated the freedom which Soviet workers enjoyed in the 1920's, but argue that by eliminating a free labor market Soviet workers achieved economic security and equality of income. Nevertheless, Stalin the egalitarian is as big a fraud as Stalin the defender of workers' rights against management.

During the 1920's the Soviet government published ample statistics on wages. Again, when real wages rose steadily from the mid-1950's onward, the Kremlin publicized this fact. However, no comprehensive official figures for cost-of-living changes and real wages have been published during or about Stalin's reign. This silence in itself indicates a marked deterioration of living standards. The most careful Western study is Janet Chapman's *Real Wages in Soviet Russia Since 1928* (1963), which estimates that from 1928 to 1940 the annual real wage of state employees in the USSR fell *at least* 22 percent, and that the 1928 level was not restored until 1953-54. Since working time per year expanded greatly during the 1930's, wage compensation per hour fell even more sharply.

As to the distribution of income, the Stalin period was marked by inegalitarianism that was extreme when compared to both the 1920's and the subsequent Khrushchev/Brezhnev period. In 1932, engineers and technicians received 2.6 times the income of the average production worker; in 1960, engineers and technicians earned only 50 percent more than production workers, and by 1972 the difference had dropped to 30 percent (Peter Wiles, "Recent Data on Soviet Income Distribution," *Survey*, Summer 1975). Today income differentials in Brezhnev's Russia are quite comparable to Maoist China, notwithstanding much phony egalitarian propaganda in the latter.

No comprehensive data for the incomes of top party and government officials during the Stalin period exist. In addition to money salary, top bureaucrats have access to all kinds of special privileges provided free of charge, and there is every reason to believe that in Stalin's Russia they enjoyed relative affluence amidst widespread poverty.

Marxists recognize that in a collectivized economy under conditions of scarcity wage differentials are necessary to allocate labor between different occupations, industries and regions. However, individual wage differentials as a means of enforcing work discipline—piece rates—are an entirely different question. Socialist consciousness, integrally bound up with soviet democracy, is the force for ensuring that work is performed conscientiously. A piece-rate wage system, which Marx called "that form of wages most in harmony with the capitalist mode of production" (*Capital*, Vol. 1, Ch. 21), undermines socialist consciousness and proletarian unity.

During the economic collapse which accompanied the destructive civil war, at a time when most of the working class had been mobilized to the front and the factories were staffed with new workers recently drawn from the peasantry, Lenin regarded piece rates as legitimate. During the period of "war communism," piece rates were the norm for industrial workers. But following the introduction of the Labor Code of 1922 wages were negotiated between trade unions and management, and by 1928 piece rates covered only 34 percent of the industrial labor force (Dewar, *Labour Policy in the USSR 1917-1928* [1956]).

In 1931 Stalin launched his famous attack on "petty-bourgeois egalitarianism." The party conference that year passed the following resolution:

> "We must liquidate completely the rotten practice of egalitarianism in wages and must achieve the objective of making out of the piecework and bonus system the most important factor of the struggle for increased labor productivity...."
>
> —quoted in W.W. Kulski, *The Soviet Regime* (1963)

After that piece-rate wages were applied wherever feasible, and the scale was far steeper (more inegalitarian) than in the 1920's or the advanced capitalist countries. This was the so-called "progressive" piece-rate system whereby wages increased and decreased at a faster rate than did production.

Stalin's attack on egalitarianism and proletarian unity reached its peak with the Stakhanovite movement launched in 1935. A special group of "shock workers" were promoted whose purpose was to break established production norms, thus providing the basis for increased piece-rate norms for the entire workforce. The Stakhanovites received enormous wages as well as other material privileges otherwise limited to the bureaucracy. Intense worker hostility to these mercenary rate-breakers caused the practice to gradually die out.

Stalin's piece-rate system was so unpopular that its curtailment was one of the major concessions which Khrushchev made to the Russian workers. In 1956, 73 percent of the Soviet workforce was on piece rates and 27 percent on "progressive" piece rates. By 1965, "progressive" piece rates had been done away with altogether and the share of the labor force on the piece-rate system was reduced to 58 percent (Leonard Joel Kirsch, *Soviet Wages: Changes in Structure and Administration Since 1956* [1970]).

### Khrushchev: Forerunner of Maoist Economics

Although Nicolaus and the Maoists completely misread its significance, Khrushchev's consolidation of power in 1958 was, in fact, associated with a significant change in the structure of Soviet economic planning. Under Stalin the basic administrative units for implementing the plan were vertically-integrated, nationwide industrial ministries (e.g., the aviation industry, agricultural machinery). Khrushchev's opposition among the Stalinist "old guard," the so-called "anti-party group" of Molotov/Malenkov/Kaganovich, had its main base among the Moscow-centered, economic administrative apparachiks. Khrushchev's following was concentrated among the provincial party bosses, who had long resented Stalin's super-centralism which deprived them of influence over their local economies.

When Khrushchev ousted the Molotov group he proceeded to reward his supporters and punish his opponents by abolishing the ministerial system in favor of regional decentralization. From 1958 to Khrushchev's fall in 1964, the basic unit of economic administration was the regional council (*sovnarkhoz*).

Predictably, Nicolaus jumps on Khrushchev's regional decentralization as proof that he was subverting Stalin's "socialism" in the service of capitalist restoration:

> "In the industrial sphere, the plan envisaged the abolition, at one stroke, of the central economic planning ministries carefully constructed with years of effort under Lenin and Stalin. Their functions and powers were to be transferred to more than a hundred regional economic councils (sovnarkhozy) with only loose supervision remaining at the center....
>
> "Khrushchev's blow at the centralized socialist planning ministries...had the immediate effect of a widespread resurgence and expansion of the sphere of commodity-money exchange relations."

In denouncing Khrushchev's economic regionalization as "capitalist-roadism," the Maoist propagandist Nicolaus demonstrates either gross ignorance of Chinese economic policy or hypocritical demagogy...or perhaps both.

Economic localism and "self-sufficiency" (autarky) have long been a central tenet of "radical" Maoist economics. One of the most significant changes in the Chinese economy following the Cultural Revolution was a marked increase in the economic power of local authorities. Whereas in 1965 some 20 percent of industrial enterprises were administered at the *hsien* (county) level or below, during 1969-71 the proportion increased to about 50 percent (Stuart Schram, ed., *Authority, Participation and Cultural Change in China* [1973]). In 1971, Chou En-lai told Edgar Snow that the central government had only 10,000 employees compared to 60,000 before the Cultural Revolution (*New Republic*, 27 March 1971).

An article in the 25 September 1971 *Peking Review* affirms economic localism as a hallmark of Maoism, saying that the Great Leap Forward and the Cultural Revolution proved that "letting the localities undertake more work is the only correct principle for developing China's industry...." The French Maoist ideologue, Charles Bettelheim, in his *Cultural Revolution and Industrial Organization in China* (1974), favorably contrasts Chinese economic localism with traditional Soviet centralism:

> "The local authorities (of provinces, districts or municipalities) actually play a considerable role in planning and management. This decentralization enables the province or municipality to effect close cooperation between the various regional production units. Management at the provincial level is guided by a broad concept of relatively autonomous industrial development in each province....
>
> "Decentralization accounts for the exceptional dynamism of the Chinese economy and for the sharp contraction of the administrative apparatus that can be observed everywhere. Such decentralization, moreover, constitutes one of the conditions for the development of socialist forms of management, and for workers' participation in management."

Following the fall of Lin Piao in late 1971, some steps were taken to recentralize the Chinese economy. Teng Hsiao-ping, in particular, was associated with pushing for more Soviet-type central planning. However, in contrast to the restored industrial ministry system in the present-day USSR, the basic unit of economic administration in China remains the provincial government.

The Maoist Nicolaus chooses to identify "socialism" *in Russia* with Stalin's super-centralism, while saying nothing about China's economic regionalism, which if anything is more extreme than the Khrushchevite *sovnarkhoz* system.

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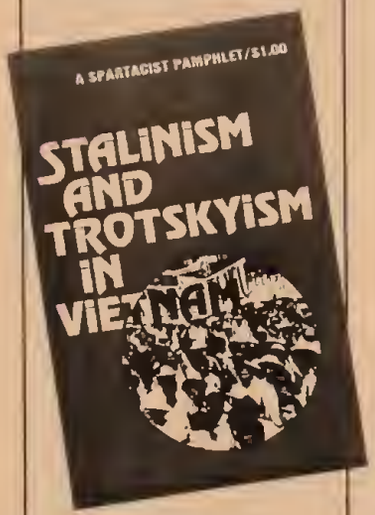


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# Sadlowski...

*(continued from page 12)*

their readers has forced the reformist fake-leftists to systematically distort and omit pertinent facts about his record. The 10 December *Militant*, published by the ex-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP), contains a special six-page insert on the campaign which is totally uncritical of Sadlowski. The *Militant* prints a tough statement by Sadlowski in opposition to the ENA, the no-strike agreement initiated by Abel. What the article fails to mention, however, is that *Sadlowski has pledged to enforce* this rotten provision as long as it "legally" remains in effect—i.e., at least until *1980!*

On the issue of political action, where Sadlowski's support of the Democratic Party stands in sharp contrast to the SWP's formal position of no support to capitalist politicians, the *Militant* maintains total silence! Moreover, these opportunist toadies hail Sadlowski's successful court suit forcing the union to finance a campaign mailing by each candidate and open the union newspaper to Sadlowski's supporters. These "unprecedented concessions to the insurgent candidate," in fact, establish a disastrous precedent for the bosses' government to directly tell the USW how to spend its money and edit its publications. Such craven reliance on the "neutrality" of the bourgeois state is not, surprising, however, from Sadlowski, who, like Miller in the UMW, owes his union post to a Labor Department-supervised election re-run.

Sadlowski's willingness to tolerate the presence of avowed socialists in his camp is simply tactical expediency. Particularly since he was unable to win any of the powerful district directors over to his side, he is sorely lacking in an apparatus that is capable of running an effective nationwide campaign. To a not-insubstantial degree the energy and organizational talents for the Sadlowski campaign have been provided by would-be leftists. And precisely because the fake-lefts have totally liquidated into uncritical participation in Steelworkers Fight Back, most workers do not suspect that they have any independent politics.

This is highly useful to Sadlowski, who in fact wishes to avoid any association with known leftists. An incident that occurred in Lorain, Ohio, shows that despite Sadlowski's verbal opposition to redbaiting, he has already begun to buckle under. Lorain is the center for the Communist Party-supported National Steelworkers Rank and File Committee (NSWRFC). George Edwards, co-chairman of the NSWRFC, has been a member of Local 1104 for 30 years and is continually redbaited. To be associated with Edwards or the NSWRFC will cost votes in Lorain, and possibly elsewhere. The NSWRFC stumped for Sadlowski long before he announced his candidacy, but when Sadlowski and Edwards showed up on the same morning recently to pass out leaflets, Sadlowski ostentatiously dissociated himself from the NSWRFC. The incident was reported in the 9 November *Elyria Chronicle-Telegram:*

> "Sadlowski was angered this morning when George Edwards, Rank and File Committee spokesman and perennial Local 1104 candidate, started to hand out leaflets and claimed to support Sadlowski.
>
> "'I want the workers to know I have nothing to do with George Edwards,' he added. In fact when Edwards approached Sadlowski at the gate Sadlowski left through another gate to hand out his leaflets."

In Lorain Sadlowski is trying to build a campaign committee that will exclude the NSWRFC, and at his November 30 rally in Cleveland the spineless NSWRFC supporters were conspicuously absent.

What Sadlowski dished out to Edwards and the NSWRFC is only a taste of the medicine militant steelworkers would receive from a Sadlowski regime. Such a regime would have increasingly less use for its left allies of yesterday. A likely outcome is what occurred in the United Mine Workers (UMW). Arnold Miller, who was supported by the same reformist groups that back Sadlowski, also started out by talking about "democracy." But only a few short years later he has broken numerous wildcats, conducted a purge of leftist militants and collaborated with his opponents in the bureaucracy in excluding the left press from the recent UMW convention. Sadlowski in power would be a bureaucratic, anti-communist opponent of workers democracy and class-struggle policies.

Miller's support within the UMW has largely evaporated as mineworkers get a taste of Labor Department-sponsored reformism. While Rauh, Victor Reuther and other prominent Sadlowski backers still trumpet the great "victory" for union democracy in the 1972 UMW election, the USW candidate himself appears reluctant to be associated with the discredited Miller. At the December 15 New York benefit, Sadlowski was asked to comment on Miller's record by Gene Herson, presidential candidate of the oppositional Militant-Solidarity Caucus in the 1973 National Maritime Union (NMU) elections. Sadlowski repeatedly and categorically refused to discuss his counterpart in the UMW, lamely responding: "I never met the man in my life, never saw him."

The total failure of most left groups to learn anything from the Miller experience only underscores their fundamental unseriousness. The Spartacist League, in contrast, opposed Miller and today rejects Sadlowski as well, warning that these "democrats" are nothing but bureaucrats on the make. The workers do not need "good guy" bureaucrats and cheap "progressive" rhetoric. They require class-struggle union leadership to consistently fight for the economic defense and political independence of the proletariat. Only by exposing and politically destroying bureaucrats like Miller, Abel, Sadlowski, and McBride, as well as the fake socialists who generate illusions in them, can the working class go forward. ■

# OCI...

*(continued from page 3)*

able weapon against Stalinist totalitarianism.

At the OCI educational, it was Plyushch himself, responding to an intervention by the Trotskyists of the LTF, who propounded the rationale of those who refuse to draw the class line:

> "The second question which [the LTF comrade] raised is the point that we should defend the Soviet Union with all our strength, independently of its bureaucratic character.... The struggle for human rights unites the right and left oppositions, inasmuch as until the problem of political freedom is resolved it is impossible to resolve the other problems: the problem of the economic situation of the workers, their participation in the direction of industry and agriculture, the problem of the national yoke and of religious persecution. And only when we have resolved this task, which is linked to the program of the bourgeois revolution, only then will we come to differentiation within the Soviet Union. That's why, participating in these committees today, there are Marxists as well as anti-Marxists, anti-socialists...."

On the contrary, only the proletariat, which defends the nationalized property forms of the deformed workers states against capitalist restoration and imperialist reconquest, can establish workers democracy through soviets that topple the parasitic Stalinist bureaucracies in a political revolution. There is no "democracy" separate from the class character of any society. There is bourgeois democracy, the brittle façade of a capitalist society built upon brutal exploitation and desperate oppression, and there is its antithesis, workers democracy in a workers state.

To court Plyushch and the social democrats, the OCI blurs the fundamental class line between reactionaries like Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn and militants who seek to oppose Stalinism from the standpoint of defense of the gains of October, between the dupes and sycophants of imperialism and the future cadres of the political revolution. As *Le Bolchévik* insisted:

> "The iSt has also called for freedom of political expression, even for confirmed anti-Marxists like Solzhenitsyn or Sakharov. (We would of course have a totally different attitude if it were a question of counterrevolutionary actions threatening the military security of the USSR.) But we never lose sight for an instant of the deep-going differences we have with these dissidents. To whitewash the pro-bourgeois positions of Sakharov and Yakir as does the OCI can only serve the interests of the bourgeois elements, on the one hand, in building up a solid reputation for people who are in fact hostile to socialism; and also serve the interests of the Stalinists, who themselves seek to lump all the dissidents together in the same bag: bourgeois liberals and revolutionary socialists, all 'enemies of the Soviet state'."

### In Defense of Trotskyism

The OCI's latest revision of Trotskyism comes at a time when it is attempting to enter the Pabloist "United Secretariat" (see "No Tango in Paris," *WV* No. 137, 10 December). Its shameless tailism of anti-Marxist "dissidents," the darlings of the anti-Soviet social-democratic milieu, is fully in line with its continuing orientation toward the social-democratic forces in popular-front formations, an appetite it shares with the American SWP. After signing away its "anti-Pabloist" credentials in an agreement with the United Secretariat, it now explicitly rejects a cornerstone of Trotskyism: the characterization of Stalinism.

At the OCI educational, it was only the international Spartacist tendency which upheld the Trotskyist position of unconditional defense of all the deformed workers states against imperialism, as part of the struggle to end Stalinist repression through political revolution to establish proletarian democracy.

— Toward the Rebirth of the Fourth International!

— For Socialist Revolution Against Capitalism!

—For Revolutionary Defensism in the Deformed and Degenerated Workers States! For Political Revolution Against Stalinist Bureaucratic Rule!

# MEC...

*(continued from page 5)*

program, but inherent in its "Night of Solidarity" was a clear political strategy: opportunist capitulation to feminism (and other petty-bourgeois tendencies). Behind the opportunism lies the crudest sectarianism: if Lolita Lebrón deserves support because she is a woman, then by the same token a Mario Muñoz does not. And, not coincidentally, the MEC refused to endorse the defense campaign for this persecuted Chilean trade unionist last summer. Genuine revolutionists must break from this sectarian approach and take up the defense of the whole of the working people.

That the advertised discussion period was simply eliminated from the evening's agenda without explanation came as no surprise in view of the increasingly bureaucratic measures the MEC has been adopting in its classes. The SL is hearing a great deal these days from the MEC about "disruptive" political presentations. But polemics in the pursuit of greater political clarity are welcomed by genuine Leninists. They are "disruptive" only to the MEC's attempts to quietly bury its program under a patchwork of academic eclecticism. ■

## Letter:

To the Editor:

In your recent story on the imprisoned South African actors (*WV* No. 130, 22 October) you mixed up the plot of *Sizwe Banzi*. It was not that the man took the identity of the dead Sizwe B., but that Sizwe had to swap identities with the dead "John Doe" and give up his own identity as Sizwe Banzi which he was reluctant to do. His friend had to drum it into his head that "S.B. is dead!" [because] really it was the only way he could live. It was one hell of a play! I heard through the grapevine that the actors had been freed already. Is that so?

L.T.

*WV replies:* Our article did indeed garble the plot of *Sizwe Banzi Is Dead*. UPI reported on October 24 that actor/writers John Kani and Winston Ntshona were released from detention and expelled from the Transkei "tribal homeland" shortly before the Bantustan's phony "independence" from South Africa was declared.


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WORKERS VANGUARD

## Fake Lefts Lionize Steel "Rebel"

# Sadlowski: Another Labor Faker

With less than two months remaining before the February 8 elections for International officers in the United Steelworkers of America (USWA), the campaign has heated up both inside the union and in the media.

The results of the recently concluded nomination period gave challenger Ed Sadlowski 456 nominations, as compared to 3,369 for I.W. Abel's hand-picked successor, Lloyd McBride. However, the final election tally will be a lot closer than these figures would indicate. The vast majority of the locals won by McBride represent smaller shops with a relatively small number of votes. In 1969 Abel won the nomination over Emil Narick by a margin of 7 to 1, but the general election tally was a lot closer: 260,000 to 180,000.

Sadlowski, however, clearly remains the underdog. Significantly, he was unable to carry some key locals in his own District 31, including Local 1787, Burns Harbor, Indiana, generally seen as a Sadlowski stronghold, and Local 1014 in Gary. Moreover, to date Sadlowski has not won the endorsement

Jeff Lowenthal/Newsweek

**Lloyd McBride**

of any other district director. Crucial to Abel's victory over the incumbent David McDonald in 1965 were the eleven district directors who broke from McDonald's camp.

In recent months the Steelworkers election has been the major trade-union topic covered by the bourgeois press. In particular, Sadlowski's campaign style has attracted considerable attention. His campaign oratory is loaded with populist references: "I.W. Abel spends too damn much time drinking martinis with R. Heath Larry at the Duquesne.... Personally, I'd rather drink a beer down here with the boys." At times he engages in pseudo-radical demagogy, asserting that "the fact is it's the working class versus the coupon clipper. The boss is there for one damn purpose alone, and that is to make money, not to make steel, and it's going to come out of the workers' back" (*New York Times Magazine*, 19 December).

Moreover, some of the opportunists on the fake-left and their supporters in the Steelworkers have endorsed Sadlowski. Since the USWA convention in August, when he essentially disclaimed any connection with "reds," Sadlowski has modified his posture on this issue. Publicly, especially before predominantly leftist and liberal audiences, he repudiates red-baiting.

This fact has invoked wide comment in the bourgeois press. It has also not been lost on his opponents. Already in August the Abel forces set up a group called SMART (Steelworker Members Against a Radical Takeover), whose essential function was to blast out propaganda about Sadlowski's connection with "radicals," "irresponsible elements," and "outsiders." Since then, this issue has become the main campaign issue for the incumbent bureaucrats.

In fact, however, the Abel machine's red-baiting of Sadlowski is a cheap campaign gimmick designed to intimidate more conservative steelworkers. No one, with the exception of his cheerleaders on the American left, seriously implies that Sadlowski has broken from the traditional pro-capitalist politics of the labor bureaucracy. In fact, the "rebel" bureaucrat is closely associated with a grouping of bourgeois liberals, including Joseph Rauh (who braintrusted Arnold Miller's victory in the Mine Workers) and John Kenneth Galbraith, who are active members of the virulently anti-communist Americans for Democratic Action (ADA).

Sadlowski supported Fred Harris in the 1976 Democratic Party primaries, before endorsing Carter, and supported "reform" Democrat Bill Singer against the Daley machine in Chicago. The liberals like Sadlowski not because he is an opponent of capitalism, but precisely because he would be an important labor counterweight in the Democratic Party to the somewhat more conservative politics espoused by George Meany.

Analogies between the Sadlowski campaign and the Miller campaign in the UMW are obvious. Not least is the willingness of both these reformists to call in the bourgeois state against their bureaucratic opponents. However, in at least one respect there is a difference. Miller had a broader spectrum of bourgeois political support, largely because the Boyle regime's notorious venality and gangsterism so isolated it that it was increasingly unable to put the lid on mine worker wildcats. Abel has been a more effective servant of capitalism.

### Redbaiting Galore

However, even the more conservative bourgeois commentators who object to Sadlowski's toleration of support from left groups, do not see him as a threat to the capitalist system. Writing in their syndicated column, Evans and Novak noted: "Actually, nobody calls Sadlowski a Communist.... Labor movement insiders are less worried about Sadlowski's passive failure to disavow Communist support than his active collaboration with new-politics liberals" (*New York Post*, 3 December).

WV Photo

**Ed Sadlowski, right, with Joseph Rauh at $25-a-head fund-raising party at Roseland in New York last week.**

Among the steel barons there is a certain amount of nervousness over the prospect of a Sadlowski regime and a shakeup in the existing union leadership. However, those steelmakers who have dealt with Sadlowski in his capacity as director of District 31 steadfastly vouch for his "responsibility." William McDermut, president of Illinois Slag and Ballast Company, offered: "He was far and away the ablest union guy who has come down this pike—dedicated, tireless, and honest" (*New York Times Magazine*, 19 December).

Far from representing a class-struggle alternative, Sadlowski's campaign is typical of those waged by bureaucrats temporarily on the outs—long on rhetoric about "honesty" and "democracy," but short on programmatic alternatives. At a December 15 fund-raising gala in New York's Roseland Dance City, the "progressive candidate" waxed eloquently to a group of reporters about the evils of Big Steel and Standard Oil. When asked if he favored expropriating these corporate giants, Sadlowski responded: "Nationalization is not the solution."

Sadlowski's "Steelworkers Fight Back" slate was put together in typical bureaucratic fashion, throwing together individuals who had never before demonstrated common positions on the major issues facing steel workers. Instead, in a procedure resembling Democratic Party politics, Sadlowski picked a slate including one black bureaucrat, one Chicago bureaucrat, one Jewish bureaucrat and (including himself) two Polish bureaucrats.

The absence of a fundamental programmatic choice between the Abel and McBride slates is demonstrated graphically by events in the Cleveland-based District 28. The incumbent district director is Joseph Kender, who is running for re-election. Kender is totally discredited and has been dumped by the Abel/McBride forces, who are now supporting Frank Valenta. Sadlowski also wants no part of the loser Kender. The interesting fact about the race in District 28 is that many of the locals and local officials who support Sadlowski are also backing Valenta, who is a supporter of McBride! The fact that local union officers can back Sadlowski and McBride supporters with equal facility attests to the politically empty character of the campaign.

### Sadlowski and the Left

The bulk of the American left has done its shameless best to obscure the fact—recognized by the bourgeois press and steel barons alike—that there is no fundamental distinction in the *class* policies of McBride and Sadlowski. A front-page article in *Workers' Power* (13 December), organ of the social-democratic International Socialists, trumpeted: "Sadlowski has campaigned for a complete change in the pro-company policies of the present USW leadership."

This task of prettifying Sadlowski for

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# SUBJECT INDEX



## GUIDE TO THE SUBJECT INDEX

- This subject index covers issues of *Workers Vanguard* published during 1976, from issue No. 90 (2 January) to the end-of-the-year issue No. 138 (24 December). During this time, *WV* was published weekly. This single index covers two volumes: No. 4 (2 January to 18 June) and No. 5 (25 June to 24 December).
- The fullest listing is by SUBJECT. Subject headings are arranged alphabetically. Entries are listed chronologically with two exceptions: all entries comprising a series are listed together immediately following the first entry of the series; corrections immediately follow the relevant entry. An esterisk (*) after the page location of an entry indicates that a correction follows.
- Entries are listed under subject heads. In some cases, subject heads are broken down into subcategories. These subcategories are listed immediately after the initial subject head and preceded by a dot (•). The numbers following each entry headline give the issue number, date and page number(s) for the article. Thus:

  Imperialist-Led Forces on the Run in Angola, #93, 23 Jan. (1, 9)

  means the headline of the article, Issue No. 93, 23 January 1976, pages 1 and 9.
- No entry is listed twice; refer to cross references for guidance in locating the subject head for particular articles. Cross references are of two types: those following the word "see" deal centrally with the subject head; those following the words "see also" are related articles. Subject heads in cross references are separated by a semi-colon, while subcategories of subject heads are separated by a comma. Thus:

  AFSCME—See **Public Employees: General, New York City; San Francisco Politics.**

  means that articles on AFSCME can be found by going to the subject head **PUBLIC EMPLOYEES** and looking under the subcategories **General** and **New York City** and by going to the subject head **SAN FRANCISCO POLITICS.**
- Individuals mentioned in articles are usually not listed separately unless the article is primarily about the given person.
- Entries relating to foreign countries are listed under geographical headings and not necessarily under any other subject heading. Unless listed separately, for some unusual reason, all foreign political organizations are listed under appropriate countries, while U.S. political organizations are listed under their organizational names.
- Articles dealing with the Arab-Israeli conflict and directly related countries and issues (e.g. Egypt, Lebanon) will be found under the major subject head: **NEAR EAST**
- Specific defense cases (e.g. Joan Little) will be found as subcategories under **CIVIL LIBERTIES: Cases**, with the exception of the Mario Muñoz defense, which is listed under **MUÑOZ CAMPAIGN.**
- Abbreviations used in entries are:

  C: Correction
  L: Letter
  S: Series
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